

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION AND
VALUES AMONG YOUNG ADULTS. A PATTERN
DESCRIPTION FOR FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, BELGIUM,
AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1990

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IPD-working paper 1993-1

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION AND VALUES AMONG YOUNG ADULTS. A PATTERN DESCRIPTION FOR FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1990¹

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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 and Vanden Heuvel, 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 young people. Once 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 USA-data, is essentially an economic relative

¹ The authors would like to thank the EVS-organizers for making available the various data sets, and Loek Halman in particular for the first exploratory tabulations.

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 in tandem with unfavourable labour market conditions.

The two economic theories presented above have been criticized on several points. According to Valerie Oppenheimer (1988), the intermediate states stem from marriage market conditions. Higher education for women and concomittant 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 "desinstitutionalization".

The notion of quality is also central in social exchange theory (e.g. Rezsöházy, 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 regarded as being hypocritical in the sense that its conformism was more important than the quality of the relationship.

If "postmaterialists" expect more individual recognition and satisfaction in matters related to 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. Making such positions and opinions overt 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.

The economic theories, respectively based on female economic autonomy and on relative economic deprivation among the younger cohorts, obviously connect the passage through the various types of living arrangements to the transitions in socio-economic position. These theories furthermore assume that value orientations are endogenous and equally determined by the socio-economic profiles of individual life courses. In other words, they assume that there is no independent or autonomous additional effect originating in ideational factors. Yet, in Easterlin's version of the economic deprivation theory, ample attention is being paid to consumption aspirations originating during the socialization phase. By the same token, not only consumption aspirations but a wide spectrum of value orientations can be generated during these formative years. Parents, peer groups and professors all play a major role in the process. Hence, values developed during adolescence may equally direct ambitions, professional options and ultimately socio-economic positions.

To sum up, monocausal theories cannot do justice to the complexities involved in the emergence of new life cycle states. In the present paper, we shall try to document that:

- i) attitudes and values concerning religious, political and ethical issues are still closely associated with the distribution of individuals over the various forms of living arrangements, and
- ii) that these associations hold for both sexes and irrespective of socio-economic positions.

In short, the basic aim of the paper is to show that ideational factors and aspirations regarding the nature of a relationship are necessary complements to the economic theories which have failed so far to incorporate them. In other words, the assumption of the endogeneous origin of these ideational factors found in both the neo-classic theory of G. Becker and the relative deprivation theory of Easterlin constitutes a major weakness of these theories.

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 West 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 to have about 100 respondents in each category. The resulting sample sizes are shown in Table 1.

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 the appendix (table A.1).

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 elucidated 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 populations are respected. As a result, the Dutch and Belgian samples contribute considerably less to the weighted pooled sample than the West German and French data sets.

Table 2

3. Values and living arrangements: the problem of causality

The main problem with the strictly cross-sectional nature of the present data set is that no causal inferences are possible. The value orientations, living arrangements and socio-economic positions are all

measured simultaneously. Hence, it is impossible to decompose the overall statistical associations into a *selection effect* and an *affirmation effect* respectively. By the selection effect, we refer to the mechanism whereby individuals select themselves over the various living arrangements depending on their *prior* value orientations. By the affirmation (or negation) effect, we mean the *subsequent* reinforcement (or weakening) of values depending on living arrangements or socio-economic position. The associations measured in this cross-section obviously capture the whole of this recursive process, but not the constituting parts of it.

There are two ways of measuring the selection effect more adequately. First, retrospective questions can be introduced pertaining to earlier positions. In this way a number of authors (e.g. Kiernan, 1992) have been able to document that the likelihood of earlier home-leaving and subsequent cohabitation increases substantially for persons with divorced or remarried parents. Retrospective questions pertaining to values that were held in the past have highly questionable validity, so that this avenue for research is almost entirely closed for our purposes. In the present data-set, there is only one useful retrospective question that can be used to document the existence of a value-based selection process. This question pertains to whether or not the respondent had received a religious education. We shall therefore devote special attention to this particular item.

The second, and much more promising, way to handle the selection and affirmation issues, is provided by a panel design. The respondents in the 1990 round of the EVS can be reinterviewed several years later, and changes in living arrangements occurring during the interval can then be related to the 1990 value measurements (selection). Conversely, a readministration of the value questions in the second wave will also allow us to study the affirmation or negation effects depending on the changes in living arrangements that have been recorded during the interval. We would therefore strongly recommend the addition of a second wave in the near future for the younger respondents in the 1990 round, particularly since these persons are likely to have had more frequent transitions in living arrangements and socio-economic positions than the older respondents.

To sum up, except for one particular item, we shall only be able to describe the *overall association* between value orientations, socio-economic positions and living arrangements with the present data set. In subsequent multivariate analyses involving these three variables, the choice of a dependent variable is totally arbitrary. The reader is therefore strongly urged *not* to give any causal interpretation (either pure selection or pure affirmation) to these associations. On the other hand, the present data are adequate to perform controls for socio-economic position variables. In other words, we can inspect whether or not the association between value orientations and living arrangements continue to emerge once the effect of socio-economic position has been eliminated. The resistance to such a control would strongly suggest that effects of value orientations are not purely endogenous as the economic theories assume.

4. Value orientations according to living arrangements: overall results and controls for socio-economic position

In this section the following domains of value orientations are covered:

- 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 concerning public morality (15 items)
- attitudes toward sexuality (8 items)
- life satisfaction indicators (13 items)

In a first set of tables only the orders of magnitude are described, together with i) the differences between unmarried respondents living with their parents and those not living at home, and ii) the differences between cohabitants and married respondents. At this point, no significance tests are reported, but differences in percentages of 7 points or more are all significant at the 0.05 level.

The second set of tables presents the results of logit regressions performed on a selection of items. The logit regressions are all based on the simple additive model with the effects of living arrangements (4 categories) and of socio-economic position (4 or 5 categories depending on sex). These socio-economic categories are:

- i) employed or employers: professionals, senior and middle level white collar;
- ii) employed: blue collar and junior white collar workers;
- iii) housewives (for women only);
- iv) students;
- v) unemployed.

The results in these tables are given in the form of relative risks (exp. B), by living arrangement, and controlling for socio-economic position as just specified. The reference category is the group of single respondents still residing with their parents ("home-stayers").

4.1. Religious values

A recurrent finding in earlier research has been the association between higher degrees of secularization and the opting for a period of cohabitation. This finding has been reported for the USA (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 2 bear witness to this effect, particularly when cohabitants are compared with 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 points), the saying of prayers (-18 points), the belief in the notion of sin (-17 points) and the drawing of comfort and strength from religion (-15 points). Parental secularization also played a major role in currently being selected into cohabitation since fewer cohabitants (-17 points) than married persons report to have been brought up religiously.

Table 2

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 points), the devil (-3 points) and hell (-3 points). The situation is reversed with respect to the belief in the soul with slightly more cohabitants adhering (+3 points), and particularly with respect to the belief in reincarnation (+14 points). The survey did not probe into other metaphysical and parapsychological 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 points) and fewer of them being brought up religiously (-7 points). Also praying and the belief in sin is slightly weaker among them (-5 points). 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).

In Table 3, the control for socio-economic position has been introduced for a selection of these religiosity items. The following contrasts according to living arrangement remain both intact and significant after these controls:

- i) among both sexes cohabitants have systematically the lowest risks of believing in God or in sin and of having moments of prayer, whereas married persons have the highest relative risks.
- ii) The belief in reincarnation is significantly stronger for single male home-leavers and cohabitants, whereas it is significantly lower for married women.

On the whole, these patterns confirm that the zero order associations documented in Table 3 are not merely the by-product of differences in socio-economic position.

Table 3

Also the selection effect stemming from parental religious orientation, and measured through the item "having received a religious upbringing", has been subjected to a similar control. Among men, 39 percent of the home-leavers have had a religious upbringing against 46 percent among home-stayers. After controlling for socio-economic position and age (introduced as a set of categorical dummies in order to allow for non-linearity) in an analysis of variance (i.e. multiple classification analysis), this 7 percentage point difference becomes an 8 point difference in the same direction. Similarly for women, an original 10 percentage point difference is only reduced to a 7 point difference after these controls. The contrast between cohabiting and married men was slightly larger to start with: 50% of the married men reported a religious upbringing against 41 percent among cohabiting men. After the controls, the contrast increases to a 11 percentage point difference. Among women with a partner, the zero-order effect was initially 16 percentage points, with 46 percent of married women reporting a religious upbringing against only 30 percent among cohabiting women. This contrast is reduced to a 12 percent point difference after controls, but the difference remains highly significant (.01-level). Hence, these checks strongly suggest that at least a very substantial part of the differences in religiosity according to living arrangement are due to a pure selection effect and are attributable to parental religiosity or secularization. These findings are furthermore perfectly in line with those reported elsewhere for the Netherlands (Liefbroer, 1991) and Belgium (Lee et al, 1987) using a similar question.

To sum up, home-leavers and especially cohabitants have received more commonly a more secularized upbringing and still exhibit, on average, lower degrees of religiosity than the others and particularly the married respondents irrespective of their current socio-economic position. By contrast, this lower degree of traditional religiosity seems to be associated with a stronger belief in reincarnation, particularly among male home-leavers and cohabitants.

4.2. 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), through the Inglehart "materialist-postmaterialist" scales, and through preferences for political parties.

Table 5 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 2, with the stronger contrasts emerging between cohabitants and married couples.

Table 4

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.

Table 5

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.

Table 6

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 to 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 greater 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.

The effects, after the control for socio-economic position, are reported in Table 7 for the various political and emancipation movements in the form of relative risks and their significance. In general, the contrasts relative to single "home-stayers" are less marked than in Table 3 using the religiosity indicators. Nevertheless, the results that are significant operate largely in the expected direction. Cohabitants especially show an increase in the likelihood of approving these political or emancipation movements. This holds for the female cohabitants with respect to approval of the anti-apartheid movement, and for male cohabitants with regard to the human rights and women's liberation movements. By contrast, married women have a significantly lower likelihood of approving women's liberation movements, even after controlling for the fact that housewives are *overrepresented* in the category of married women.

Table 7

On the whole, we conclude that the living arrangements differentiate in the expected direction, with again cohabitants being the most distinct group. However, the differentiation with respect to the various political dimensions according to living arrangement are generally weaker than those observed for the religiosity/secularization items.

4.3. Family, ethical 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 8, 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.

Table 8

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 points). The items of faithfulness and children are consequently the most effective in the entire battery of questions at discriminating between groups defined by residential arrangements.

Further down the ranking according to importance come the items concerning material conditions (adequate income, good housing) and those pertaining to social homogeneity. 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 homogeneity 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 homogeneity. As expected, cohabitants attach a greater importance to such symmetry than married respondents.

On the whole, this battery of questions sheds light on the nature of relationships desired by the respondents. It is therefore intimately connected to what the respondents define as "quality". The results confirm that cohabitants in particular attach greater value to symmetrical relations. They have 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 9. 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 the case that 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.

Table 9

The opinions about the qualities to be stressed in the education of children, presented in Table 10, 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 independence and imagination. 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 traditional public morality as we shall now show.

Table 10

In Table 11, fifteen 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.

Table 11

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 ten items in the battery of fifteen. 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 cannot be extended to matters concerning civic morality.

The attitudes concerning economic and domestic roles of women are presented in Table 12. 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 approval of female economic activity and autonomy and are most averse to the restriction of females to domestic roles.

Table 12

Finally, the attitudes concerning sexual permissiveness are considered in Table 13. Again, the pattern 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.

Table 13

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.

The control for social position in the logit regressions barely alters the outcomes with respect to the ethical and civil morality items (see Table 14). Both married men and women have the highest risks of never accepting deviations from standard civil morality, and conversely, the lowest relative risks of agreeing with complete sexual freedom or accepting abortion for single women. The greatest tolerance for deviations or latitude with respect to these ethical issues is found among single home-leavers, followed by cohabitants. Intolerance towards homosexuality and AIDS-patients are issues that produce considerable polarization among female respondents in particular. Again female single home-leavers and cohabitants have the lowest likelihood of exhibiting such intolerance. The category of women with the highest likelihood is the single home-stayers and not the married women.

Table 14

Also the patterning of the socialization values by living arrangement remains largely intact after controlling for socio-economic position (see Table 15). Cohabiting men and single home-leavers have the lowest likelihood of choosing the conformism items (good manners, thrift) and the highest likelihood of stressing the autonomy items (independence, imagination). Very much the same also holds for cohabiting women and female home-leavers. Married persons, on the contrary, show the inverse pattern, but are less often significantly different from the single home-stayers (i.e. the reference category). The item "respect for others" is a correlate of the autonomy items, but "responsibility" is not. Cohabiting men and especially women have a much lower likelihood of choosing "responsibility" than any other category, even after controlling for socio-economic position.

Table 15

The items pertaining to family issues, finally, also continue to exhibit a classic patterning after similar controls (see Table 16). Among both sexes, respondents in the intermediate living arrangements (home-leavers, cohabitants) have the lowest likelihood of choosing "faithfulness" as important for a successful partnership or marriage. The items pertaining to the importance of children, either for the success of marriage or as an element for personal life fulfilment, show striking contrasts, with married persons stressing this need much more than any of the others. The notion that a child suffers if the mother works is particularly entertained by single persons who still reside with their parents. This item differentiates considerably less between respondents who have left the parental home, irrespective of subsequent living arrangements. The emphasis upon female economic autonomy, finally, exhibits the classic negative association with being married, even after allowing for the fact that fewer married women work.

Table 16

The main conclusion to be drawn from the statistical controls for socio-economic position is that the original associations between living arrangements and the values considered in this section remain virtually intact. Once more we must conclude that selection and/or affirmation processes are operating independently of socio-economic position, and that this holds for both sexes.

4.4. Life-satisfaction

In this section we hypothesize that non-conformism and individual autonomy with respect to both partner relations and extra-familial relations is associated with 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. Striving for "quality" in relationships combined with similar aspirations in the direction of self-recognition and self-fulfilment seems an ambitious undertaking. Outcomes may not live up to such expectations.

The results for various indicators of life-satisfaction, reported in Table 17, 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.

Table 17

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 exaltation. 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 signalling their greater need for personal recognition. In terms of 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 17, the highest frequencies of items that signal dissatisfaction are located either in the category of single home-leavers or cohabitants. Married persons, on the contrary, have systematically the highest frequencies for positive evaluation and the lowest frequencies for negative evaluation of life satisfaction.

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

Controls for socio-economic position are necessary before formulating final conclusions with respect to life satisfaction since the unemployed obviously report the lowest satisfaction. Also, life satisfaction tends to increase with socio-economic status. However, several significant differences associated with living arrangement still emerge after this control, as reported in Table 18.

Table 18

First and foremost, married persons, and particularly married women, are considerably less likely than others to score at the low end of the overall satisfaction scale, and less likely to report periods of loneliness, depression or boredom. But they are also less likely to report that they were proud or pleased because of a compliment or achievement. As stated before, this balance seems to be concordant with presumably a more even and settled life.

Women in the intermediate states (single home-leavers, cohabitants) exhibit the lowest likelihood of scoring at the high end of the overall life satisfaction scale, and conversely, they also have the highest likelihood of reporting recent spells of loneliness, depression or boredom. Men in the intermediate states have the highest relative risks of scoring at the low end of the overall life satisfaction scale, but this pattern is much less pronounced in the other items. Especially differences between married men and others are weakened when the items become more specific.

On the whole the conclusions tentatively drawn from the results in Table 17 still hold after controlling for socio-economic position, as can be inferred from the results in Table 18.

5. A synthesis

In this section we shall present a synthesis by reducing the set of items to a number of underlying dimensions, and subsequently by relating these dimensions to gender, socio-economic position and living arrangement. Again we shall take the value-dimensions as a dependent variable, but the reader should bear in mind that we merely wish to *describe associations* rather than to infer causality.

The underlying value dimensions were constructed by means of two successive rounds of principal component analysis (Varimax, orthogonal

rotation of factors). In the first round, 30 items were brought together in 11 scales, and in the second round, these scales were reduced to three distinct factors. The results are presented in Table 19 in the form of the correlations between the items and the three factors.

Table 19

The analysis pertains to 1245 cases. Cases were deleted listwise (that is, if there were more than 5 items missing, or when all items were missing for one of the 11 subscales. Otherwise, the remaining occasional missing values were recoded to the gender-specific mean values of the items).

Factor I in Table 18 clearly describes the dimension characterized by high religiosity and strict ethical morality. Factor II corresponds to right wing political conviction in the sense of favouring law and order, and having an aversion for emancipation movements and for sexual minorities. Other items, such as the "law and order"-items in the Inglehart scales and the items pertaining to intolerance toward racial minorities equally correlate strongly with factor II (not shown in Table 19). Factor III, finally, describes conservatism with respect to gender roles.

Several items show significant correlations on more than one of the three factors. The importance of children, for instance, seems to be upheld by two types of motivations, i.e. those stemming respectively from high religiosity and from political right-wing inclinations. Conformism in socialization (e.g. "good manners") is equally associated with both high religiosity and right-wing orientation, whereas the stress on individual autonomy in education (i.e. "imagination", "independence") is negatively related to these two dimensions. The item concerning the fulfilment of housewives is related to all three factors, and the importance of transmitting religious faith in socialization is positively correlated with both high religiosity and preference for inegalitarian gender roles.

The analysis proceeds by relating the three dimensions to socio-economic position and type of living arrangement by means of a Tukey median polish (Tukey, 1977). The analysis is done separately by sex. The median polish starts from the average scores for a particular dimension recorded for the various cells corresponding to the combinations of socio-economic position and living arrangement. These means are reported in the appendix (Table A.2), together with the standard deviations and sample sizes. Obviously, these three factors have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of unity.

A number of cells with small sample sizes, and corresponding to rare combinations of socio-economic position and type of living arrangement, are dropped from the analysis. For instance, the results for married students or for housewives in parental homes are considered as unknown. Volatile means based on few observations are thereby prevented from distorting the picture.

An example of a median polish is also given in the appendix (Table A.3). The analysis involves the following steps. First, the overall median value is determined and subtracted from the various cells. Then, column medians are determined and subtracted from the results of the first step. Next, the same is done with row medians. The fitted values in a simple additive model are then the sum of the overall median and the corresponding row and column medians. The residuals (observed values minus fitted values) are the values left over after the median extractions.

The results are presented graphically in Figures 1 through 6. As already indicated, we have fitted an additive model, which assumes that there are no interaction effects between the "independent variables". This means that the effects of each of the socio-economic positions are not allowed to vary according to the particular combination with type of living arrangement (and vice versa). Such an additive fit leads to the rectangular representation in the various figures. These grids show the *fitted values* of a particular value-dimension (vertical axes) for each of the combinations of socio-economic position and type of living arrangement assuming additivity of effects. These fitted values are compared to the observed ones in the figures: the residuals are represented in the form of thin vertical lines.

Better fits can occasionally be obtained by allowing for interactions, but throughout the analysis, the larger residuals are equally associated with the cells having the smaller number of observations. Hence, we refrained from fitting particularities, and preferred to report the deviations from the simple additive model.

Also note that the scales on the vertical axes are identical for all six figures.

5.1. Religiosity and ethical strictness

Figures 1 and 2 depict the relationship between the dimension of "high religiosity and strict morality" and the two "independent variables" for men and women respectively. For men, differences by socio-economic position are very small, with somewhat higher religiosity levels found among junior white collar and blue collar workers, and slightly lower religiosity exhibited by the unemployed. By contrast, the differences in religiosity and ethical strictness by type of living arrangement are very considerable, with married men having much higher values on this dimension than single home-leavers and particularly cohabiting men. The effects of type of living arrangement among women are of a similar magnitude as those recorded for men, but the effect of socio-economic position is much more pronounced for female respondents. This is partially due to the category of housewives with higher scores on religiosity and ethical strictness than employed women. At this point, it is worth mentioning that we were unable to link male socio-economic positions to the position of their partners (employed or not). We would expect that men with partners who are housewives would score higher on dimension I than those with employed partners. Most regretablely, the employment status of the partner was not recorded in the EVS 1990 survey.

Figures 1 and 2

Also the residuals are worthy of further comment. First, there are large residuals for female cohabiting students, and similar but smaller residuals for male cohabiting students or male student home-leavers. In all three instances, these categories have lower average scores on religiosity and ethical strictness than predicted by the additive model. Second, similar residuals for men and women are also found for the combination between being married and belonging to junior white collar or blue collar workers. This category scores higher on dimension I than predicted. Conversely, married persons with higher status employment score slightly lower on dimension I than inferred by the additive model.

5.2. Right-wing political convictions and intolerance

The results for right-wing political convictions and intolerance toward minorities are shown in Figures 3 and 4. For men, differences according to both socio-economic position and type of living arrangement are small, with only the single home-stayers having slightly higher scores and students having lower scores. The picture for female respondents is very different: both living arrangement and socio-economic position are associated with striking differences for the right-wing political dimension. Married women score *on average* much higher than cohabiting women or female single home-leavers. Also unemployed women show this tendency, in strong contrast to female students. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the average scores for higher status employed women are lower than those of housewives or lower status employed women. This distinction vanishes, however, for female single home-leavers (see residuals), with higher status employed women having a slightly higher average score than lower status employed women.

Figures 3 and 4

A second feature of the residuals for both sexes is that the combination of being a student and either being a single home-leaver or cohabitant leads to average scores on right-wing political orientation that are much lower than predicted by the additive model. A similar feature was also found for religiosity and moral strictness.

5.3. Traditional gender roles

The results for the third dimension, i.e. a preference for traditional gender roles, are presented in Figures 5 and 6. For men, the differences according to socio-economic position are again very small, with men employed as junior white collar or in blue collar jobs holding *on average* a slightly more conservative position, and those employed in higher social status jobs a slightly more egalitarian view. The differences according to living arrangement are more pronounced, with averages for married men and cohabiting men being at the more inegalitarian and egalitarian ends respectively. Taking the residuals

into account, the differences for married men increase depending on whether they belong to the lower socio-economic position (more inegalitarian than predicted) or to the higher positions (more egalitarian than predicted). Conversely, the effects of socio-economic position among cohabiting men are reversed compared with those implied by the additive model.

Figures 5 and 6

The outcomes for female respondents show a somewhat greater contrast depending on employment status: housewives hold on average the most traditional views and employed women or women seeking employment the most egalitarian opinions. The effects of the types of living arrangement distinguish between women with and without a partner. The latter hold on average more egalitarian views. However, there is also a major difference between married and cohabiting women. In this instance, married women have averages indicative of more traditional opinions than cohabitants, as expected.

The most striking feature in Figure 6 is the existence of considerable residuals. First and foremost, cohabiting female students have on average much more egalitarian views than predicted by the model. The same also holds, but to a smaller extent, for cohabiting women employed in blue collar or junior white collar jobs. Secondly, the differences between married women according to socio-economic position or employment status are smaller than predicted by the additive model, whereas the differences between cohabiting women depending on employment status are larger than predicted. As a result, the few cohabiting women who are housewives (N = 19) are on average more traditional with respect to gender roles than married housewives (N = 110). This interesting interaction may arise from the small sample size of the former category, and needs confirmation by other studies.

5.4. Summary

The findings emerging from the preceeding analyses can be summarized as follows:

- i) Where there are substantial differences in values among *men*, differences associated with the type of living arrangement are much more prominent than differences connected with socio-economic position.
- ii) The selection and/or subsequent affirmation mechanisms linking values and types of living arrangements for *men* are clearest with respect to the religiosity and ethical dimension and weakest for the right-wing political factor.
- iii) The generally weak association with socio-economic position of *men* is subject to a caveat: the employment status of their partners could not be incorporated in the present analysis.

- iv) Differences in all three value dimensions by socio-economic position and type of living arrangement are usually much larger for women than for men.
- v) Employment status of *female* respondents not only differentiates with respect to the dimension of traditional gender roles, which is almost a tautological finding, but even more so for both the religiosity or ethical and for the political right-wing dimensions.
- vi) Housewives score on average highest on the religiosity factor and the traditional gender role factor, but unemployed women score highest on right-wing political convictions and intolerance toward minorities.
- vii) *Female* home-leavers and cohabitants are considerably more secularized, most aversive to right-wing political ideas, and most inclined toward egalitarian gender roles.
- viii) These features are enhanced among *women* in these intermediate living arrangements if such states are combined with being a *student*.
- ix) Housewives show less variation with respect to the value dimensions depending on living arrangement (married versus cohabiting), but among *working women*, living arrangements are associated with much larger differences in value orientations.

6. Conclusions

The main conclusion is that the associations between the various value orientations and the types of living arrangement are either completely or largely resistant to controls for socio-economic position (see also Lesthaeghe and Meekers, 1986). This invalidates the common hypothesis made by authors of economic theories which assumes that values and living arrangements are fully codetermined by the economic aspects of the life course.

Secondly, we have found in this European data set that single home-leavers and cohabitants resemble each other in terms of the three value dimensions studied. This is completely in line with what Rindfuss and Vanden Heuvel (1990) have reported for the USA. In their study, the gap in value orientations between cohabitants and married persons was also larger than between cohabitants and single home-leavers.

Thirdly, the present data equally confirm that *parental* religiosity or secularization is a factor involved in the *selections* made by their children. Selection into cohabitation is more likely for persons without a religious upbringing (cf. also Liefbroer, 1991; Thornton and Camburn, 1987). For the other items no such causal conclusions can be drawn and no differences between the selection-effect and affirmation-effect could be established.

However, American data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 show that selection effects are by no means negligible. In this panel-study with multiple waves, a dozen "life

importance"-questions were administered that touch upon the value of family life, money, success at work, social involvement, activism, and leisure. The analysis recently performed by Clarkberg, Stolzenberg and Waite (1993) indicates that cohabitants were indeed less oriented towards family life to start with, that women stressing careers at the onset also selected themselves disproportionately into cohabitation, but that the same was also true for men with *less* commitment to work and a stronger accentuation of leisure time. Finally, also the two "classics" emerged in the US panel-data: persons with more egalitarian attitudes toward sex roles and with a higher degree of secularization were much more likely to move subsequently into the intermediate cohabitation state.

The opposite influence, i.e. changes in values depending on the occupational life cycle stages, must also play a role. This can be inferred from the fact that the attitudes strongly in favour of more secularism, egalitarian gender roles, and which are aversive to right-wing political ideas recorded among students living independently in this survey, are no longer necessarily present when the student phase is over. The present data also suggest that these student values are maintained to a higher degree among women if they move into cohabitation and employment. From this cross-section it also appears that socio-economic life cycle stages are much less discriminating for the value-orientations of men.

Last but not least, important differences in life satisfaction emerged according to living arrangement and controlling for socio-economic position. 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 in cohabitation, are associated with lower self-ratings on the life satisfaction scale and with more frequent sentiments of frustration. This seems indicative of a wider gap between aspirations and reality.

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

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

Table 2: Indicators of religiosity according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, West 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)	
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.

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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%
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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 3: Selected religiosity items - Likelihood by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990.

	Men				Women			
	single	single	cohabiting	married	single	single	cohabiting	married
	with	not with			with	not with		
	parents	parents			parents	parents		
- Believes in God	1.00	.75	.52*	1.86*	1.00	.69	.39**	1.54
- Believes in sin	1.00	.82	.47**	1.48	1.00	.94	.69	1.35
- Prays outside church	1.00	.75	.60	1.07	1.00	.97	.59	1.85*
- Believes in reincarnation	1.00	1.89*	3.29**	1.03	1.00	.84	.72	.35**

* significant at .05-level ** at .01-level.

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

	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)	
Approves of:							
- 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 West Germany, 1990 (N=1328)

	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents (1)	not living with parents (2)	difference (2) - (1)	married (3)	cohabiting (4)	difference (4) - (3)	
<u>Set 1</u>							
% "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
<u>Set 2</u>							
% "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, West 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	
	(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(4) - (3)	
A. Belgium (N=510)							
- 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. Netherlands (N=225)							
- 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
C. Germany (N=368)							
- 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 (NDP, Republ.)	2	3	-1	1	2	+1	2
- No preference	7	5	-2	7	9	-2	7
D. France (N=159)							
- 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: Selected political items - Likelihood by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Men				Women			
	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married
Approves of:								
- anti-apartheid movement	1.00	1.12	1.05	1.21	1.00	1.53	2.13**	1.14
- human-rights movement	1.00	1.27	1.61*	1.39	1.00	1.84**	1.58	1.19
- ecology movement	1.00	.68	.79	.75	1.00	1.28	1.34	.74
- women's movement	1.00	1.08	2.24**	1.37	1.00	.85	.80	.53*

* significant at .05-level; ** at .01-level.

Table 8: Factors perceived as contributing to a successful marriage; according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany and France, 1990 (N=1385)

Considers as "very important" for a successful marriage (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)	
- 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 9: Importance of children; according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany and France, 1990 (N=1368)

	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. 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 10: Socialization qualities according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and West 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	married	cohabiting	difference	
	(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(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 11: Attitudes concerning public morality according to living arrangements; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and West Germany, 1990 (N=1375)

Considers as NEVER justified (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)	
- 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 acceptability scale (10 = always justified)

Table 12: Attitudes concerning working women and mothers, according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, West Germany and France, 1990 (N=1330)

"Strongly agrees" or "agrees" with the following statements: (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)	
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 13: Attitudes toward sexuality according to living arrangement, respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, West 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)	
A. <u>Never</u> approves of (a):							
- 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. Agrees with: "Individuals should have the chance to enjoy complete sexual freedom, without being restricted (b)"							
	46.1	52.3	+6.2	35.5	49.1	+13.6	45.2%
C. Would rather <u>NOT</u> have as neighbours (c):							
- 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%
D. Abortion justified if woman is not married (d)							
	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 14: Selected civil morality and ethical items - Likelihood by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Men				Women			
	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married
- Never justified:								
- joyriding	1.00	1.45	.80	1.99*	1.00	.75	.97	2.51**
- use of drugs	1.00	.37**	.47**	1.82*	1.00	.39**	.76	2.10*
- tax cheating	1.00	.75	.54	1.42	1.00	.47**	.80	2.14**
- Agrees with complete sexual freedom	1.00	1.46	1.40	.53**	1.00	1.12	.95	.89
- Justified: abortion if woman not married	1.00	2.39**	2.29**	1.02	1.00	2.19**	.91	.72
- Intolerance towards:								
- AIDS-patients	1.00	1.46	1.45	.81	1.00	.08**	.31**	.40**
- homosexuals	1.00	.69	.43**	.69	1.00	.24**	.22**	.43**

* significant at .05-level; ** at .01-level.

Table 15: Selected items concerning socialization - Relative risks by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Men				Women			
	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married
Stressing:								
- good manners	1.00	.74	.39**	.77	1.00	.41**	.74	1.08
- thrift	1.00	.57*	.36**	1.31	1.00	.44**	.84	1.44
- independence	1.00	1.09	1.13	.92	1.00	1.36	.96	.55*
- imagination	1.00	1.69*	1.69*	1.15	1.00	2.41**	1.99**	.60
- responsibility	1.00	1.00	1.63	1.41	1.00	1.08	.49*	.88
- respect for others	1.00	1.65	1.73	1.18	1.00	1.82	1.43	.74

* significant at .05-level; ** at .01-level.

Table 16: Selected items pertaining to family values - Likelihood by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Men				Women			
	single	single	cohabiting	married	single	single	cohabiting	married
	with parents	not with parents			with parents	not with parents		
- Important for success of marriage:								
- faithfulness	1.00	.41**	.67	1.58	1.00	.59*	.40*	.76
- children	1.00	.93	1.03	3.54**	1.00	.53*	1.41	2.18**
- sharing hhld chores	1.00	.89	1.50	1.62	1.00	1.37	1.15	.99
- same tastes & interests	1.00	.76	1.49	.72	1.00	1.22	.96	1.14
- Children needed for life fulfilment.	1.00	.72	1.03	1.64**	1.00	.57*	1.00	1.82*
- Child suffers if mother works	1.00	.58*	.76	.71	1.00	.48**	.25**	.36**
- Job best way assuring fem. independence	1.00	.84	1.05	.57*	1.00	1.71	.71	.59

* significant at .05-level; ** at .01-level.

Table 17: Individual emotions and life satisfaction according to living arrangement; respondents aged 20-29 in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and West Germany (N=1385)

	Without partner			With partner			Total
	living with parents	not living with parents	difference	married	cohabiting	difference	
	(1)	(2)	(2) - (1)	(3)	(4)	(4) - (3)	
A. During the past few weeks, did you ever feel....							
(positive answers) (a):							
- 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. 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")							
C. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? (c):							
- 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 18: Selected life satisfaction indicators - Likelihood by living arrangement and gender after controlling for socio-economic position; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Men				Women			
	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married	single with parents	single not with parents	cohabiting	married
- Scores overall life satisfaction:								
- low (1,2,3)	1.00	2.90	4.11*	.07**	1.00	1.02	.97	.07**
- high (8,9,10)	1.00	.91	.66	.87	1.00	.61*	.68	1.25
- Often/sometimes think about:								
- meaning, purpose of life	1.00	1.43	1.70*	1.48	1.00	1.01	.91	.88
- death	1.00	1.93**	1.57	1.97**	1.00	1.17	1.47	.92
- During past few weeks, ever felt:								
- lonely	1.00	.88	.84	.40**	1.00	2.48**	1.52	.68
- depressed	1.00	.63	.68	.61	1.00	1.76*	1.08	.47**
- bored	1.00	.90	.88	.81	1.00	1.74*	1.26	.37**
- proud about compliment	1.00	.89	.74	.57**	1.00	.82	.64	.39**
- pleased about accomplishment	1.00	1.62	1.29	.96	1.00	1.06	.32**	.51**
- life wonderful	1.00	.76	1.37	1.64*	1.00	1.10	.76	1.25

* significant at .05-level; ** at .01-level.

Table 19: Correlation coefficients between 30 indicators and three factors; respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
<u>Scale 1: religiosity</u>			
- Has moment of prayer outside church	.49	-.11	.24
- Believes in God	.56	-.11	.19
- Believes in sin	.32	-.04 (ns)	.07 (ns)
- Religious faith important in socialization	.43	-.10	.27
<u>Scale 2: abortion</u>			
- Abortion justified if no children desired	-.58	-.06 (ns)	-.17
- Idem, if woman not married	-.57	-.13	-.12
<u>Scale 3: requirements successful marriage:</u>			
- Faithfulness between partners	.49	.13	-.04 (ns)
- Having children	.54	.19	-.09
<u>Scale 4: civil morality</u>			
- Joyriding never justified	.41	-.09	-.16
- Idem, drugs	.53	.12	-.07 (ns)
- Idem, tax cheating	.46	-.06 (ns)	-.11
<u>Scale 5: values stressed in socialization I</u>			
- Good manners	.32	.25	.00 (ns)
- Independence	-.29	-.30	-.09
- Imagination	-.32	-.31	.01 (ns)
<u>Scale 6: political & emancipation movements</u>			
- Approves of human rights movement	.11	-.51	-.12
- Idem, anti-apartheid movement	.15	-.55	-.05 (ns)
- Idem, women's movement	.05 (ns)	-.31	-.27
- Idem, ecology movement	.13	-.39	-.14
<u>Scale 7: values stressed in socialization II</u>			
- Respect for others	.03 (ns)	-.40	.03 (ns)
- Responsibility	.00 (ns)	-.26	.04 (ns)
- Thrift	.06 (ns)	.53	-.07 (ns)
<u>Scale 8: intolerance towards sexual minorities</u>			
- No AIDS-patients as neighbours	.08 (ns)	.41	-.07 (ns)
- No homosexuals as neighbours	.09	.50	-.02 (ns)
<u>Scale 9: traditional female role</u>			
- Women need children for life fulfilment	.23	.37	.00 (ns)
- Housewife has equal fulfilment	.24	.35	.21
<u>Scale 10: gender equality</u>			
- Sharing same tastes & interests important for marriage	.06 (ns)	-.05 (ns)	-.50
- Approves of complete sexual freedom	-.17	-.09	-.47
- Sharing household chores important for marriage	.03 (ns)	-.14	-.54
<u>Scale 11: female labour force participation</u>			
- Both partners should work	.01	.05 (ns)	-.55
- Female work needed for independence	-.06 (ns)	.01 (ns)	-.50

Notes: - missing values: listwise deletion

- ns: not significant at .05-level

Table A.1: Sample sizes and percentage distributions by living arrangement in the 1990 EVS data sets, respondents aged 20-24 and 25-29.

	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 or divorced	N
Iceland	22%	15	50	13	(40)	5	7	35	53	(43)
Sweden	33	13	36	18	(39)	0	18	21	61	(38)
Denmark	16	45	33	6	(51)	2	18	41	39	(56)
Norway	25	34	31	10	(59)	8	20	27	45	(80)
France	37	20	24	19	(54)	7	10	24	59	(68)
Britain	40	14	24	22	(68)	10	7	15	68	(81)
Netherlands	25	33	23	19	(55)	2	21	14	63	(55)
Belgium	48	7	18	27	(138)	15	6	11	68	(140)
West Germany	46	26	18	10	(104)	10	20	20	50	(99)
Portugal	67	6	7	20	(91)	31	5	0	64	(45)
Ireland	72	15	4	9	(54)	28	14	2	56	(57)
Spain	69	9	3	19	(136)	29	12	3	56	(136)
Italy	78	5	1	16	(100)	44	2	1	50	(108)
	men 20-24					men 25-29				
Iceland	45	20	29	6	(51)	14	19	41	26	(57)
Sweden	46	15	32	7	(54)	4	18	42	36	(45)
Denmark	39	34	26	1	(74)	5	32	40	23	(62)
Norway	57	14	21	8	(63)	12	27	29	32	(59)
France	48	25	18	9	(56)	14	30	20	36	(50)
Britain	56	13	16	15	(75)	22	13	12	53	(66)
Netherlands	41	40	12	7	(57)	14	33	20	33	(61)
Belgium	61	15	11	13	(145)	37	13	12	38	(175)
West Germany	68	19	7	6	(115)	14	25	23	38	(103)
Portugal	79	9	0	12	(125)	32	8	1	59	(60)
Ireland	82	16	2	0	(61)	57	8	0	35	(37)
Spain	83	8	3	6	(138)	45	15	2	38	(143)
Italy	90	4	1	5	(104)	64	6	3	27	(112)

Source: - Kindly made available by L. Halman, Instituut voor Sociaal-wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Tilburg.

- All percentages are rounded.

Table A.2: Value dimensions: means, standard deviations and sample sizes by subgroup

			Dimension1		Dimension2		Dimension3		N of cases
			Mean	Std.Dev.	Mean	Std.Dev.	Mean	Std.Dev.	
Male			-0,14	0,97	0,02	0,99	-0,07	1,00	603
11	single home	junior white collar, blue collar	0,11	0,86	0,21	0,94	0,03	1,01	101
12		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,18	0,77	0,20	0,87	-0,37	0,91	17
14		student	-0,12	0,86	-0,09	0,98	-0,20	1,08	87
15		unemployed	-0,39	0,67	-0,03	0,88	0,08	1,00	11
21	single not at home	junior white collar, blue collar	-0,38	0,99	-0,08	1,19	-0,10	0,95	74
22		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,61	0,77	0,09	0,87	-0,11	0,90	39
24		student	-0,33	1,28	-0,30	1,02	-0,06	0,66	31
25		unemployed	-0,27	0,97	0,19	0,64	-0,22	0,90	13
31	married	junior white collar, blue collar	0,27	0,91	0,31	1,09	-0,14	1,06	94
32		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	0,43	1,00	-0,37	0,69	-0,47	0,97	26
34		student	0,17	0,28	0,57	0,09	0,81	0,12	3
35		unemployed	0,41	0,66	-0,67	1,04	-0,10	0,78	4
41	cohabiting	junior white collar, blue collar	-0,36	1,02	-0,06	0,91	0,14	1,15	63
42		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,52	0,53	-0,02	0,91	0,28	0,78	21
44		student	-0,65	0,92	-0,71	0,66	0,22	1,03	15
45		unemployed	1,57	1,26	0,13	0,78	0,01	0,88	6
Female			0,08	0,99	-0,06	1,00	0,05	0,99	642
11	single home	junior white collar, blue collar	0,03	1,03	0,14	1,09	0,21	0,96	83
12		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,13	0,82	-0,14	0,36	-0,49	1,29	7
13		housewife	0,41	0,00	0,30	0,00	1,51	0,00	1
14		student	0,26	0,95	-0,29	0,80	0,09	1,00	50
15		unemployed	0,15	0,63	0,68	1,20	0,31	1,04	13
21	single not at home	junior white collar, blue collar	-0,21	1,03	-0,58	0,75	0,13	0,95	64
22		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,75	1,14	-0,38	0,61	0,41	1,04	23
23		housewife	-0,63	1,30	-0,98	0,84	-0,09	1,36	2
24		student	-0,42	0,89	-0,83	0,71	-0,04	0,95	28
25		unemployed	-0,58	1,26	0,11	1,42	0,25	0,56	11
31	married	junior white collar, blue collar	0,39	0,73	0,37	1,00	0,20	1,06	76
32		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	0,35	0,95	-0,26	0,71	-0,30	0,78	30
33		housewife	0,63	0,83	0,32	0,95	-0,19	0,99	110
34		student	0,97	0,00	-0,28	0,00	-0,57	0,00	1
35		unemployed	0,48	0,63	-0,13	1,01	-0,37	0,76	5
41	cohabiting	junior white collar, blue collar	-0,09	0,97	-0,07	0,99	0,04	0,97	75
42		employer, managerial, senior and middle white collar	-0,60	0,80	-0,48	1,06	0,29	1,07	26
43		housewife	0,20	0,64	-0,21	1,04	-0,47	0,55	19
44		student	-0,88	0,72	-0,83	0,49	1,15	0,94	9
45		unemployed	-0,29	1,13	0,18	1,05	-0,20	0,91	10

Table A.3: Example of a median polish - The effects of socio-economic position and type of living arrangement on the dimension of "high religiosity and strict morality" for male respondents aged 20-29 in Belgium, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, 1990

A. Observed mean values

	single with parents	single not with parents	cohab.	married
I	-.18	-.61	-.52	+.43
II	+.11	-.38	-.36	+.27
Student	-.12	-.33	-.65	*
Unemp.	-.39	-.27	*	*

overall Me = -.33

B. Extraction overall median

.15	-.28	-.19	+.76
+.44	-.05	-.03	+.60
+.21	.00	-.32	*
-.06	+.06	*	*

C. Extraction column medians

-.03	-.25	.00	+.08
+.26	-.02	+.16	-.08
+.03	+.03	-.13	*
-.24	+.09	*	*

Col. Me +.18 -.03 -.19 +.68

D. Extraction row medians

-.01	-.23	+.02	+.10	: -.02
+.19	-.09	+.09	-.15	: +.07
+.00	.00	-.16	*	: +.03
-.16	+.17	*	*	: -.08

E. Fitted values (Overall Me + Col. Me + Row Me)

-.17	-.38	-.54	+.33	: -.02
-.08	-.29	-.45	+.42	: +.07
-.12	-.33	-.49	*	: +.03
-.23	-.44	*	*	: -.08

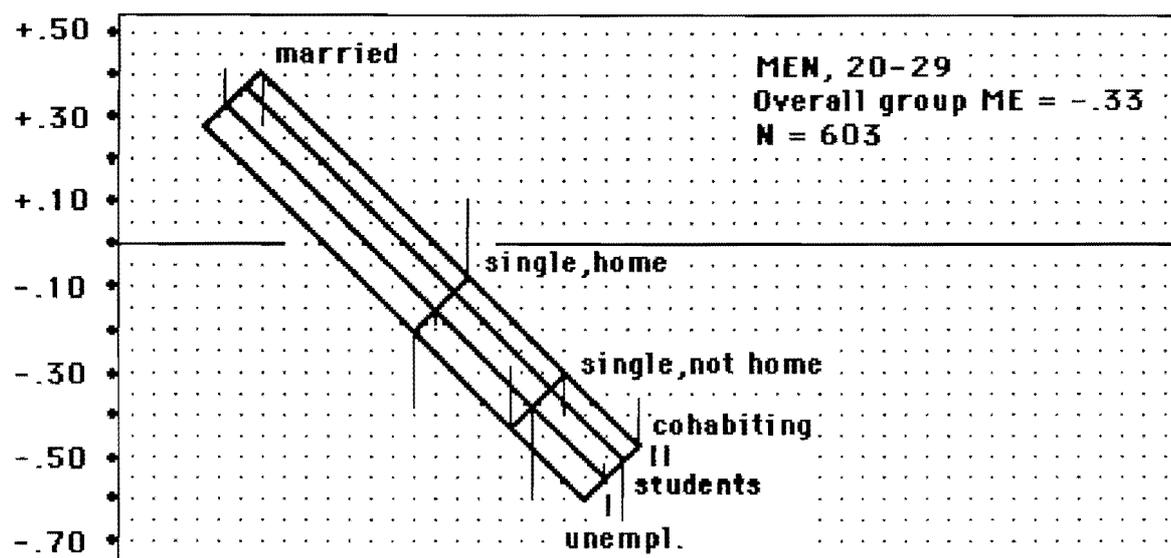
+.18	-.03	-.19	+.68	-.33

Notes: I = Employer, managerial, senior & middle white collar

II = Junior white collar & blue collar

* = Value omitted from analysis

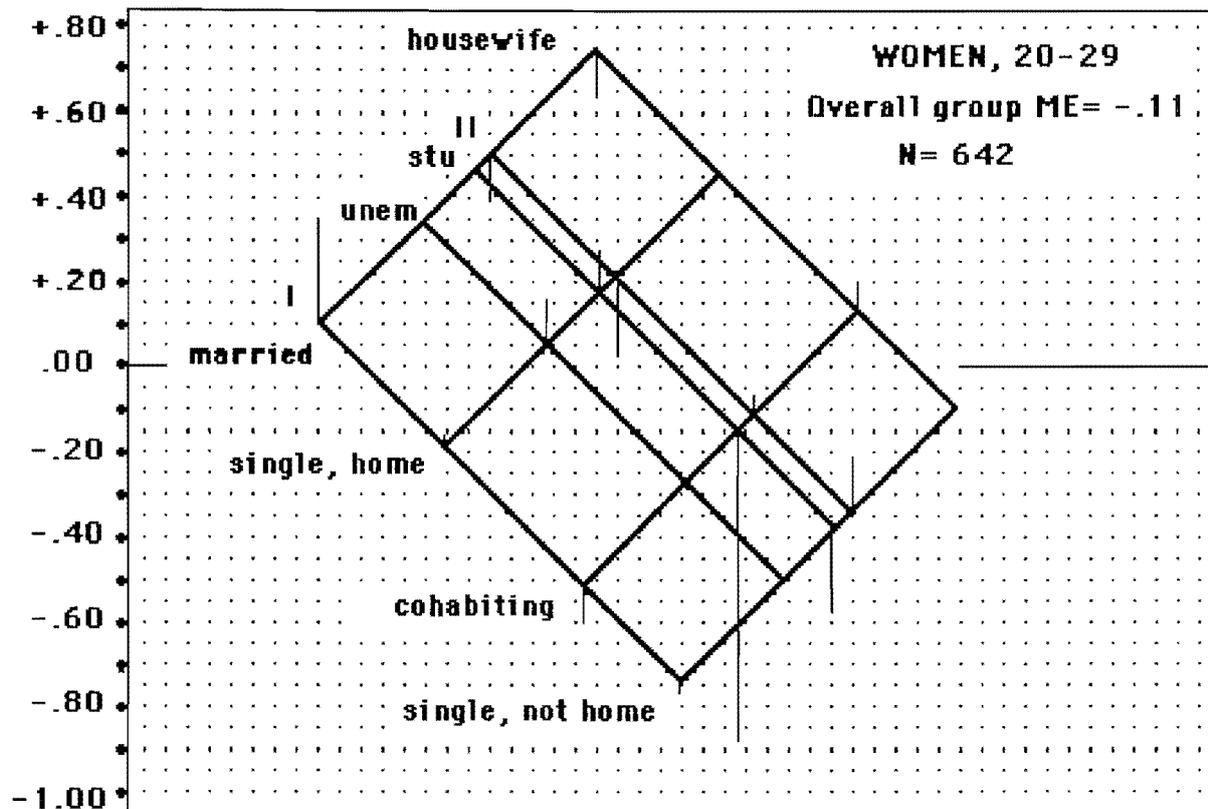
Dimension I :
 High religiosity,
 strict ethics



I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar
 II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 1 : Scores on religiosity and strict ethics by living arrangement and social position ; men, aged 20-29, in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990. Median polish fitted values and residuals.

Dimension I :
High religiosity,
strict ethics.

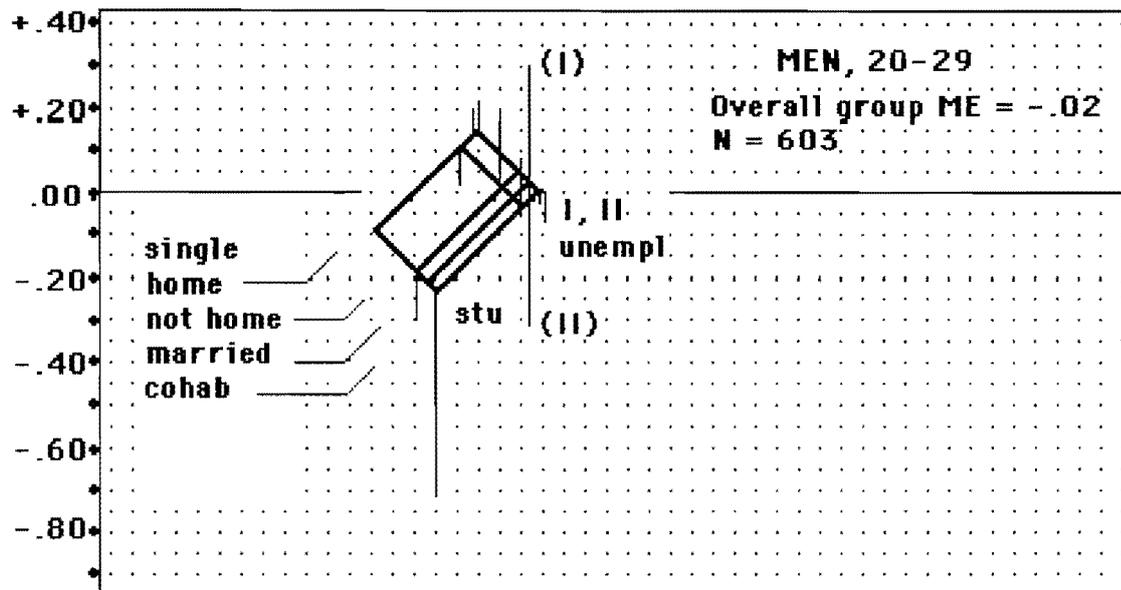


I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar.
 II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 2 : Scores on religiosity and strict ethics by living arrangement and social position; women aged 20-29 in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990.

Median polish fitted values and residuals.

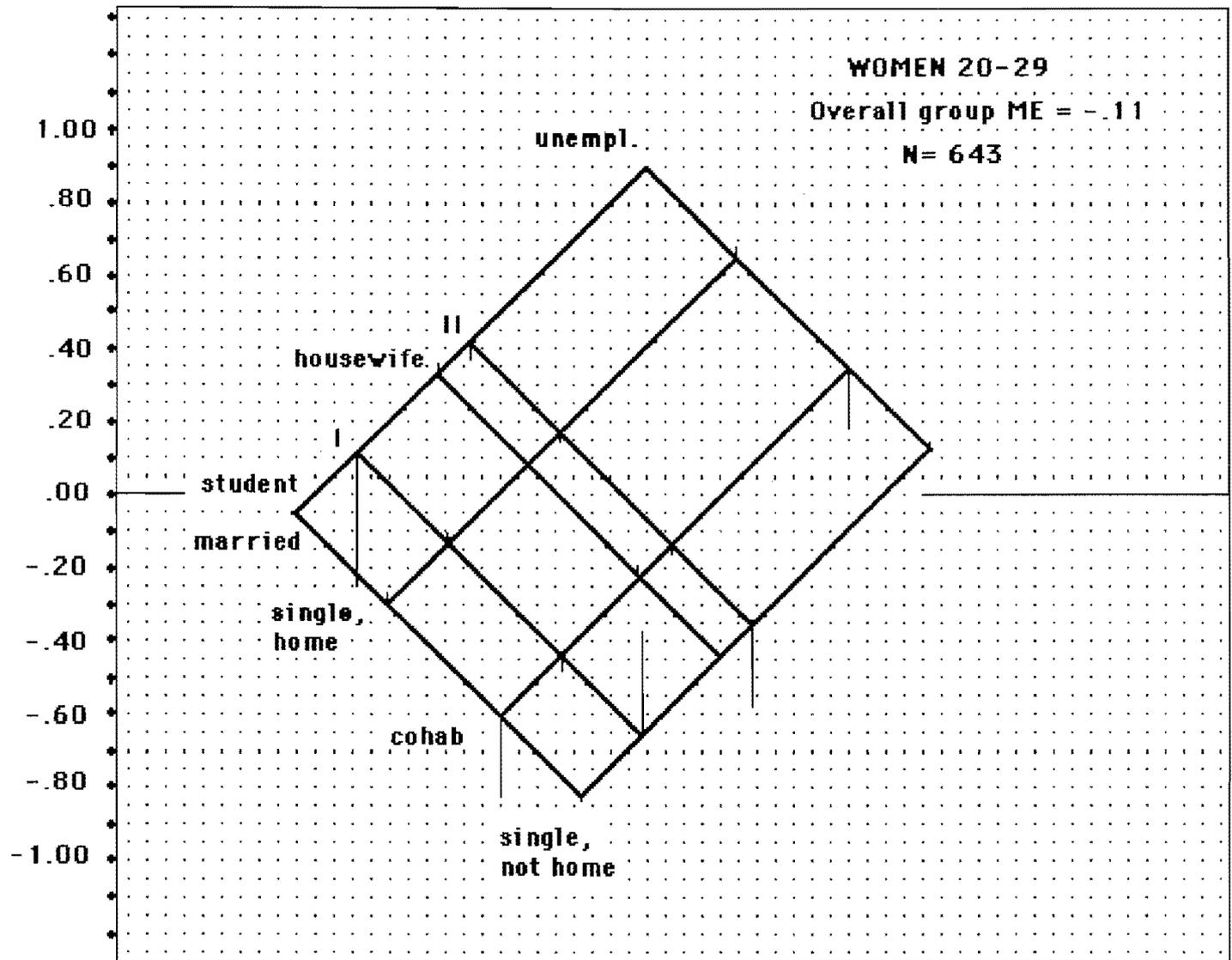
Dimension II :
 Political right, law & order,
 anti sexual and ethnic minorities.



I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar.
 II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 3 : Scores on political right (law & order, anti minorities) by living arrangement and social position ; men aged 20-29 in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990.
 Median polish fitted values and residuals.

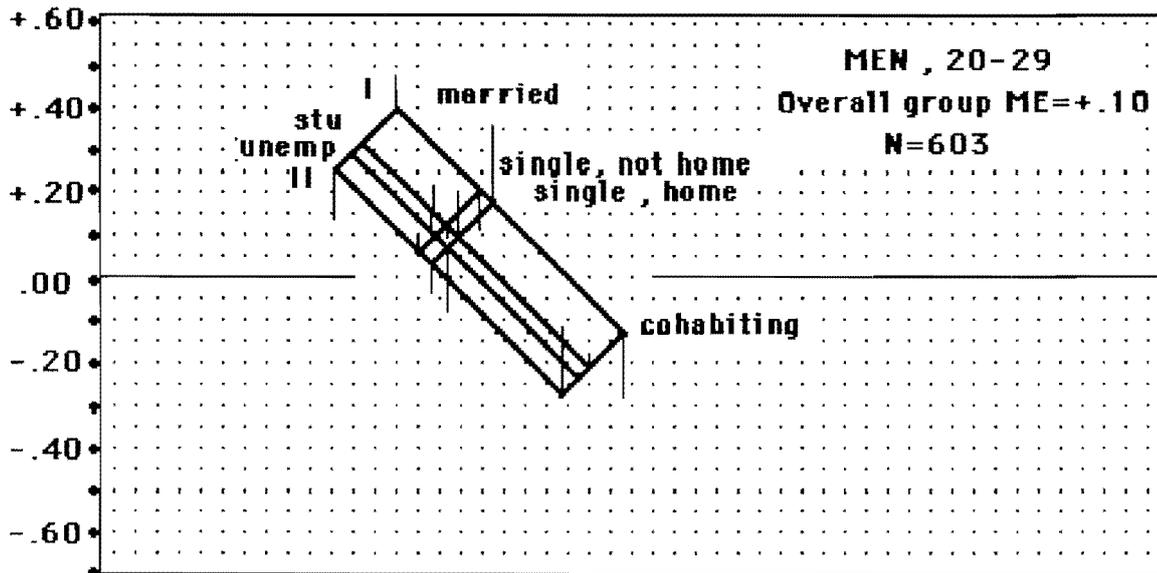
Dimension II
Political right, law & order,
anti sexual & ethnic minorities.



I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar.
II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 4 : Scores on political right (law & order, anti minorities) by living arrangement and social position; women aged 20-29 in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990. Median polish fitted values and residuals.

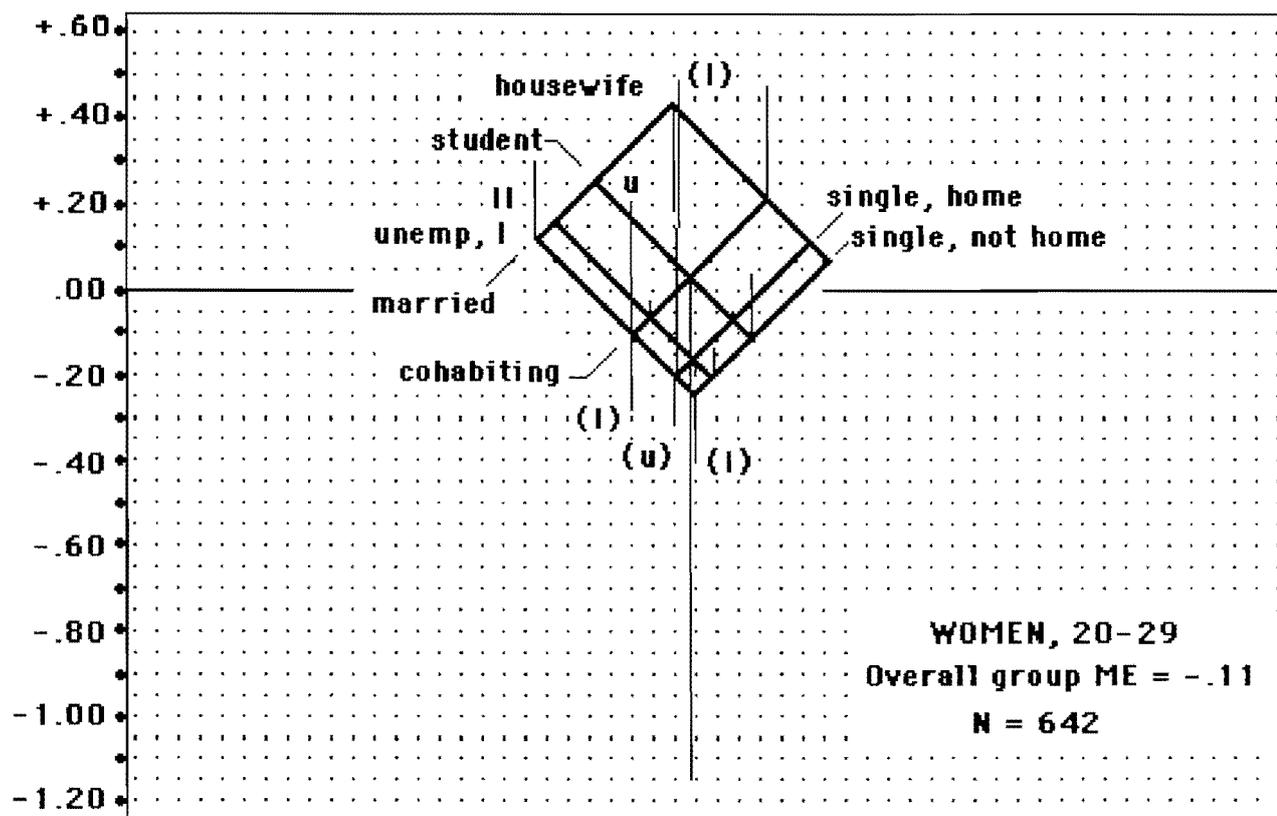
Dimension III:
 Traditional gender roles.



I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar.
 II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 5 : Scores on traditional gender roles by living arrangement and social position; men aged 20-29 in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990.
 Median polish fitted values and residuals.

**Dimension III :
Traditional gender roles.**



I = Employer, managerial, professional, middle white collar.
II = Lower white collar, blue collar.

Figure 6 : Scores on traditional gender roles by living arrangement and social position; women aged 20-29 in West Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1990. Median polish fitted values and residuals.