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In diesem Heft:

Schwerpunktthema:

Family change among immigrants.

Examples from Germany and Sweden

- The process of family reunification
- Immigrant families in Germany
- Integrating the second generation in Sweden
- Transmission of gender-role values
- Tagebuch versus Zeitschätzung
- Forschungsnotizen

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Inhalt

<i>Editorial</i>	3
<i>Annemette Sørensen</i> Introduction to the special issue: Family change among immigrants. Examples from Germany and Sweden	5
<i>Amparo González-Ferrer</i> The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany	10
<i>Bernhard Nauck</i> Immigrant families in Germany. Family change between situational adaptation, acculturation, segregation and remigration	34
<i>Eva Bernhardt, Frances Goldscheider & Calvin Goldscheider</i> Integrating the second generation: Gender and family attitudes in early adulthood in Sweden	55
<i>Hanna Idema & Karen Phalat</i> Transmission of gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families: The role of gender, intergenerational and intercultural relations	71
<i>Forschungsbeiträge</i>	
<i>Florian Schulz, Daniela Grunow</i> Tagebuch versus Zeitschätzung. Ein Vergleich zweier unterschiedlicher Methoden zur Messung der Beteiligung an der Hausarbeit	106
<i>Forschungsnotizen</i>	
ifb -Mitteilungen	129
Jahresinhaltsverzeichnis 2006	133

Editorial

Liebe Leserinnen, liebe Leser der Zeitschrift für Familienforschung,

wir legen Ihnen hier erstmals ein Schwerpunktthema – *Family change among immigrants. Examples from Germany and Sweden* – vor, dessen Beiträge ausschließlich in englischer Sprache verfasst sind. Die Forschungsartikel werden durch Zusammenfassungen in deutscher Sprache ergänzt.

Wir tragen damit der Europäisierung und Globalisierung in den Sozialwissenschaften, einschließlich der Familienforschung, Rechnung.

Die Zeitschrift wird künftig von einer wachsenden Zweisprachigkeit gekennzeichnet sein. Dies gilt sowohl für Einzelbeiträge als auch für Schwerpunktthemen, in denen sich die Autorinnen und Autoren verstärkt der englischen Sprache bedienen werden. Deutsch bleibt jedoch die Hauptsprache der Zeitschrift für Familienforschung.

Hans-Peter Blossfeld
Geschäftsführender Herausgeber

Kurt P. Bierschock
Redakteur

Annemette Sørensen

Introduction to the special issue: Family change among immigrants. Examples from Germany and Sweden

In a recent review of the state of family sociology in Germany, Huinink (2006) notes that despite a recent increase in research on immigrant families, it remains an area of research that calls for more attention. This special issue of *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung* is an attempt to contribute to this emergent area of research for family sociologists. There are at least two reasons for including immigrants in research on the family. First, although good data are hard to come by, families where at least one of the adults was born elsewhere now constitute an important part of most of the EU countries. Second, many of family sociology's central questions cannot be answered adequately without paying attention to the variations and differences that may characterize immigrant families. In fact, going through the list of research areas that Huinink (2006: 214-215) characterizes as the most important in contemporary family sociology, it becomes evident that there are strong reasons to suspect that by not paying attention to families of immigrants, we will be missing an important part of the story.

Let me give some examples from Huinink's three perspectives on the family: The societal perspective, including changes in family structure, social inequality and the family, and the family and other social institutions such as the welfare state; the perspective on familial relations, including the division of labor and childrearing practices; and the individual perspective, i.e. how individual lives are couched in and influenced by the family.

Looking at the family as a social institution, it is evident that if we exclude immigrant families, then we may provide an inaccurate depiction of the distribution of family structure and changes in family forms as new groups of immigrants form families and older groups converge toward the national norm. The interplay by the family and the state is another arena that is poorly understood, if we do not know much about the special needs, circumstances or expectations that different immigrant groups may have. A welfare state that has been built on the assumption of active participation of both men and women in the labor market (as in the Scandinavian countries, for example), is confronted with a different set of issues related both to fairness and cost if a part of the population has completely different ideas about the role of women in the family and society.

If we look at the family in light of the interaction that takes place within and between families, then it's also clear that we may learn different things if we include immigrant families in our research. The division of labor between men and women, authority relations within families, expectations about intergenerational material support, and child rearing values and strategies are all potentially quite different in immigrant families than in the native population.

Finally, looking at the family as a context for individual development, the immigrant family may serve both as a tremendous resource for its members or as a serious constraint on successful integration into the host country. Understanding decisions about marriage and childbearing, educational choices and careers is furthered by a better appreciation of the families in which individuals are embedded. Such an appreciation is not possible unless both native and immigrant families are included in empirical family research.

There are then strong reasons for encouraging family researchers to view the study of the many varieties of immigrant families as an integral part of family sociology and not just a concern of immigration scholars. As long as most research on immigrant families is published in venues that are not mainstream family sociology, such integration will be hard to come by. Hopefully, this special issue will be a small step in the direction of such integration.

The four papers included in this issue all address central questions about change in immigrant families. Three papers focus on Germany and one on Sweden. In "The process of family reunification among original guest workers in Germany," Amparo González-Ferrer uses data from the German Socio-Economic Panel to question the conventional understanding of when and how the guest workers that were recruited in the 1960s and early 1970s brought their relatives to Germany to settle permanently. She shows that the labor migrants were not made up largely of single men who only decided to bring their relatives when Germany stopped the recruitment in 1973. In fact, a large proportion of married guest workers migrated *together* with their spouse. She also shows that joint migration of couples or rapid family reunification became even more common over time. While she rejects the notion that the 1973 stop for immigration had much effect on family reunification, she finds strong support for the hypothesis that changes in children's allowances in 1975 did create strong incentives for parents to bring any children they might have in their native country to Germany. The analysis presented in this paper clearly could not have been done if the GSOEP did not include samples of immigrants. It also shows forcefully that immigration decisions are not individual decisions taken in a vacuum, but decisions that are embedded in family relationships.

The three other papers all focus on the extent to which immigrants change their family behavior and attitudes to approach those of the host country. Bernhard Nauck, who has been an important early contributor to the study of immigrant families in Germany, provides an overview of changes over the last 40 years of Turkish, Greek and Italian immigrants to Germany. He focuses on three major issues where change has been prominent, namely marriage behavior, fertility and intergenerational relations. The study of marriage and fertility turns out to be quite difficult in Germany, because marriages and births taking place outside the country are not re-

gistered in Germany. This means that register data give a very limited picture of marriage and fertility among people who may choose to marry or have a child outside Germany.¹

Willingness to consider marrying a German is a commonly used measure of the social distance between an immigrant group and the native groups. Using survey data, Nauck shows that by 1995 more than half of Turkish parents would agree if their child married a German. This was up from about a third only ten years earlier. Among Italian and Greek parents the figures were considerably higher at between 85% and 90% in 1995, but also for these two groups were the change between 1985 and 1995 considerable. I was surprised to see that fewer among the young and not yet married express an interest in marrying a German. It would have been interesting to know how native Germans react to marriage between a German and a foreigner. Such data seem not to be available.² Despite the relatively high support for inter-ethnic marriage, Nauck suggests that “restrictive immigration policies ... provide strong incentives for members of the first and second immigrant generation not to look for a spouse in the receiving society but in the society of origin.”

Another area of rapid change has been in childbearing. Immigration delays the family formation process and reduces the number of children born. This is especially pronounced for women who have some education. By 1993, only Turkish women have a higher fertility rate than native born West-Germans. In other words, Germany cannot rely on the immigrant population to solve the problem of low fertility.

Attitudes toward family and marriage are also central to the analysis in the paper by Eva Bernhardt and Frances and Calvin Goldscheider. Using Swedish survey data for a sample of young second generation immigrants from Turkey and Poland and a sample of native Swedes, they examine attitudes towards forming partnerships through cohabitation rather than marriage, views on finding a partner outside one's own ethnic group, and preferences regarding the balance of work and family when there are young children in the house. Cohabitation is very common in Sweden, so it's no surprise that more than 85% of native born Swedes found that it's OK even if the couple has children. Almost as many among the second generation Polish group agreed, while only about half of the second generation Turkish immigrants did so. Support for cohabitation under any circumstance is then less strong among the Turkish youth, but it was still less than 20% who thought cohabitation was never OK. On the question of marriage outside one's own ethnic group, young people of Polish origin generally thought that unproblematic, and they believed their parents would agree. Among the young Turkish men and women about a quarter thought it very important to marry within their group, and more than half thought their parents would find endogamy to be important. Just as in Germany, we then see distinct differences between immigrant groups with some expressing views very similar to the native born, and others still showing some distance.

1 The data on fertility of immigrants are so poor that the Federal Statistical Office has stopped calculating fertility rates for immigrants to Germany (Nauck 2007: 41).

2 It's interesting to note that a similar question was asked by the young respondents in the Swedish survey used in the paper by Bernard et al. Also in this study was the question not asked of the Swedish sample.

In the Bernhardt et al. paper, questions were also asked about attitudes towards the Swedish ideal of an egalitarian division of labor between women and men when there are small children at home. The pattern resembles the one found for attitudes towards cohabitation and ethnic intermarriage. Swedish and Polish youth of both sexes express overwhelming support for an egalitarian division of labor. Young women of Turkish origin are almost as likely to prefer an egalitarian model, but their brothers are more skeptical. Less than half of Turkish young men view the ideal work division as being egalitarian, compared to 71% of the women in this group. The gender gap is then substantial, leaving open the possibility that young men of Turkish origin might find it difficult to find a partner within their own ethnic group who shares their view of ideal family life.

This discrepancy between men and women is also central to the findings reported in the last paper by Hanna Idema and Karen Phalet. They use German survey data of Turkish same-sex parent child dyads to study the transmission of gender-role values. The paper provides an exhaustive review of the literature on cultural transmission with a special focus on gender-role value transmission focusing both on the transmission that takes place between generations and the role played by the intercultural relations between migrants and the host country. The findings of the study were complex, but what stood out for me was the extent to which the transmission process was different for boys and girls. Specifically, there was strong evidence of “intergenerational change towards more egalitarian gender role values in women, in combination with the persistence of conservative values in young men.” (Idema and Phalet 2007: 31). Education, especially of mothers, is a prime force enabling the emergence of egalitarian gender role values. It would be interesting to see whether mother’s education also has an influence on son’s in this direction. This would require data on mother-son dyads as well as on mother-daughter dyads. The discrepancy between young men’s and women’s gender role values reported in this paper as well as in the Swedish paper, seems to call for much more research, as expressed by Idema and Phalet in their concluding sentence: “Looking across gender, the key theoretical question to be answered in future studies is whether the egalitarian shift of second-generation women is part of a global trend towards a modern family model of interdependence, or whether these women will have to choose between westernizing in exchange for equal status, or reinventing a tradition that perpetuates gender inequality” (Idema and Phalet 2007: 101).

Clearly, this brief introduction to the special issue cannot do justice to all aspects of the analyses presented in the four papers that follow. Nonetheless, I hope it will be sufficient to make the reader interested in studying each of the four articles in full. I also hope that this issue will encourage other family sociologists to take up some of the challenges and opportunities the presence of immigrants in our midst present us with. I look forward to see more research on immigrant and native families submitted to and published in *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung*.

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Address of the guest editor:

Annemette Sørensen, Ph.D.
2051 Wellesley St., Apt. F
Palo Alto, CA 94306
USA

E-mail: amsorens@stanford.edu

Amparo González-Ferrer

The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany

Der Prozess der Familienzusammenführung bei den ursprünglichen „Gastarbeitern“ in Deutschland

Abstract

This article examines the process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany. Contrary to conventional accounts, the findings indicate that the bulk of family reunification occurred for the most part before the halt on recruitment was imposed in the mid-seventies. Using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), I find that approximately half of wives who joined their husbands in Germany migrated in the same year as their husbands. In fact, it does not seem that the ban on labor recruitment had an accelerating effect on the reunification process, as it is generally assumed. According to the obtained results, the reform of the children's allowances in 1975 had a clearer and stronger impact in explaining the family migration decisions of original guest-workers in Germany. On the other hand, variables related to the macroeconomic conditions at the origin and destination countries, the size of the household, the age of the children, and the labor market characteristics of the mother are important to account for differences in the time that elapsed until male immigrants had their families reunified abroad.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag wird der Prozess der Familienzusammenführung bei den ursprünglichen Gastarbeitern in Deutschland untersucht. Im Gegensatz zur gängigen Darstellung legen meine Erkenntnisse nahe, dass die Mehrzahl der Familienzusammenführungen schon vor dem Anwerbestopp Mitte der 1970er Jahre stattfand. Unter Verwendung von Daten des Sozio-oekonomischen Panels (SOEP) stellte ich fest, dass ungefähr die Hälfte der Ehefrauen, die ihren Männern nach Deutschland folgten, im gleichen Jahr wie ihre Männer auswanderten. Tatsächlich scheint es nicht so zu sein, dass – wie gemeinhin angenommen – der Anwerbestopp einen beschleunigenden Effekt auf die Familienzusammenführung hatte. Nach den vorliegenden Ergebnissen hatte die Kindergeldreform im Jahre 1975 einen eindeutigeren und stärkeren Einfluss auf die Erklärung der Entscheidungen der ursprünglichen Gastarbeiter in Deutschland hinsichtlich der Familienzusammenführungen. Andererseits sind aber auch andere Variablen, die sich auf die makroökonomischen Bedingungen in den Herkunftsländern und im Aufnahmeland, die Haushaltsgröße, das Alter der Kinder sowie die Arbeitsmarktcharakteristika der Mütter beziehen, für die Erklärung der unterschiedlichen Zeiträume, die vergingen, ehe die männlichen Einwanderer ihre Familien im Ausland wieder zusammenführten, bedeutsam.

Key words: family reunification, joint couple migration, staggered family migration, immigration policy, context of reception

Schlagworte: Familienzusammenführung, gemeinsame Migration als Paar, zeitlich versetzte Familienmigration, Einwanderungspolitik, Aufnahmekontext.

I. Introduction

The settlement of immigrant families and the development of permanent immigrant communities are usually presented by politicians as an unforeseen and unwanted outcome of their original decisions to admit foreign workers for solving temporary labor shortages. Accordingly, family reunification is commonly viewed as a major threat for the success of immigration policies in most European countries.

On the one hand, family-based chain migration is believed to exponentially enlarge the number of foreign residents and, therefore, to reduce the states' capacity to control immigration. On the other, family reunification is also viewed as a double-edged sword with regard to the integration process. First of all, migrants arriving through kinship links are thought not to be economically motivated in their decision to migrate and, therefore, are likely to constitute an increasing burden on the taxpayer. The report elaborated by the Kirkhope Commission to guide the future immigration policy of the British Conservative Party in 2004, clearly illustrated this position: *"Family reunion immigration is the biggest source of the low skilled workers that depress GDP per capita [...]. Immigrants from all over the world who come in on work permits do pay their way. Immigrants who come in through family reunion are usually subsidised by the UK taxpayer."*

Secondly, it has become a commonplace to blame family reunification as being responsible for increasing closure trends within immigrant communities and their failed integration into the host societies. In this line of reasoning, the French Minister of Employment fingered polygamy as one of the reasons behind the rioting in Paris' suburbs in November of 2005. Gérard Larcher said that multiple marriages among immigrants was one reason for the racial discrimination which ethnic minorities faced in the job market. Overly large polygamous families sometimes led to anti-social behaviour among youths who lacked a father figure, making employers wary of hiring ethnic minorities, he explained (Financial Times, 15th November 2005).

In this context of increasing politicization of the issue of family reunification among third countries' nationals within the European Union, it is surprising how little is still known about how the process of family reunification actually works, and who are the relatives most likely to reunify. Our knowledge about how family linkages affect the volume and composition of international flows at different stages of the migration process, or how family ties affect the integration of immigrants in their host societies is still very limited. One of the most extended ideas about family reunification is that wives tend to join their husbands only once they have a stable job in the host country; in other words, that reunited wives are more likely to be economically dependent on their husbands than other female migrants. However, we

lack of empirical studies that have tested whether this is true or not. Moreover, we do not even know the average time that it takes for the wife to join her husband abroad, and what are the factors that tend to delay or accelerate this process.

These are all relevant issues because of their clear policy implications. Policy makers would be able to design more effective programs dealing with the newcomers' reception if they had better information about the size of the flows, their approximate time of arrival, their characteristics and their available networks at the host country. Moreover, they could also utilize this information in order to design more realistic admission policies, without precluding family migration in general but favoring those types of family-linked migration that are known to be more beneficial for the integration process.

The central aim of this article is precisely to shed some light on these issues by examining the process of spouses' and children's reunification among original male guest-workers in Germany.¹

II. Postwar migration to Germany. Causes and timing of the family reunification process

German authorities signed a bilateral recruitment agreement with Italy in 1955 for solving labor shortages in the agriculture sector of the region of Baden-Württemberg. Initially, this agreement was presented as a temporary solution for a sector-specific problem. However, as the German economy recovered from the war's damages, labor shortages extended also to the industrial sector and additional recruitment agreements were signed with Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). Recruitment was systematically justified on an economic rationale according to which foreign labor was the safest and cheapest way of avoiding the negative effects of labor shortages, without putting at risk the employment of native workers in the future. In fact, temporariness and rotation were proclaimed the core principles of the recruitment system in order to assure that foreign workers will fulfil their buffer function. They were issued a one-year work permit, generally renewable for one more year as long as no damage for the German economy was appreciated. After this two-year period, foreign workers were expected to leave and being replaced by new recruits if the employer still needed a worker to fill the vacant position.

In accordance with the principles of temporariness and rotation, family reunification and settlement were officially discouraged, especially for Turkish workers. In fact, the bilateral treaties that regulated the recruitment of foreign labor from Italy, Spain and Greece included the possibility of authorizing family reunion if "adequate

1 By focusing on adult first generation immigrants who had married prior to migration, I exclude from the analysis the process of family formation and, in particular, the practice of importing spouses by single immigrants living in Germany, which I have already analyzed in González-Ferrer, 2006.

housing” was provided.² In contrast, the German-Turkish agreement omitted even this conditional possibility. Moreover, it established a rotation stipulation that explicitly limited their period of residence to a maximum of two years. And these discriminations were not eliminated until the agreement was revised in 1964.

Immigration steadily increased since the early sixties. After the interruption derived from the short economic recession of 1966, the annual number of foreign entries rocketed to almost one million in 1970. The total foreign population residing in Germany that year approached three million; and a substantial proportion were women despite of the fact that labor migration to Germany has been traditionally characterized as a male-dominated phenomenon. In fact, the increasing demand for female labor in sectors such as cleaning and restaurant services, textile industry and food processing factories, favored policies aimed at recruiting higher numbers of women in the sending areas as soon as the early sixties. In addition, German employers had often utilized the traditional visa system to hire their male guest-workers’ spouses because nominal recruitment (comparing to the anonymous system) entailed noticeable advantages for both employers and migrant workers (Werner, 2001). First of all, on the employer’s side, nominal recruitment permitted to fulfill job vacancies faster than the standard procedure of anonymous recruitment. In addition, by hiring the wives of their guest-workers, employers usually assured that their trained migrant workers stayed, avoided the payment of the new recruitment fee, and sometimes they also avoided the price of health care insurance for the wife. On the migrant worker’s side, nominal recruitment allowed migrant families to circumvent most legal obstacles for family reunification; in addition, it also represented the possibility of accumulating more savings in a shorter time.

In the early seventies, the average length of stay of migrant workers in Germany had clearly prolonged more than it was expected. This was a clear indication that foreign labor was becoming less mobile and flexible and, therefore, increasingly unable to perform the buffer function for which it was thought. In this context, the German authorities tried to reduce the number of annual entries and raised the recruitment fee from DM 300 to DM 1.000 in July of 1973. But this measure revealed absolutely insufficient and a few months later, when the Arab oil-producing countries announced the oil embargo, the government decided to impose a total halt on recruitment (23rd of November).

Labor entries immediately dropped. However, most accounts of post-war migration to Germany commonly portray the halt on recruitment as a failure because it did not manage to stop completely further immigration. Even more, the halt is usually argued to have transformed original guest-workers into permanent immigrants who, instead of returning home, decided to bring their families, which had been left behind up to that moment (Mark and Miller, 1980; Martin, 1998; Bade, 2003). For in-

2 According to Bendix (1990), the housing requirement was an effective manner of limiting family reunification without banning it overtly. Trade-unions exerted a strict surveillance on employers to secure that wage conditions were respected. However, housing conditions were usually overlooked, as it was a foreigners’ specific issue. This lack of control favored employers, who often paid very cheap housing in dormitories and barracks for their foreign workers that, in turn, had to delay family reunification.

stance, D. Massey and A. Constant in their study of return migration among immigrants in Germany stated:

“The first guestworkers were generally young men unaccompanied by wives or children. [...] Although some of the migrants may indeed have ‘rotated’, they usually returned home only for short visits before coming back to jobs in Germany. The situation changed dramatically in late 1973. [...] Germany suspended guestworkers’ recruitment. Authorities expected the migrant population to dwindle slowly as visas expired and the guests rotated out. They were surprised, however, that neither employers nor guestworkers behaved according to plan. Employers wanted to avoid the costs of recruitment and retraining, and thus sought to extend the visas of the foreign workers they already had. The migrants, meanwhile, did not want to give up their good jobs and steady income, so they stayed put. Rather than leaving, they sought to sponsor the entry of their wives and their children. After dipping slightly in 1974, the foreign population of Germany rose and its composition shifted increasingly from workers to dependents” (2002: 6).

In order to reduce the number of family-linked entries, the German government initiated a harsh campaign against family reunification. In November of 1974, a decree prohibited the issuing of initial work permits for foreigners who had entered Germany after the halt on recruitment (“Stichtagsregelung”), most of which were adult relatives of original guest-workers. In addition, the monthly rates paid to families as children’s allowances (“Kindergeld”), as well as their eligibility criteria, were reformed in 1975. According to the new legislation, foreigners who were working in Germany would receive the new higher rates only for those of their children who resided in Germany. This legal change implied a potential economic loss of 200 DM each month for a Turkish worker with four children, all residing in Turkey in 1974. It is evident that this measure created a strong incentive for foreign workers to bring their children (and spouse) to Germany, if they still lived in their homeland by the time the reform was approved. Moreover, the impact of these measures is expected to have been stronger for Turkish and Yugoslavian migrations, which were in the midst of a phase of massive expansion when the restrictions were imposed.

III. Previous evidence and hypotheses

Most of the empirical studies concerned with the issue of family reunification have focused on either the impact it has on the growth of annual entries and the total foreign population residing in the host countries (Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1986, 1989), or on its effects over the labor quality and economic performance of immigrants as a whole (Duleep and Regets, 1992; Duleep and Regets, 1996; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1997). Yet, other related issues such as which immigrants do bring their relatives to the host country, when do they so and why, remain largely unexplored.

The decision to reunify the family abroad has been commonly viewed as the reverse of the return decision, as we have seen in the foregoing description of the German experience. It is often assumed that immigrants who bring their families are those immigrants who decide to stay permanently at destination. However, if repeat

migration is a common practice of immigrants in many countries (see Constant, 2003, for Germany), family reunification and return migration do not need to be mutually exclusive but events occurring at different stages of the migration process, which should be analyzed separately.³

As Khoo (2003) stated in a recent piece of research "... the relation between family sponsorship and permanent settlement (or return migration) is not a simple one for empirical analysis. While it can be hypothesized that immigrants who want to sponsor or have sponsored their close relatives are more likely to want settle permanently, it is also possible that those who decide to settle permanently are also more likely to want to sponsor their relatives to join them" (180). She concluded, with data for a recent cohort of immigrants in Australia, that there exists a strong association between immigrants' permanent settlement and family sponsorship decisions. Her findings suggested that immigrants who have sponsored their close relatives, particularly parents and siblings, are much more likely to settle permanently than migrants who have not. Besides, this relationship appeared to be stronger for skilled and business immigrants than for all migrants.

However, there are no empirical studies that allow us to establish whether this strong connection between permanent settlement and family reunification holds also for relatives other than siblings and parents, in particular for spouses and children, which actually constitute the bulk of total family reunification. In most countries, this lack of evidence has not prevented the extended belief that immigrant men do not bring their family until they decide to settle permanently in the host country. Although this idea appears fairly reasonable with regard to the reunification of young children, the reunification of spouses and children of working age might follow a different pattern.

Constant and Massey (2002) have stated that the relationship between the presence of a spouse in the origin country and the immigrants' decision to return to their homeland is expected to depend basically on the individuals' initial reasons for migration. If migrants, as the Neo-Classical Economics of Migration assumes (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1976), are income-maximizing individuals who move in response to the higher wages in the receiving nation, and will stay abroad as long as there is no reduction in the bi-national wage difference, they are expected to be more willing to endure relatively long separations until the proper arrangements can be made for family reunification. On the contrary, if migrants are target-earners who return home as soon as they manage to remit or save the amount of money they need, as the New Economics of Labor Migration argued (Stark, 1991), to have a spouse and children at origin would encourage migrants to work longer hours abroad. However, bringing the spouse and children of working age to the immigration country might help to meet faster the savings' target of the household (if they work) and, thus, would shorten their stay abroad. Therefore, in advance, it remains

3 It is possible to think, for instance, of a male immigrant who arrives alone to the country of migration, goes back to his home country after a year abroad, stays there for several months and then migrates again with his oldest son; later on, he brings his wife and their youngest child, stays for several more years in the immigration country until they all definitely return to their country of origin.

unclear which of these two types of migrants (target-earners or income-maximizers) would tend to sponsor their spouse's migration more rapidly. Moreover, original reasons for migration are not directly observable, and they can also vary both across individuals and over time, which makes particularly difficult to test the type of hypotheses formulated above.

The few empirical works that have examined migration-related separation of spouses have usually found that more educated wives are more likely to migrate jointly with their husbands (versus remaining behind). At least, partners who participate in joint couple migration are usually more educated than those who followed a staggered migration pattern. Gupta (2002) conjectured that education improves women's status overall and results in more equalitarian partners' relationship, which in turn might make wives more likely to insist in migrating with their husbands or, alternatively, to succeed in persuading them of not migrating at all (61). Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), on the other hand, also found that access to social networks composed of the wife's kin works as a key factor in the process of the joint couple's migration (182).

Children have usually appeared in migration research just as an important factor influencing the likelihood and timing of their parents' own migration. While young children and a larger number of them seem to increase men's odds of migrating (Massey et al., 1987; Espinosa and Massey, 1997), the rate of movement among women remains quite low, especially if they have young children (Brettell 1986; Kanaiaupuni 1995, 1998; Hoodar 1992). On the contrary, older children and large family size increase females' mobility (Escobar et al., 1987; Stier and Tienda, 1992; Kanaiaupuni, 1995). The evidence concerning the relationship between the presence and number of children and return migration have also confirmed, also in the case of immigrants in Germany, that having children at the home country increases the odds of return for male immigrants, whereas having children in the host country reduces those odds (Dustman, 1993; Steiner and Velling, 1994; Schmidt, 1994; Constant and Massey, 2002). Moreover, Dustman (2003) has recently concluded that the size of such a negative effect of children on return varies by the gender of children, at least for immigrants of Turkish origin; having only daughters in Germany still reduces the odds of their parents' return to their homeland but less than when they have only sons in Germany.

However, none of the studies I have reviewed so far pay attention directly to the determinants and timing of children's migration. The existing literature seems to assume that children either do not migrate at all because their parents are temporary migrants; or if they do, they migrate with their mothers whenever the family decides to move and settle abroad permanently. This view largely reflects the idea that family and economic motives are mutually exclusive in migration decisions, which contradict recent studies that demonstrate that family reunification flows are not irresponsive to the changing economic conditions in the host country (Jennissen, 2004).

Joint couple migration

In the German case, family reunification has been usually conceived as a consequence of the halt on recruitment and the transformation of the original guest-workers into permanent immigrants. However, as I suggested in section 2, the intense demand for labor created strong incentives for both joint couple migration and wives' reunification in Germany a long time prior to the halt was imposed in 1973. Although we cannot ascertain the overall magnitude of joint couple migration in the post-war migration experience due to data limitations, we can at least hypothesize that wives are expected to be more likely to migrate jointly with their husbands to Germany the more educated they are and the less children they have at the time their husband migrates. On the contrary, more children, especially if they are young, are expected to reduce the odds of couple's joint migration versus delayed wife's reunification.

On the other hand, if joint couple migration is a family strategy aimed at saving more money in the shortest time, wives with pre-migration work experience would be more likely to participate in joint couple's migration than wives who had never worked. However, there is also a possibility that the more strongly attached the wife is to the labor force in the home country, the more likely it is for her to delay migration in order to assure that her potential job at the country of destination or, at least, her husband's wage will be enough to maintain the family's standard of living. In line with this reasoning, which highlights the importance of economic incentives in explaining couples' migration decisions, joint couple migration will be more likely in periods of high female labor demand in the immigration country. Moreover, joint couple migration is likely to increase as the migration flow matures and the information about opportunities for female employment in the host country expands throughout the sending communities.

Wife's reunification

If the husband migrates first, the spouses' separation is expected to lengthen with wife's years of work experience, number of children, unemployment in the host country and economic growth at origin, because all these factors increase the opportunity cost of migrating for the wife. On the contrary, the time that elapses until the wife's reunification will be shorter if the husband migrates during a period of massive recruitment, which increases the opportunities of the wife's employability in the country of destination. Not only macro-economic conditions in the host country but, in general, changes in the context of reception as a whole are likely to affect the intensity and timing of spouses' migration. In the German experience, both the halt on recruitment and the reform of the children's allowances are expected to have accelerated the process of family reunification among those original guest-workers who still had their families at their homeland at the time these measures were adopted.

Children's reunification

On the other hand, the pace of children's reunification is expected to be dependent on four major groups of factors: the child's characteristics, the structure of the household and its socio-economic characteristics, the migration of other members of the household, and the context of reception.

Older children are likely to be taken to the immigration country earlier than younger ones, since they are less demanding in terms of time and care. If Dustman is right about the lower cost that daughters entail for their parents' return migration, compared to sons, there is a possibility that daughters are also likely to be brought to the immigration country earlier than their brothers. Regardless of gender, the time that elapses until the reunification takes place is expected to increase with the number of siblings, since each sibling entails a potential competitor for a trip ticket. However, the result of this competition is likely to vary depending on the children's ages. In principle, I would expect for children whose siblings are all of school age to be taken abroad quicker than those who still have siblings of pre-school age.

The mother's migration is expected to be one of the most powerful predictors of children's migration. First of all, young children are not expected to migrate unless the mother is residing in the immigration country because of strong gender ideologies concerning childbearing tasks. On the other hand, and partially because of the same reasons, mothers are expected to be more strongly attached to their children's daily presence and more afraid of their possible estrangement if separation prolongs; therefore, the mother's migration is expected to accelerate children's reunification abroad. The effect of other sibling's migration is not clear in advance; it probably depends on the children's ages and on the stage in the settlement process.

Differences across nationalities are also predicted. The legal privileges enjoyed by Italians, as a result of their EEC membership, are likely to increase the likelihood of joint couple migration and to accelerate the pace of both the wife's and children's reunification. In contrast, geographical and social distance between Turkey and Germany is likely to hamper joint couple migration among Turkish immigrants and delay their process of family reunification.

IV. Data, samples and methods

The empirical analyses carried out in the next section are based on the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), a representative longitudinal study of private households in the entire Federal Republic of Germany, which was launched in 1984. Since its inception, it over-sampled households whose head was of Turkish, Spanish, Italian, Greek or (former) Yugoslavian nationality, in order to obtain a representative sub-sample of the immigrant population living in Germany at that time. Each adult member within the selected households is asked a set of retrospective questions about their family and job biographies since the age of 16. Combining the survey and biographical retrospective information, I constructed two

samples to investigate the process of wives' and children's reunification separately. The first sample is made of 407 immigrant couples where the wife migrated the same year as her husband or later.⁴ The second sample is made of 431 father-child dyads in which the child is younger than 17 at migration.⁵

Table 1. Characteristics of reunited wives at the time of their husband's migration

Variable	All	Joint couple migration (both partners migrate the same year)	Wife's delayed reunification (wife migrates at least one year later)
Wife's age	28.6 (7.0)	28.8 (7.6)	28.4 (6.1)
Husband's age	31.5 (6.4)	31.6 (5.4)	31.3 (7.1)
Wife's age at marriage	20.6 (4.1)	21.2 (3.9)	19.9 (4.3)
Years of marriage	11.0 (7.8)	7.9 (6.6)	14.9 (7.4)
Wife's education	8.1 (1.6)	8.4 (1.8)	7.7 (1.1)
Husband's education	9.2 (2.0)	9.5 (2.1)	8.7 (1.7)
Ever worked	56%	65.5%	44.2%
Years of work experience (if ever worked)	4.7 (5.4)	4.5 (4.9)	5.1 (6.1)
% childless	26.5%	32.3%	19.3%
Number of minor kids (if any)	2.4 (1.2)	2.1 (1.0)	2.7 (1.3)
% Turks	38%	29%	50%
Date of husband's migration	1970	1967	1971
Years until reunification		0	7.4 (5.1)
N=407		226 (55.5%)	181 (44.5%)

Source: GSOEP, 1984-2000. Unweighted data

- 4 At the time GSOEP was launched, approximately 95% of married foreign men had been already joined by their spouses in Germany. Of the remaining 5% (56 men), half of them ended up bringing their spouses at some point during the observation period (1984-2000). Thus, the sub-sample of men who never brought their partner to Germany before returning home are too few and hardly representative of the whole population of those who returned before bringing their spouses in Germany. Furthermore, GSOEP does not provide information on the spouses who never came to Germany. Due to all these reasons, I decided to restrict the analysis to the sub-sample of couples that actually reunified in Germany, and examine how long it took them to join each other in Germany, instead of examining the determinants of the decision to reunify.
- 5 I have excluded from the sample children who joined their parents in Germany after the age of 16 because the German immigration law only permits family reunification of children younger than 17. Obviously, the migration decision of adult children is likely to be a more independent one compared to children, and governed by different factors. I have also excluded children whose fathers migrated after the halt on recruitment (1973), in order not to mix children of original guest-workers with children of other type of migrants such as asylum seekers.

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of the couples included in my sample, measured at the time of the husband's migration. More than half of the wives in these couples migrated to Germany the same year as their husbands, which is quite unexpected according to the conventional portrayals of postwar migration to Germany⁶.

Table 2 summarizes the main characteristics of children reunified in Germany by fathers who had migrated prior to the halt; children are classified depending on whether they migrated jointly with, later, or earlier than their mother.

Table 2. Type of child's migration (earlier, joint, later than mother)

Type	Total	Turk	Yugoslav	Greek	Italian	Spanish
Joint	62.0	55.8	75.6	49.1	75.4	89.5
Later	32.7	38.1	20.7	45.2	19.3	10.5
Earlier	5.3	6.1	3.7	5.7	5.3	0.00
Age	8.4 (4.3)					
Female	41%	42%	41%	35%	42%	37%
Number of siblings	2.7 (1.9)	3.1 (1.7)	2.9(2.8)	1.5 (0.8)	2.1 (1.1)	2.1 (2.2)
Year of immigration	1974 (5.1)	1976 (3.8)	1975 (5.9)	1969 (3.6)	1972 (5.5)	1970 (5.3)
Total	431	260	61	43	48	19

Source: GSOEP data. Own elaboration

I decided to examine first which are the factors that increase the likelihood of joint couple migration versus delayed wife's reunification; secondly, the factors that lengthen (shorten) the period of time that elapses until the wife's joins her husband in Germany and, finally, the factors that lengthen (shorten) the number of years that elapses until each child in my sample joins their parents in Germany⁷.

For the analysis of joint couple migration, I utilize a standard binary logistic regression model, which follows the general form:

$$P(Y = 1) = 1 / \{ 1 + \exp[-(b_0 + b_1X_1 + \dots + b_nX_n)] \}$$

Where Y is the dependent binary variable that takes value 1 if the couple migrates together (i.e. the same year), and 0 if the wife takes more than one year to join her husband abroad.

6 Although it is true that the immigrant sample in GSOEP tends to over-represent long-stayers – since it only surveyed immigrants who had stayed in Germany at least until 1984, this selection bias is not the main reason for the large number of sampled couples that participated in joint couple migration. Note, that there is no reason to believe that wives who do not migrate jointly with their husbands would return earlier to their homeland. In fact, the opposite would be expected if the reason why immigrants delay their wives' reunification is effectively because they wait until the proper economic and housing arrangements for family reunification can be made.

7 Most of the times, children joined not only their father but also their mothers in Germany because in most cases children did not migrate to Germany until the mother had migrated as well (see Table 2).

For the analysis of the children's and the wife's reunification (in cases where the couple did not migrate together), I utilize a parametric accelerated failure time model that permits to examine the effect of time-varying covariates on the duration of the process⁸, and which can be written as:

$$\ln(T) = X_t \beta^* + Z_t$$

Where $\ln(T)$ is the logarithm of the episode duration⁹, β^* are the estimated coefficients for covariates X , which are allowed to be time-varying (see subscript t), and Z is an error term. Note that a positive β in accelerated failure time models indicates the corresponding covariate prolongs the duration of the episode (i.e. a positive coefficient must be taken as an indication that the corresponding covariate increases the number of years that elapse until the wife joins her husband in Germany). I have assumed that T follows a Weibull distribution.

VI. Results and discussion

Joint couple migration

Estimates in Table 3 indicate that Italian and Greek couples are much more likely to migrate together than Turkish ones (reference category). Although migrants from the former Yugoslavia also show a higher likelihood of joint migration comparing to Turks, this result vanishes when differences in the partners' level of education are controlled for (compare Model 1 and 2). The higher propensity of Italian couples to migrate together is in line with my expectations, because of their legal privileges as EU members. However, the strong inclination for joint couple migration among Greek immigrants appears a little odd.

The younger the wife is at the time the husband makes the decision to migrate, the more likely she is to migrate with him. Similarly, newly married couples are also more likely to migrate together than couples that have been married for a relatively long time at the moment the husband migrates. These results are consistent with the view of migration as a household decision, which is strongly influenced by the family life cycle.

8 Time duration models are generally chosen not only because they permit to analyze the effect of time-varying covariates but also because they can deal with the problem of censoring. In my samples, however, there are no censored data since GSOEP only includes information for those wives and children that effectively reunified their husbands and fathers in Germany.

9 As for the log transformation of T , its main purpose is to ensure that predicted values of T are positive.

Table 3. Logistic estimates of the likelihood of joint couple migration versus de-layed spouses' reunification

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Only if M's mig. before 1974
(ref. Turkey)						
Former Yugoslavia	0.78**	0.45	0.35	0.07	-0.02	-0.02
	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.30	0.33	0.34
Greece	1.26**	1.34**	1.18**	1.01**	1.26**	1.31**
	0.34	0.35	0.38	0.40	0.44	0.45
Italy	0.70**	0.84**	0.74**	0.85**	0.90**	1.02**
	0.34	0.35	0.35	0.37	0.41	0.42
Spain	0.02	-0.02	-0.20	-0.26	0.21	0.24
	0.40	0.42	0.43	0.45	0.49	0.49
W's age	0.06*	0.05*	0.05	0.05	0.07**	0.08**
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04
H's age	0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.00	0.00
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04
Years since marriage	-0.08**	-0.07*	-0.05	-0.03	-0.07*	-0.08*
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.04
W's years of education		0.22**	0.21**	0.21**	0.14	0.15
		0.09	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.11
H's years of education		0.17**	0.16**	0.18**	0.14*	0.15**
		0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08
W ever worked (ref. never worked)			0.63**	0.62**	0.74**	0.75**
			0.27	0.28	0.30	0.30
W's years of work experience			-0.04	-0.06*	-0.05	-0.05
			0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Number of kids < 17				-0.33**	-0.36**	-0.38**
				0.14	0.15	0.15
(ref. no kids < 17)						
Youngest kid < 6				-0.17	-0.00	0.02
				0.39	0.42	0.43
(ref. no kids < 17)						
Youngest kid 6-16				1.20**	1.23**	1.26**
				0.49	0.52	0.53
(ref. H's migration 1960-1967)						
H's migration 1968-1970					0.89**	0.93**
					0.32	0.33
H's migration 1971-1973					0.88**	0.92**
					0.37	0.37
H's migration 1974-1997					3.65**	
					0.79	
Constant	-1.53**	-4.56**	-4.63**	-3.94**	-4.68**	-4.96**
	0.73	1.05	1.05	1.12	1.24	1.27
Log likelihood	-263	-252	-249	-233	-213	-202
N	407	407	407	407	407	353

Source: GSOEP, 1984-2002. Unweighted data. * Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%.

In line with the findings obtained for migrants to other destinations, the likelihood of joint couple migration increases with both partners' education. In addition,

spouses also appear more likely to migrate jointly if the wife has some work experience. Although a stronger attachment of the wife's to the local labor market seems to reduce the probability of migrating together (see negative sign of the coefficient of the variable "W's years of work experience"), this effect is only marginally significant.

As expected, the likelihood of joint couple migration is negatively related to the number of non-adult children in the household. However, having only school-age children strongly increases the partners' odds of the migrating together comparing to childless couples (reference category). These two results can be read as a clear indication that economic needs play a crucial role in shaping family migration decisions. The reason underlying the changing effect of children depending on their age is not clear in advance. It might be that school-age children are cheaper to take abroad than young children since they can be easily put at (public) school and, therefore, do not prevent mothers' work and the saving capacity of the household. However, it might be also that parents are more willing to leave their children behind with other relatives if they are of older age. The analysis of the children's reunification in the next section should offer some hints on this (see below).

Finally, in Model 5 I have added a set of dummy variables indicating the time at which the husband migrated to Germany. The likelihood of joint couple migration was substantially higher during the peak years of recruitment (1968-1973), compared to the previous period (1960-1967). However, the most noticeable result in this regard is the extremely high probability of joint migration among couples that migrated after the halt on recruitment (see $B = 3.65$ in Model 5). In fact, in only two of these couples the wife took two or more years to join her husband abroad. This result is probably related to the fact that most male adult foreigners that entered Germany after 1974 were admitted on the basis of asylum and, thus, enjoyed special conditions with regard to their family reunification. In order to eliminate the potential distortion that migrant couples of this kind (i.e. "refugee") might introduce in the overall analysis, in Model 6 I restricted the sample to couples where the husband first migration to Germany occurred prior to 1974 (i.e. "original male guest-workers"). As can be seen in the last column of Table 3, results remain largely unchanged.

Duration of the spouses' separation

Table 4 summarizes the effect of various set of factors on the pace of the wife's reunification process. In order to understand these effects correctly is necessary to remind that, in *accelerated failure time models*, a negative coefficient implies a shorter duration of the episode until the event occurs (i.e. a faster process of reunification).

In line with the findings previously described for the case of joint couple migration, more educated women are likely to join their husbands earlier than less educated ones; however, having a husband with more years of education, which was found to substantially increase the odds of joint couple migration, does not significantly affect the pace of the spouses' reunification. In other words, the level of education of the husband appears to be important in deciding whether the couple migrates jointly or not (more educated husbands are more likely to migrate jointly with

their partners); but if the wife stays at the time the husband leaves, it is her own level of education, instead of her husband's, what will influence the time at which she joins him abroad.

On the other hand, wives with more years of work experience in the country of origin tend to take longer in joining their husbands abroad (in line with the results obtained for the case of joint couple migration). This result can be interpreted as confirming the previous idea that women with a stronger attachment to the labor market at the country of origin tend to delay their own migration to join their husband abroad. However, results in Model 2 also show that being employed at the country of origin substantially accelerates the pace of the wife's reunification with her husband, regardless of her years of work experience at the time he left. Although the size of the coefficient reduces as additional controls are added to the model, its effect remains largely significant. This effect might be largely endogenous: women who wish to join their husband abroad as soon as possible decide to work in the meantime, in order to save money for the trip and to cope with unforeseen expenses that may derive from migration. This is especially likely if the couple also wished to take their children to the country of immigration. Alternatively, it may also happen that reunification appears as a better strategy for the family if the wife is working anyway, because of the wage differential between the origin and the destination.

Model 3 shows that having a first child, and having only children of preschool age accelerates the wife's migration, although it is not possible to ascertain whether these women leave their children behind with other relatives or take them to Germany as well. On the contrary, the number of children in the household does not significantly affect the pace of the spouses' reunification.

Model 4 confirms, once again, the importance of period effects: wives whose husband migrated in the period 1968-70 and 1971-73 joined their husbands abroad quicker than wives whose husband had migrated during the period 1960-67 (reference category).

In order to investigate whether these period effects reflect the higher demand for female labor in the late sixties and early seventies, or not, I added a control variable that measures "the annual rate of female unemployment in Germany" in Model 5. First of all, the positive coefficient of the variable "rate of female unemployment in Germany" indicates that worse economic conditions in the host labor market tend to delay the wife's migration, which suggests that family and economic reasons for migration are not mutually exclusive but they rather reinforce each other. Secondly, the importance of the period at which the husband migrated far, from disappearing, becomes larger and stronger after controlling for the level of female unemployment in Germany. Moreover, the time that elapsed until the wives joined their husbands abroad increasingly reduced over time: husbands who migrated after 1967 reunified with their wives in Germany faster than those who had migrated earlier; and husbands who migrated between 1970 and 1973 also brought their wives sooner than husbands who had migrated between 1968 and 1970. This reduction of the "waiting period" over time may reflect the development of wider and stronger support (female) networks at destination as the flows consolidated, which probably lowered the costs of the wife's migration.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
(ref. year#1975)							
Kindergeldreform							-0.19** 0.09
Constant	3.45**	4.49**	5.48**	5.34**	2.52**	-5.27**	-5.11**
	0.54	0.66	0.6	0.64	0.36	1.75	1.75
ln_p	0.62**	0.75**	0.89**	0.91**	1.50**	1.61**	1.63**
	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05
Log likelihood	-467	-432	-410	-400	-270	-250	-248
N	179	179	179	179	179	179	179

Source: GSOEP, 1984-2002. Unweighted data. * Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%.

On the other hand, the results obtained in Model 6 confirm that the macro-economic conditions at the country of origin also influence the pace of the wife's reunification but in the opposite direction to the predicted one: the coefficient of the "change in GDP" variable (GDP change between year t and $t-1$) has a negative sign, which means that economic growth in the country of origin tends to accelerate the process of reunification among separated couples. The explanation for this result is probably related to the larger economic constraints that family migration entails comparing to individual migration. It is very likely that the wife's migration is more costly than the husband's one, especially if the couple has children and decides to take them to the immigration country as well. Bad economic conditions at the country of origin are likely to increase the cost of the wife's migration because it reduces the household's saving capacity and makes more difficult to raise the money for the trip; in addition, it may also make more difficult to persuade other relatives to take care of the children in the meantime their parents are abroad. In fact, this idea of higher economic constraints in the case of family-related migration is consistent with the previous result that having worked last year accelerates the migration of the wife.

Although the higher the $\ln(\text{GDP})$ is in the country of origin, the longer the time that elapses until the wife joins her husband in Germany, this result is reflecting differences across countries rather than the effect of changes in the economic conditions in the immigrants' homeland. In this regard, note that the differences across countries of origin initially observed in Model 1 to Model 5 substantially modify once this control variable is added. At the first glance, Greek couples appeared to be the only ones that reunified in Germany faster than the Turkish ones (reference category, see Model 1). However, once differences in GDP across countries are controlled for, wives from the former Yugoslavia are the only ones who do not join their husbands in Germany faster than Turkish ones.

Finally, in Model 7, I added two time-varying dummy variables – "halt" and "Kindergeldreform" – to analyze the potential impact of the halt on recruitment imposed in November of 1973, and of the children's allowances' reform on the pace of family reunification. The coefficient for the "halt" variable ("halt" takes value 1 in year 1974, and 0 in the rest of the years) is negative but close to zero and non-significant; therefore, the idea of the so-called accelerating effect of the halt on recruitment on the process of family reunification is not empirically supported. On the contrary, the effect of "Kindergeldreform" appears to have been much stronger

since the coefficient is large, strongly significant and also negative. Therefore, it seems that the reduction in the amount of money that immigrant families would receive if they kept their children in the country of origin, rather than the halt on recruitment, was the policy decision that most clearly speeded up the reunification of families who had remained separated up to that moment. However, this interpretation must be confirmed by analyzing whether the "Kindergeldreform" displayed also an accelerating effect on the pace of children's reunification or not (see below).

The reunification of children

Table 5 summarizes the estimated effects of the aforementioned factors on the pace of children's reunification with their immigrant parents in Germany. In these models, a negative coefficient also implies a longer period of separation.

With regard to the effect of the children's characteristics, the obtained results show that differences by gender are only marginal and tend to disappear after controlling for differences in the timing of other relatives' migration (compare Models 1 and 4).

The parents' human capital displays distinct effects depending on whether we pay attention to the mother or the father. While the father's education does not reveal a significant effect on the pace of his children's reunification, the results confirm that children in families with more educated mothers tend to join their parents quicker (see the negative sign of the variable "M's years of education" in Model 2). However, the idea that work-oriented mothers (i.e. mothers more strongly attached to the labor force at the time the father left) may prefer to leave their children behind in order to maximize their earnings' capacity during their stay abroad, is not supported by the data (the coefficient for "M's years of work experience" is not significant although it has the expected sign, see Model 2).

In Model 3, I added a set of covariates related to the composition of the household: the number of siblings, their ages and whether the child is the eldest or the youngest sibling in the family. Quite surprisingly, none of these variables has a significant effect on the timing of the children's migration. Moreover, some coefficients even have the opposite sign to the predicted one. However, the picture becomes much clearer after taking into account the influence of other relatives' migration. Model 4 examines whether children of immigrants are likely to be taken to Germany jointly with their mother or other siblings; the variable "M's migration" takes value 1 the year the mother migrated to Germany, and 0 otherwise. Similarly, the variable "S's migration" takes value 1 the year when other sibling migrates to Germany, and 0 otherwise. The large negative coefficients of these two covariates in Model 4 indicate that both the migration of the mother and other siblings in the household tend to accelerate the process of children's reunification. However, if the mother took one child with her, the waiting period until the remaining siblings in the households are brought to Germany extends (see the positive coefficient of the interaction term "M's migration* S's migration" in Model 5). In other words, siblings within the same household can be conceived as competing for a trip ticket.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Change in GDP country of origin (previous year)								-0.0002** 0.00008
Constant	2.60**	1.23*	1.23*	1.99**	2.07**	2.21**	1.85**	-2.02**
P	0.10	0.64	0.67	0.66	0.66	0.54	0.43	1.58
	1.90	2.06	2.06	2.10	2.11	2.61	3.21	3.27
	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.11	0.12
log likelihood	-1066	-1030	-1029	-778	-758	-656	-568	-559
N	426	426	426	426	426	426	426	426

Source: GSOEP, 1984-2002. Unweighted data. * Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%.

Model 6 indicates that if the parents migrated jointly to Germany, their children also tend to be taken to Germany much sooner than children in couples where the mother stayed behind. Moreover, the negative sign of the interaction term “M’s migration* H’s migration” suggests these children were more likely to migrate to Germany at the same as their parents. This result is quite unexpected since it implies that a relatively large number of the immigrant couples that migrated together to Germany took at least one of their children with them. In fact, migration of the two parents with at least one child represents about 18% of the total sample utilized in these estimations.

On the other hand, after including all these variables that account for the sequence of migration of different members of the household, the effect of the total number of siblings and their ages turned significant in the expected direction. Firstly, a higher number of siblings delays the reunification of children, as expected (see positive sign of variable “number of siblings” in Models 4 and 5). Secondly, the presence of at least one sibling of pre-school age in the household delays their siblings’ migration (see the positive significant coefficient of the variable “youngest sibling <6” in Models 4 to 7). And thirdly, the youngest child tends to be brought to Germany later than other siblings (see the positive coefficient of “youngest” variable in Model 6).

Finally, the variables that capture the halt on recruitment and the reform of the children’s allowances display the same effects as in the case of the wife’s reunification: while the halt does not significantly accelerate the process of children’s reunification (although the sign is negative, it remains far from being statistically significant), the reform of the children’s allowances clearly accelerated the reunification of those children still at their homeland by that time (see the negative sign of the variable “Kindergeldreform” in Model 7)¹⁰. Besides, these results remain unchanged even after controlling for differences in the rate of unemployment in the immigra-

¹⁰ Taking into account the importance of the result concerning the no-effect of the halt on recruitment on the pattern and timing of family reunification, I replicated the estimations with three other measures of the variable “halt on recruitment”: 1) “halt2”, which takes value 1 in 1973, instead of 1974; 2) “halt3”, which takes value 1 in all the years following the halt on recruitment (1974-2000), and 0 in all the previous years (1960-1973); 3) “halt4”, which takes value 1 in the four years next to the halt, and 0 in the rest of the years. The results for all these alternative estimations are available on request.

tion country, and the economic growth in the country of origin. Therefore, the overall results reinforce the idea that immigrant families were actually strongly responsive to their economic situation and their economic prospects in the host country at the time they planned the timing and the sequence of their families' reunification.

Conclusions

Immigration policies ultimately result in the selection of households rather than individuals. However, receiving countries rarely explicitly adopt a household approach when designing and implementing their immigration policies.

In this article, I have examined the process of family reunification among male guest-workers who arrived to Germany between 1960 and 1973. Despite of some data limitations, the obtained results challenge one of the most extended ideas concerning postwar migration to Germany: that temporal labor migration was mostly made of single men, and that they only decided to bring their relatives and settle permanently in Germany as a result of the halt on labor recruitment in November of 1973. The analyses carried out in the previous pages suggest that: 1) a large fraction of married guest-workers migrated jointly with their wives (at least a large fraction of those who stayed in Germany until 1983); 2) both the likelihood of joint couple migration, and of rapid family reunification steadily increased over time, as the support networks developed in the country of destination; 3) the characteristics and behavior of immigrant women were crucial in explaining the likelihood and the pace of family reunification (and therefore, they are also crucial in explaining the post-migration behavior of immigrant households).

The policy implications of these findings are clear and important. Economic and family reasons are not mutually exclusive in explaining migration decisions, but they rather reinforce each other. Family-related migration begins from the very moment labor migration starts; and variations in the macro-economic conditions at the country of destination, and immigration policy measures with financial consequences for migrants clearly affect their family migration decisions, not always in the expected direction. Both admission and integration policies should take this into account. The recent debate about the convenience of adopting a pro-active selection of immigrants via a skill-based point system has conceived immigration as an individual affair, even if we know it is not. According to the past experiences, it seems that the composition of the migrant household and the labor market characteristics of other household's members apart from the principal applicant should be considered in the migrant's evaluation as well.

On the other hand, further empirical research is needed in order to correctly understand the connection between the family dimensions of migration and return behavior, and the impact that different types and paces of family migration have on the labor behavior of immigrant women and on the integration of the middle and second generation into their host societies.

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Address of the author/Anschrift der Autorin:

Prof. Dr. Amparo González-Ferrer
Departament de Ciències Politiques i Socials
Universitat Pompeu Fabra
Ramon Trias Fargas, 25-27
E-08005 Barcelona

E-mail: amparo.gonzalez@upf.edu

Bernhard Nauck

Immigrant families in Germany. Family change between situational adaptation, acculturation, segregation and remigration

Migrantenfamilien in Deutschland. Familiärer Wandel zwischen
Situationsanpassung, Akkulturation, Segregation und Remigration

Abstract

Based on available register data and social surveys, an overview on changes in migrant families in Germany during the last 40 years is provided. Three major issues are selected, namely marriage behavior, fertility behavior and intergenerational relations. With regard to marriage, special emphasis is given to bi-national marriages, for which the typical U-curve shape is observed for Germany, too. Major changes have occurred in the nationalities of foreign marriage partners and in the willingness of immigrants to accept bi-national marriages. The fertility behavior is characterized by a fast decline of births of higher parity, depending in its speed on the migration career and formal education. Intergenerational comparisons show high level differences in acculturation between first and second generation immigrants. However, these generations are linked and pass the acculturation process as a convoy, thus maintaining intergenerational bonds.

Key words: migrant families, acculturation, bi-national marriages, segregation, fertility, family language, ethnic identification, intergenerational transmission

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag basiert auf amtlichen Statistiken und Ergebnissen sozialwissenschaftlicher Umfragedaten und gibt einen Überblick über den Wandel in Migrantenfamilien in den letzten 40 Jahren. Dabei werden drei Themen herausgegriffen: Heiraten, generatives Verhalten und Generationenbeziehungen. Bezüglich der Heirat wird der Wandel in den bi-nationalen Ehen nachgezeichnet, für die sich auch für Deutschland der typische U-kurvenförmige Verlauf zeigt. Das generative Verhalten ist durch einen starken Rückgang der Geburten höherer Parität gekennzeichnet, wobei die Geschwindigkeit von der Migrationskarriere und dem Bildungsniveau der Migrantinnen abhängt. Vergleiche zwischen den Generationen zeigen starke Niveauunterschiede in der Akkulturation der ersten und zweiten Migrantengeneration. Jedoch sind diese Generationen stark miteinander verbunden, durchlaufen den Akkulturationsprozess als Konvoi und erhalten sich so ihre intergenerationalen Bindungen.

Schlagworte: Migrantenfamilien, Akkulturation, bi-nationale Ehen, Segregation, Fertilität, Familiensprache, ethnische Identifikation, intergenerationale Transmission

Since the first analyses of migration and family (B. Nauck 1985) and the first summarizing descriptions of social, inter- and intragenerational change in these families in Germany (B. Nauck 1988; 1988a), the situation has changed in many ways: Not only has the picture of migrant families changed – the labor migrants, who were, at that time, by far the predominant group, have since been complemented by a greater quota of German repatriates and asylum seekers – but the families of labor migrants have changed as well. The children of these migrant families have also created families themselves, resulting in a “third generation” of immigrants and an ongoing supplementation of the immigrant groups through marriage migration. As a result, an increasing heterogeneity in region and society of origin, legal status, stage in the integration process, and social and economic status, are characteristics of present day immigrant families in Germany. At the same time, the political framework of the living conditions of these families has been changed by the sustainably reshaped migration, integration and naturalization policy in the politically reunified Germany. This is not only apparent in changed legislation, but in an explicit consideration of the special concerns for these families in the youth and family reports (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 1998; 2000). Finally, the research situation has changed fundamentally inasmuch as persons of foreign origin not only became part of the systematic, long-term observation in several larger social surveys, but were also targeted by a number of special surveys, with families of foreign origin as a subject.

1. Socio-structural change of migrant families

1.1 Marriages

The ‘normalization’ of the age distribution after the arrival of women and children and by family formation caused significant changes in marital status of the foreign population in Germany. In 1961, men between 20 and 40 years old (the classical “guest workers”) made up 60% of the foreign population. 20 to 30 years old men made up the bulk of this figure – a proportion that was higher than the proportion of *all* foreign women at that time. Although the surplus of men in all age groups up to the age of 70 is still higher than in the German population, it decreased steadily since the beginning of the labor migration.

In 1961, the proportion of the married males was 85% between the age of 30 to 35 years. In 1976, this proportion was not reached before the age of 40 to 45 years, and in 1985 even between the age of 50 to 55 years. In 2004, 49.8% of foreign males in the age group of 30 to 35 are married (German males: 39.3%). Foreign females still marry at an earlier age than German females: 35.9% are married in the age group of 20 to 25 years (Germans: 11.6%), 68.6% in the age group of 30 to 35 years (Germans: 53.7%), the maximum is achieved by the 45 to 50 year-old foreign women with 79.4% (Germans: 73.1%).

As the place of partner selection and the place of marriage do not necessarily coincide for immigrants, the marriage process can only be observed by the respective

marital status in the residents' register, but not by the registration of marriages. In fact, it can be assumed that the majority of foreigners get married in their country of origin, even if the selection of the spouse takes place in the receiving society.

An indication is that the number of registered marriages between foreigners in Germany has not increase in the last 20 years, and that more foreigners get married to Germans each year at German registry offices than foreigners among each other, i.e. at best marriages with mixed nationalities take place in the receiving society (G. Straßburger 2000): In 2003, 35 thousand female foreigners and German males, and 25 thousand male foreigners and German females got married in a registry office, i.e. one in six marriages in Germany is bi-national, whereas only 11 thousand marriages took place between foreigners (2.8% of all marriages in Germany). A major shift has taken place with regard to the bi-national marriages of males and females: Whereas marriages between German women and foreign men dominate until the 1990s, the trend has reversed since then, due to changes in the gender proportions on the marriage market. From World War II until the 1990s, Germany had more unmarried women than men, which resulted first in high numbers of marriages of German women to allied troops, and later on resulted in frequent marriages with foreign workers (also enforced by the strongly unequal gender-ratios within these foreign worker populations). In more recent times, the gender-ratio in Germany in the marriageable age has reversed, resulting in more frequent marriages of German males with foreign females and in a new type of individual "marriage"-migration, which is rather different from the "chain"-migration within the migrant minorities.

Partner selection and marriage belong – besides intergenerational transmission in the parent-child-relationship – to the "strategic" decisions of members of migrant minorities with regard to integration behavior in intergenerational continuity. In principle, three marriage markets can be distinguished for migrant minorities: (1) members of the receiving society, (2) of their own migrant minority and (3) the respective society of origin or herein a rather specifically ethnic, regional or a kinship community. Choosing the spouse among the members of one of these three groups has major consequences both for the personal integration process and further mobility options and for the socialization and acculturation process of the children resulting from this marriage.

As empirical results on social distance repeatedly show, family relationships are the ones for which inter-ethnic relationships are welcome "at latest" (A. Steinbach 2004). Hence, inter-ethnic and bi-national marriages are often used as an especially "strong" indicator for the state of inter-ethnic relationships in a society and for the degree of assimilation of immigrant minorities. Empirical investigations in marriage relationships between ethnic minorities and the population majority have therefore a long tradition in classical immigration countries, especially in the United States (M.M. Gordon 1964, 1975; G. Crester & J.J. Leon 1982; D.M. Heer 1985). However, appropriate surveys in Germany are still very scarce (B. Müller-Dincu 1981; H.P. Buba, W. Ueltzen, L.A. Vaskovics & W. Müller 1984; T.T. Kane & E.H. Stephen 1988; P. Scheibler 1992; T. Klein 2000; G. Straßburger 2000; S. Vetter 2001). Most analyses are only based on time series of register data of bi-national marriages in *German* registry offices, whereas (also bi-national) marriages in the countries of

origin or in third party countries are not taken into consideration. But even if this is disregarded, marriage registers cannot be interpreted as a clear “yardstick” of social distance or of assimilation, respectively. Moreover, they are the aggregate result of diverse, overlapping processes which require a differentiated analysis to avoid misleading conclusions.

In order to understand migrant marriages, it is necessary to make a distinction between ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages, i.e. whether marriages take place among the own ethnic-cultural group or not on one hand, and whether they take place between national-internal and external marriages on the other. This distinction is necessary because nationality and ethnic origin do not often match in the immigration situation. Increasing naturalizations of foreigners in Germany will frequently result in a falling apart of national and ethnic affiliation. Thus, an increase of German-Turkish marriages does not necessarily have to be an indication of assimilation between the Turkish minority and the German population majority. The extent of marriages in which partners have different passports but the same ethnic-cultural origin, increases as well as the number of marriages in which a naturalization caused the nationality of the partners to be identical even if their ethnic-cultural background differs.

Bi-national partner selection, as spouse selection in general, depends on two factors: (a) the respective opportunity structure to find a partner, and (b) the preferences of the individual searching for a partner. Consequently, the opportunity structures for intra-ethnic partner selection depend considerably on the group size of the respective ethnicity, which generally changes during the immigration process. In addition, there is a considerable imbalance in the gender-ratio, i.e. due to the higher proportion of men, there is a greater demand for women in the pioneer-migration-situation than the intra-ethnic marriage market in the receiving society can offer. In Germany, this concerns the labor migrants as well as deployed forces and asylum seekers. Because it is not always possible to make use of the marriage market in the society of origin, this results in many male migrants getting married into the local population, especially in pioneer-migration-situations. As there is also a surplus of German men in the marriageable age, this results in considerable competition on the marriage market.

Accordingly, in such a situation, there is no other choice for the migrant males than either to marry a woman in the society of origin or a member of the population majority. As the marriages with women of the society of origin take place almost exclusively in the woman’s home country (and are not separately registered, therefore they do not appear anywhere as “migrant”-marriages), comparatively many bi-national marriages are recorded in the German receiving society which can be attributed to this special opportunity structure. So it is not surprising that with increasing family unification (“chain migration”) and resulting changes on the intra-ethnic marriage market (increased “supply”, adjustment of gender proportions), bi-national weddings decrease. As opportunity structures depend especially on the living conditions in the immediate environment, the concentration of foreigners in certain regions and residential environments accelerates this process, as too does their concentration in certain employment branches and work relationships. Nation-

ally homogeneous employment and housing conditions therefore increase the probability to meet a partner of the same origin and decrease the probability of bi-national mate selection.

These development tendencies have in many respects been misinterpreted as an alarming sign of “increasing ethnic closure”, of “segregation” and of increasing inter-ethnic conflict, because this development was not attributed to changed opportunity structures but to changing preferences. Such changes in preferences only occur on a long-term basis, consequently, under no circumstances can they explain why in the beginning of an immigration process bi-national marriages are particularly frequent. However, these changes in preferences can be assumed, if either the ethnic affiliation as a criterion of selection has lost its importance, or even a conscious dissociation from the culture of origin has taken place. This can occur because of an assimilation process of the first migrant generation, or if an increasing number of members of the second migrant generation enters into the marriage market in the course of time. The two processes, which overlap, lead to the typically U-shaped curve of the development of bi-national marriages for immigrant nationalities. This U-curve can be noticed not only for many other immigrant societies, but also for the development of the intermarriage rates of many nationalities of labor migrants in Germany (T.T. Kane & E.H. Stephen 1988; T. Klein 2000): Since 1990, marriages of foreigners in German registry offices have increased for the first time since the 1960s.

Interethnic partner selection is not only dominated by opportunity structures of the partnership market, but is also related to cultural factors which imply important selection rules. The respective social prestige of the ethnic groups also has consequences for interethnic partner selection, as has the perceived cultural proximity or distance to the own culture (D.M. Heer 1985: 180; B. Müller-Dinciu 1981: 69; D. Pagnini & S.P. Morgan 1990). However, such selection rules are modified gender-specifically: an empirical regularity from results available worldwide is that men from minorities have a higher marriage rate into the majority population than women, or rather that women from the majority society are more willing to marry minority members than men are. This regularity is valid even if there are no imbalances on the partnership market.

Table 1: The ten most frequent nationalities of German-foreign weddings in 2004

German male marries a female from ...	Number	German female marries a male from ...	Number
Poland	4948	Turkey	4938
Thailand	2263	Italy	1777
Russian Federation	2190	Serbia and Montenegro	1532
Romania	2162	United States	1246
Turkey	1789	Great Britain	881
Ukraine	1709	Morocco	873
Croatia	944	Austria	861
Italy	942	Poland	842
Austria	852	Netherlands	720
Brazil	738	Croatia	594

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2005

The different nationalities marry into the German population on a different scale. Polish women are the most chosen foreigners by German men by a long way, followed by women from Thailand, Russia, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine. For German women men from Turkey, Italy and Yugoslavia are chosen most frequently, followed by men from the USA and Great Britain. But this rank order of nationalities is certainly burdened by the problem that the various nationalities possibly marry in German registry offices in different proportions and are thereby recorded in the German marriage statistics. The willingness to marry in Germany probably also depends on whether the man or woman is German. In these statistics no information is given to which proportion these marriages are "chain migration" to naturalized immigrants, who have married a partner from their region of origin. This will certainly be the case for many German repatriates, who have married a partner from Russia, Romania and possibly Poland. Also, an unknown proportion of former labor migrant minorities, originating from Turkey and former Yugoslavia and meanwhile having become naturalized Germans may have chosen a partner from the society of origin (of their parents).

Population surveys give information to which extent social distance between immigrant groups and the native population influences interethnic marriages. The Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Order commissioned two representative surveys in 1985 and 1995 (P. König, G. Schultze & R. Wessel 1986; U. Mehrländer, C. Ascheberg & J. Ueltzhöffer 1996), in which foreign parents were asked, whether they would agree if their child married a German (Table 2).

Table 2: Attitudes of foreign parents to marriages of their children with Germans, according to nationality and gender in 1985 and 1995 (percentages)

		Turks		Italians		Greeks	
		1995	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985
Agree	Mothers	50.0	31.2	84.8	61.0	88.6	44.8
	Fathers	55.9	35.3	93.0	72.0	89.9	50.7
Disagree	Mothers	46.3	68.8	7.1	39.0	9.5	55.2
	Fathers	38.1	64.7	3.8	28.0	8.5	49.3
No response	Mothers	3.7	–	8.1	–	1.9	–
	Fathers	6.0	–	3.2	–	1.5	–

Source: U. Mehrländer, C. Ascheberg & J. Ueltzhöffer 1996: 227

In 1995 slightly more than 50% of the Turkish and about 90% of the Italian and Greek parents said that they would agree to a marriage of their children with a German partner. The comparison with the survey results 10 years before especially shows that in this comparatively short period of time the acceptance of inter-ethnic marriages in families of foreign origin of all three nationalities increased considerably: the proportions of those who would accept bi-national marriages of their children increased by 20%. The differences between the Turks on the one hand and the Italians and Greeks on the other hand may be attributed mainly to the longer duration of stay of these population groups in Germany: with increasing age of the surveyed parents their willingness to accept a bi-national marriage increased considerably (U. Mehrländer, C. Ascheberg & J. Ueltzhöffer 1996: 224).

In the same survey foreign workers who have as yet not been married but want to get married were asked whether they would choose a German partner (Table 3).

Table 3: Willingness of unmarried foreign women and men to marry a German (percentages)

		Turks		Italians		Greeks	
		1995	1985	1995	1985	1995	1985
Positive attitude	F	44.3	13.8	73.8	50.6	70.6	27.5
	M	42.8	49.1	63.4	58.3	71.9	31.7
Negative attitude	F	38.3	63.1	18.7	31	7.3	43.1
	M	34.3	35.2	26.9	20.5	18.8	33.3
Undecided	F	17.4	23.1	7.6	18.4	22.1	29.4
	M	22.9	15.7	9.7	21.2	9.3	34.9

Source: U. Mehrländer, C. Ascheberg & J. Ueltzhöffer 1996: 243

The willingness to marry German partners varies according to nationality and gender. In 1995 more than 70% of Greek women and men were willing to marry Germans. This is highest proportion altogether as well as the highest rate of increase in comparison to 1985. However, the willingness of Italian women and men was also relatively high in 1985. For Turkish men the lowest willingness to marry a female German partner can be noticed with about 43%; in comparison to 1985 the proportion even decreased about 6%. But at the same time the attitude of Turkish women changed considerably with regard to mixed-national marriages and increased from 14% to 44%.

Marriage migration will increase in its quantitative importance in future. This is especially the case as long as a restrictive immigration policy does not allow any other immigration possibilities and thus will especially be an option for those groups of persons whose countries of origin are affected by restrictive immigration measures. Under those conditions marriage migration may contribute to the realization and consolidation of the residential status. Restrictive immigration policy thus provides strong incentives for members of the first and second immigrant generation not to look for a spouse in the receiving society but in the society of origin (B. Nauck 2001c): a person's own consolidated residential status is useful as an additional offer/bonus on the marriage market in the *society of origin*, which can be used to get a spouse with a higher social status there – an advantage which would not show up on the marriage market in the receiving society – neither regarding the locals nor the members of a person's own immigration minority: “marrying into a Turkish family in Germany is an added attraction for young men in Turkey and raises the bride-price and bargaining power of a young girl's family inasmuch as they can offer a future son-in-law prospects of a residence permit and access to the German labour market” (C. Wilpert 1992: 183f).

1.2 Generational behavior

The change of generational behavior of foreigners can be followed just as difficultly as the marriage patterns on the basis of register data, because only the newborn in Germany are registered. Statistics on households cannot solve this problem because they are dominated even more by selective migration, and because – especially in case of high numbers of children – the generational phase may last longer than the duration of stay of the children in the parental household. All these factors contribute to a systematic underestimation of the fertility of foreigners, however to a different degree at different times of the migration process and different for the respective nationalities. This is the real problem, and as a consequence, the Federal Statistical Office stopped calculating fertility rates for immigrants.

A look at the development of the birth rates for foreign women in Germany shows that they do not make an exception from the general decline in the birth rate in affluent societies (Table 4).

Table 4: Total fertility rates for West Germans and foreigners in the Federal Republic of Germany 1975-1993

	Female migrants					Natives in the country of origin				
	1975	1980	1985	1987	1990	1993	1975	1985	1990	1993
West-Germans							1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3
Turks	4.3	3.6	2.4	2.9	3.0	2.5	5.1	4.1	3.0	2.8
Italians	2.3	2.0	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.3	2.2	1.5	1.4	1.3
Greeks	2.8	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.4
Portuguese	2.2	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.2	2.6	1.7	1.5	1.5
Spaniards	2.0	1.7	1.2	1.3	0.7	0.6	2.8	1.8	1.3	1.2

Source: B. Nauck 1997a.

For the observed time span, the birth rates of the female migrants are generally lower than those of the local reference population, i.e. migration is connected to a birth reduction. Additionally, the total fertility rates of women of all labor migrant nationalities decrease drastically in the observed period, and since 1980 the fertility rates are above replacement level only for the Turkish women. For all other nationalities, the total fertility rates are even lower than those of the German women in 1993. The largest decreases are recorded for the beginning of the observed period, i.e. immediately after the beginning of the family reunion process after the recruiting stop in 1973. Even more remarkable is that the fertility of the Turkish female migrants approximately halved over 10 years, since the official statistics rather underestimate the factual behavior changes: At the beginning of the observation period, a greater proportion of births may have taken place in the country of origin rather than at the end of the observation period. Therefore, the migration-induced birth reduction is higher than indicated by the recorded figures.

Analyses on changes in the formation process of families of foreign origin are until now only available for Turkish migrant families (B. Nauck 1997a). As migrated families ('movers') were compared with non-migrant families ('stayers') in this study, the consequences of migration on the family formation process become

immediately apparent. Two overlapping trends can be observed: Firstly, there is (for birth cohorts between 1940 and 1960) a continuous *shift towards younger ages in the family formation process* during the course of life; the median of the marriage age decreases from 20.8 years to 18.0 years, the birth of the first child from 24.6 to 19.4 years, which is in line with the historical trend reflected in demographic time series for Turkey (B. Nauck & D. Klaus 2005). As the intervals between further births decrease, this results in a *shrinking of the family creation process*. Secondly, the secular drop in the birth rate between the cohorts attracts attention. But this affects exclusively the births of higher parity (from the 4th child onwards). However, basically all women create a family so that no change can be seen in that respect: unmarried women are as rare as childless ones. Differences in the family formation process of the ‘movers’ and ‘stayers’ are displayed in table 5, in which the family formation process of both groups of Turkish women are compared, differentiated according to their belonging to the generation born before 1945 or later.

Table 5: Family formation process of female Turkish ‘movers’ and ‘stayers’

Birth cohort	Stayers		Movers	
	until 1945	since 1946	until 1945	since 1946
Marriage until the age of 35	99.0%	100.0%	91.5%	99.5%
Median marriage	20.1	18.8	28.2	20.1
1 st birth until the age of 35	97.8%	99.5%	89.5%	98.8%
Median 1 st birth	22.8	20.5	28.9	21.8
2 nd birth until the age of 35	82.5%	92.0%	71.0%	92.2%
Median 2 nd birth	30.9	24.9	32.5	25.3
3 rd birth until the age of 35	54.9%	71.1%	40.8%	58.3%
Median 3 rd birth	35.3	28.8	40.0	32.8
4 th birth until the age of 35	26.6%	44.4%	13.2%	19.8%
5 th birth until the age of 35	13.2%	23.7%	3.9%	5.7%
6 th birth until the age of 35	5.9%	8.4%	3.9%	2.3%
7 th birth until the age of 35	1.5%	2.8%	1.3%	1.0%

Source: B. Nauck 1997a

The results for the ‘stayers’ confirm the trend to an acceleration of the family formation, which is especially apparent in the reduced age medians and the higher number of occurring family formation events until the age of 35. However, for the female migrants there are two additional special developments: for the (few) women of the older cohort, who migrated before the birth of their first child, the (for Turkish standards) extraordinary high marriage age stands out; accordingly, their comparatively few children are born late. One may conclude that the pioneer migration situation with comparatively few members of a person’s own minority in the receiving society results in remarkable delays of the family formation process of the female migrants. However, for the following cohorts of female Turkish migrants an extensive “normalization” takes place: although the family formation process is slightly later than for the ‘stayers’, and the births of higher parity are clearly decreasing, the family formation process of the ‘movers’ resembles much more that of the members of the same cohort in the society of origin than that of the elderly

Turkish women, who had been (unmarried or childless) in the exceptional situation of pioneer migration.

From the birth of the third child onwards, clear differences in the family formation process of 'movers' and 'stayers' can be seen: 76% of the 'stayers' have a third child (but only 69% of women who had been in Germany before the birth of their first child), 51% a fourth child (21%), 34% a fifth child (5%), 18% a sixth child (6%) and 13% a seventh child (3%). In general, under the migration circumstances, the birth of four and more children is rather seldom for Turkish women; just as infrequent is the birth of less than 2 children. Thus, a "typical" migrant family created in the receiving society has two or three children. Therefore, higher numbers of children are primarily the result of child-"import" related to chain migrations.

Hence, within one generation, migration results in a quick and clear standardization of the life course of Turkish women to the typical form of the family cycle of members of the lower class in industrial nations. (B. Nauck 1997a). How quickly this reorganization of the female life course takes place, depends especially on the *formal education of the women*. Low or rather missing schooling has a double effect on the life course of the female migrant: it tends to result in high numbers of children and longer residence in the society of origin; the number of children who have to be cared for decreases at the same rate as the opportunities for integration into the receiving society by gainful employment, which is already decreased because of the lack of education. On the other hand, in the case of well educated women these effects tend to lead to a quicker reorganization of the life course. The differences between the women can be seen in the following comparison: In Turkey, 50% of the women without a primary school degree get married at the age of 18.6 years and will have their first birth at the age of 21.1; 50% of women with a primary school degree get married at the age of 19.6 and will have their first birth at the age of 21.6. Although, amongst the female migrants there are no differences in the average age at marriage (20.6 and 20.7, respectively), amongst the more educated women the timing of the first and the second child is closer to the age at marriage (median: 22.3 and 26.5 in comparison with 23.6 and 27.7). From the third child onwards, not only the differences in the timing of the family formation process become significant, but also those in the probability of future births: 99% of women without a school degree (but only 56% with a school degree) have a third baby in Turkey, 88% (26%) a fourth child, 66% (12%) a fifth child, 33% (12%) a sixth child and 23% (10%) a seventh child. In contrast, educational differences between migrants diminish at a low level: 77% of women without a school degree (in contrast to 64% of women with a school degree) have a third child, 21% (22%) a fourth child, 5% (5%) a fifth child, 7% (5%) a sixth child and 0% (4%) a seventh child.

Consequently, the country of residence and the education level have an effect on the family formation process, based on three independent mechanisms. Firstly, after migration the family formation process starts later, secondly, migration reduces the number of children born, and thirdly, school education leads to the fact that despite the later, or rather roughly the same timing of marriage the family formation process is reduced in total, i.e. the (few) births follow directly after marriage which shrinks the generational phase on the whole: For the female Turkish 'stayers' without a

school degree the average time span between marriage and the birth of her last (fifth) child is 21 years; for Turkish female ‘movers’ with a school degree the average span until the birth of the last (third) child is only 12 years. However, the immediate living environment in the receiving society has *no* further influence on these processes (B. Nauck 1987): families in residential areas with a high concentration of foreigners do not differ from families in residential areas with a low concentration of foreigners with regard to fertility or family formation process.

Altogether, the proportion of children with foreign mothers of all children born in Germany did not increase between 1975 and 2004, it is about 20%. But the proportions among these children have shifted: the proportion of foreign children born outside of wedlock was only 0.7% in 1975, but increased to 9.2% in 2004. Births from foreign marriages with husbands of the same nationality decreased from 14.5% to 10.5% in this period; whereas births from marriages with husbands of different foreign nationalities increased from 0.8% to 8.5%, and births from marriages with a German husband increased from 3.7% to 9.0% of all births within wedlock.

2. Intergenerational change in migrant families

In migration sociology, intergenerational change has always played an important role in the exploration of integration processes since the conceptualization of “race-relations-cycles” in the 1930s (H. Esser 1980; R.D. Alba 1990), when the behavior of migrants of the first, the second and the third generation were compared with each other. An important result of these analyses is the amazing range of variability between the integration behavior of immigrants and of generation-chains of immigrants on the individual level as well as between different immigration nationalities on the collective level. Assimilation does not have to be an “inevitable” result of culture contact in the immigrant situation (H. Esser 1990a; B. Nauck, A. Kohlmann & H. Diefenbach 1997). Especially with regards to the collective differences, hardly any conclusive scientific explanations could be offered until now: Any available studies of integration behavior of different immigrant nationalities of labor migrants in Germany suggest that assimilation differences are the result of differences in individual resources (especially of the schooling) and of historically different integration opportunities as a result of the migration-succession of the individual nationalities (H. Esser 1982; P.B. Hill 1984).

Relatively early, considerations about the intergenerational change were applied to the integration behavior of labor migrants and their descendants in Germany. In the context of socialization theory, it was frequently presupposed that changed cultural conditions for primary socialization and their lifelong significance for the internalization of values would “inevitably” result in a higher level of acculturation of the second generation (A. Schrader, B.W. Nikles & H.M. Griese 1979) and hence in considerable value differences between the migrant and the successor generation.

Empirical analyses of the direction and intensity of intergenerational changes in the integration behavior of immigrants in Germany has hardly been possible until now (H.

Esser 1990; 1990a; P.B. Hill 1990; I. Kurosch 1990). That is not because empirical scientific research has not paid attention to this phenomenon, but for “historical” reasons: The second immigration generation in Germany has at present just reached the age which their parents were at the time of immigration. Consequently, all generation-sequence analyses have to operate with (sometimes problematic) additional assumptions about the stability of attitudes and behavior in the life course. Therefore, it is currently more productive not to investigate the generation differences by comparisons of cohorts, but to investigate directly the dyadic relationships in migrant families, as it was carried out in the survey “Intergenerational relationships in migrant families”, in which the attitudes, perception, and behavior of adolescents was compared to the parent of the same sex (S. Krentz 2002; B. Nauck 1995; 1997; 2000; 2001a; 2001b; B. Nauck, H. Diefenbach & K. Petri 1998; B. Nauck & A. Kohlmann 1999; B. Nauck, A. Kohlmann & H. Diefenbach 1997; B. Nauck & Y. Niephaus 2006; A. Steinbach 2001; A. Steinbach & B. Nauck 2000; 2005). Additional results are available from the foreigner survey of the German Youth Institute, which collected comparable data for young adults (A. WEIDACHER 2000). Data for Italians, being the immigrants with the longest immigration history and with EU-citizenship, and for Turks being immigrants with a shorter immigration history, non-EU-membership, and higher social distance can illustrate the generation differences in the cognitive (table 6: language usage), identification (Table 7: ethnic preference in the marriage and naming) and structural (table 8: educational level) assimilation.

Table 6: Language usage of Italians and Turks in Germany (percentages)

	Nationality					
	Italians			Turks		
	Parents	Young adults	Adolescents	Parents	Young adults	Adolescents
<i>Language between parents and their children</i>						
– predominantly language of origin	57.9	76.9	62.1	81.7	88.3	80.4
– predominantly German	42.1	23.1	37.9	17.8	11.7	19.6
<i>Language between siblings</i>						
– predominantly language of origin	47.3	56.5	41.6	46.4	68.5	47.2
– predominantly German	52.7	43.2	58.4	53.6	31.5	52.8
<i>Language at the working place. at school</i>						
– predominantly language of origin	24.0	13.1	4.5	*	20.0	*
– predominantly German	76.0	86.9	95.5	*	80.0	*

Data base: Survey “Intergenerational relationships in migrant families”; DJI Youth Survey 1997; * = not asked

Both parents and children report that they predominantly communicate in the language of origin. The differences between Italians and Turks refer to a clearer distinction in language use with parents and with siblings in the case of the Turks: while they still predominantly speak Turkish with their parents, half of them prefer, as do the Italians, to speak in German with their siblings. At work and at school the use of the German language has become inevitable for Italians and Turks. Hence already more than 80% of young adults and more than 95% of children communicate in the German language at the workplace or at school during break-time.

Table 7: Ethnic identification (percentages)

Question	Nationality					
	Italians			Turks		
	Parents	Young adults	Adolescents	Parents	Young adults	Adolescents
<i>Could you imagine that your child/you will marry a German?</i>						
– definitively/possibly	76.6	71.4	84.2	33.8	49.8	30.8
– possibly not/in no case	23.5	24.2	13.6	66.2	47.0	69.1
<i>Which kind of a first name would you prefer for your grandchild/child?</i>						
– an Italian/Turkish name	72.1	75.2	73.8	93.1	77.6	86.4
– a German/international name	17.8	24.9	26.2	6.9	22.4	13.6

Data base: Survey “Intergenerational relationships in migrant families”; DJI Youth Survey 1997

The predominant part of Italians is in favor of a marriage of members of the second generation to Germans. In contrast, the majority of Turks cannot imagine that a German marries into their family. There is a tendency towards the younger generations showing a higher approval of interethnic marriages, but these differences are not great. Very few of the surveyed foreigners would like their child to have a German first name, but rather tend to give a name related to the own ethnic group. Turks, again, show a more distinct identification with their ethnic background; however the second generation shows the tendency to be more open for German first names. Similar tendencies can be seen for the media consumption, i.e. the consumption of German as compared to Italian or Turkish books, newspapers, video films and television programs. Both generations and both nationalities possess books in their language of origin as well as German books, but the second generation has more German books than members of the first generation, and the Italian adolescents and young adults again have more than the Turkish ones. Parents, young adults and adolescents read German newspapers and magazines more often than Italian or Turkish ones. Nevertheless, about 60% of parents and young adults regularly read newspapers from their country of origin. Of the two thirds of the persons surveyed who watch video films at all, the majority reported that they prefer German language videos, although one fourth regularly watches Italian/Turkish videos, too.

The enormous extent of intergenerational change becomes apparent in the level of formal education: As the parents were also asked about the educational qualifications of their own parents (who remained predominantly in the society of origin), comparisons can be made between three generations. The comparison shows that the second immigration generation have grandmothers without any educational degree, to more than one third for the Italian and to more than two thirds for the Turkish (and 23% and 47%, respectively, have grandfathers without an educational degree). In the parent-generation, these proportions have already decreased for the mothers to 17% in the Italian and to 34% in the Turkish case, and for the fathers to 12% and 8%, respectively.

Table 8: Highest educational degree of Italians and Turks in intergenerational comparison (percentages)

Italians	Grand-father	Grand-mother	Father	Mother	Young male	Young female
– no degree	22.7	34.7	12.1	17.0	–	–
– primary school degree	49.3	47.8	67.5	59.5	43.5	37.9
– secondary school	15.8	6.9	17.0	20.5	23.5	27.7
– A-level	0.7	0.5	1.9	3.0	11.3	11.4
– university	1.5	–	1.5	–		
– still in education					21.6	22.7
Turks	Grand-father	Grand-mother	Father	Mother	Young male	Young female
– no degree	49.2	70.2	8.3	34.0	–	–
– primary school degree	40.0	25.8	58.5	46.0	50.5	46.8
– secondary school	5.1	2.5	11.7	12.0	17.8	19.6
– A-level	4.6	1.5	17.6	5.0	11.6	8.6
– university	2.1	–	3.9	3.0		
– still in education					19.9	25.0

Database: Survey on Intergenerational Relationships in Migrant Families; DJI-Youth Survey 1997

This remarkably strong intergenerational educational mobility remains in sharp contrast to the existing disadvantage as compared to children of German parents, and to the relatively slow improvement of educational success of children from immigrant families in the German educational system. (R.D. Alba, J. Handl & W. Müller 1994; B. Nauck & H. Diefenbach 1997; F. Kalter & N. Granato 2002; C. Kristen 2002; C. Kristen & N. Granato 2004; H. Diefenbach 2004; A. Steinbach & B. Nauck 2004).

For two reasons generational relationships are of specific importance for the understanding of families of foreign origin and for the functioning of solidarity potentials under migration conditions. (1) Most families of foreign origin come from societies without a fully developed welfare state system. Therefore, social services and all protection against the risks of life are predominantly provided between the generations. These functions of mutual insurance by generation relationships have far-reaching implications for their cultural definition, i.e. what parents and children mean for each other, what they expect from each other and how much they “value” each other (B. Nauck 2000; 2001). (2) The migration situation itself has direct consequences for the intergenerational relationships as many migration goals can only be legitimized and realized as a project, in which more than one generation is involved. Of specific importance are the intergenerational relationships in the case of an unsecured residential status. A voluntary or forced return into the society of origin implies falling back on social security systems, which are not based on insurance benefits, but on intergenerational relationships. Thus, intergenerational transmission of values is emphasized in migrant families more than in non-migrant families.

The transmission of culture from one generation to the next is an essential condition for the sharing of a common culture and intergenerational continuity. However, the transmission of culture is never complete, but the culture is produced and con-

stantly changed in the continuous interaction between persons and groups. So the process of cultural transmission does not lead to a perfect reproduction of culture in the next generations, but may range between an exact transmission (and accordingly no noticeable difference between the generations) and a complete lack of any cultural transmission (and accordingly no noticeable similarities between the generations). Both extremes are equally problematic: Perfect transmission would not allow any change and would not provide any capacity to adapt to a new situation. On the other hand a lacking transmission would make coordination between generations impossible and destroy any intergenerational solidarity potentials (K. Phalet & U. Schönplflug 2001).

If only a few new members enter into social group, the transmission of culture can take place slowly and diffusely. But if many new members enter a social group, then the culture has to be passed on quickly and intensively, if it is to be maintained. If migration takes place to a noticeable extent, then migration situations are typically marked by social change in the receiving society, and, anyway, they reflect a situation of rapid cultural change for the migrants themselves. Migration situations thus result in a higher level of accentuation of the respective culture of the members of the receiving society as well as of the migrants. In this situation, intergenerational transmission is in many cases the only possibility to maintain the cultural inheritance from the society of origin or a minority subculture. The paradox of the migration situation is that the parent-generation is facing greater difficulty and greater necessity of intergenerational transmission of culture at the same time. On the one hand, parental models have lost their adaptive value in the receiving context. On the other hand, the migrant-parents can feel obliged to pass on their culture of origin to their children with even greater efforts, especially if this task is not supported by the culture-transmitting institutions of the receiving society (e.g. if minority culture issues are excluded in the curricula of kindergartens and schools). If, in addition, the often low degree of formal schooling of migrant parents is considered, it becomes obvious that the urgent task of cultural transmission stays in sharp contrast to their underdeveloped cognitive competencies to cope with this challenging task.

For these reasons it is hardly surprising that intergenerational relationships are especially highly motivated in migrant families, and that intergenerational relationships are coordinated more strongly than in non-migrant families in the society of origin or in the receiving society. A comparison of Turkish migrant families with those who remained in the society of origin shows that the intergenerational transmission is stronger in migrant families: the attitudes of parents and children are more similar, and the co-orientation and the synchronicity of beliefs and action is higher than in the families in Turkey (B. Nauck 1995). High intergenerational transmission is by no means limited to Turkish migrant families. A comparison with Italian and Greek families shows that an equally high degree of agreement in situation perception and in attitudes also exists here. Children of foreign families anticipate and internalize the expectations of their parents to a high extent and show a high willingness to comply with the solidarity expectations with no gender-specific differentiation.

The strategic importance of family resources and their intergenerational transmission is emphasized in comparative studies of different immigrant nationalities

(Turks, Italians, Greeks, and Repatriates), using path models for the interpretation of multiple stepwise regression analysis (B. Nauck, A. Kohlmann & H. Diefenbach 1997; B. Nauck 2001a; A. Steinbach 2001). As economic capital is (contrary to the "classical" immigrant societies, such as the United States, Canada, or Australia) of no importance for the integration process in Germany, (as practically all immigrants enter without any economic resources,) cultural capital is the most crucial determinant of pace and direction in the integration process.

Whether the parental cultural capital is transmitted effectively to the second generation in securing their educational success depends on the length of stay of the parents and the migrant succession: Italian parents are quite effective in transmitting cultural capital, Greek parents are moderately effective, whereas for Turkish families in Germany, there is no relationship between the parents' and the children's formal education. Within the three migrant worker nationalities, the level of education is negatively related to the ethnic identification of the parents. Family language retention is highest in those families with low cultural resources. The institutional effect of schooling on the children's language acquisition is much higher than the (negative) effect of the family's language retention, but language retention has a direct positive effect on the child's ethnic identification.

Perceived discrimination has a weak, yet positive effect on language retention in migrant families, which, in turn, significantly decreases the child's acquisition of the language of the receiving society; the child's school career has the expected positive effect on language learning. The higher the educational level of the parents, the lower the proportion of intra-ethnic members in their network; family language retention instead increases the proportion of intra-ethnic network members. The results clearly show the strategic effect of family language retention on the acculturation process, as it is strongly related to the parents' ethnic identification. The acquisition of the language of the receiving society increases, and perceived discrimination decreases the proportion of interethnic members in the network of migrant youth. The proportion of intra-ethnic network members has a positive effect on the ethnic identification, both for parents and their adolescent children.

The results for the German repatriate families differ from those of the migrant families in some respects. Most importantly, there is a significant *positive* relationship between the parents' education and the retention of the Russian language in the family, which, in turn, decreases the child's language acquisition quite strongly. On the other hand, the educational level has only an indirect effect on the parents' ethnic identification via family language retention; it is also influenced by the parents' feelings of discrimination but not by the ethnic composition of the parents' network.

Intergenerational transmission has a massive effect on the acculturation process in *all* migrant families. The more parents feel discriminated against in the receiving society, the more their children of the same gender do; the higher the proportion of intra-ethnic members in the networks of the parents, the higher it is in the networks of their children. Especially strong is the transmission of ethnic identification between parents and children of the same gender ($b = .74$).

This consolidation of intergenerational relationships in immigrant families is a consequence of adaptation to the minority situation. Stable intergenerational rela-

tionships in migrant families are the most important protective factor against a possible marginalization of young persons of the second generation. Despite all synchronicity and coordination, there are clear differences between the generations according to the state of the integration process. In comparison to their parents the second immigration generation is clearly more strongly assimilated, they perceive discrimination less than their parents, have a lower social distance to members of the receiving society, and at the same time, feel a greater estrangement to the society of origin and less often have concrete re-migration intentions (B. Nauck 2000).

3. Outlook

The overview of essential research results on socio-structural and inner-familial changes for labor migrants in Germany tried to outline some central dimensions of family change. The available results have shown that the change of the social-ecological context resulting from the migration decision causes diverse forms of restructuring in family interaction without necessarily changing the basic family values. This also sheds light on the high adaptation capacity and structure flexibility of family groups in general and on the interdependence of family structure and social context, i.e. some general issues of family sociology become especially salient for the special case of migrant families and may be studied in higher variability in this “natural experiment” of context change.

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Address of the author/Anschrift des Autors:

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Nauck
Department of Sociology
Chemnitz University of Technology
Reichenhainer Strasse 41
D-09107 Chemnitz

E-mail: bernhard.nauck@phil.tu-chemnitz.de

Eva Bernhardt, Frances Goldscheider & Calvin Goldscheider

Integrating the second generation: Gender and family attitudes in early adulthood in Sweden

Die zweite Generation integrieren: Geschlechtsrollen- und
Familienvorstellungen im frühen Erwachsenenalter in Schweden

Abstract

This paper focuses on attitudes towards three family challenges of early adulthood among native-born Swedes of differing origins. We examine attitudes towards forming new partnerships through cohabitation versus marriage, partnering within or outside one's national group, and preferring a more traditional versus a more egalitarian balance of work and family when children are young. Attitudes about these dimensions reveal the extent to which the adult children of Polish and Turkish origins living in Sweden have accepted Swedish family forms or expect to retain some forms of family distinctiveness. We base our analysis on a 1999 survey of young adults in Sweden (*Family and Working Life in the 21st Century*). The survey consisted of 2,326 respondents who were ages 22 and 26, of whom 500 had at least one parent who was born either in Turkey or Poland.

We focus on the factors increasing acceptance of Swedish family forms. We consider the effects of two measures of exposure to Swedish values in the community (education, neighborhood ethnic segregation), a measure indicating the extent of exposure to Swedish values in the childhood family (parental intermarriage), and a factor suggesting the weakening of familial support for the culture of origin (disrupted childhood family structure).

We find that there are systematic differences in family attitudes among the second

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel nimmt die Einstellungen zu drei im jungen Erwachsenenalter auftretenden familialen Herausforderungen bei im Lande geborenen Schweden unterschiedlicher Herkunft in den Blick. Wir untersuchten ihre Einstellungen hinsichtlich des Eingehens einer neuen Partnerschaft durch Zusammenwohnen versus Ehe und des Eingehens einer Partnerschaft innerhalb oder außerhalb der eigenen ethnischen Gruppe sowie hinsichtlich der Bevorzugung einer eher traditionellen oder eher egalitären Balance zwischen Arbeit und Familie, wenn die Kinder noch klein sind. Die Einstellungen auf diesen Dimensionen zeigen das Ausmaß auf, in dem die erwachsenen, in Schweden lebenden Kinder polnischer oder türkischer Abstammung entweder die schwedischen Familienform akzeptiert haben oder aber von sich selbst erwarten, dass sie einige familiäre Besonderheiten beibehalten werden. Unsere Analyse basiert auf einem 1999 durchgeführten Survey junger Erwachsener in Schweden (*Family and Working Life in the 21st Century*). Dieses Survey bestand aus 2.326 Teilnehmern im Alter von 22 bis 26 Jahren, von denen 500 mindestens einen Elternteil hatten, der entweder in der Türkei oder in Polen geboren war.

Wir konzentrierten uns auf die Faktoren, die die Akzeptanz schwedischer Familienformen erhöhen: Wir betrachteten die Effekte zwei Messinstrumente zur Einwirkung schwe-

generation that reflect their ethnic origins, with sharp differences between young adults of Turkish and Swedish origins. Swedes of Polish origin much more closely resemble those of Swedish origins. Nevertheless, the attitudes of young women and men of both Polish and Turkish origins appear to be approaching those of Swedish-origin young adults, relative to the family patterns in their parents' home communities. This, however, depends on the community and family contexts in which they grew up in Sweden.

discher Wertvorstellungen durch die Wohnumgebung (Bildungswesen, ethnische Segregation in der Nachbarschaft, eines Messinstrumentes zum Grad der Einwirkung schwedischer Wertvorstellungen während der Kindheit in der eigenen Familie (bikulturelle Ehe der eigenen Eltern) sowie einen Faktor, der von einer Abschwächung der Unterstützung für die familialen Herkunftskultur (Bruch mit der Familienstruktur der Elternfamilie) ausgeht.

Wir fanden heraus, dass systematische Unterschiede in den Einstellungen zur Familie in der zweiten Generation aufgrund der jeweiligen ethnischen Herkunft bestehen. Es gibt große Unterschiede zwischen jungen Erwachsenen türkischer und schwedischer Herkunft, wohingegen Schweden polnischer Abstammung den Schweden sehr viel ähnlicher sind. Nicht desto trotz scheinen sich die Einstellungen junger Frauen und Männer sowohl polnischer als auch türkischer Herkunft denen ihrer Altersgenossen schwedischer Herkunft anzunähern, jedenfalls im Vergleich zu den in den ethnischen Gemeinschaften ihrer Eltern. Dies hängt jedoch vom Wohnumfeld und den Familienzusammenhängen, in denen sie in Schweden aufwuchsen, ab.

Key words: Integration, second generation, family attitudes, early adulthood, Sweden, Turkey, Poland

Schlagworte: Integration, zweite Generation, Einstellungen zur Familie, frühes Erwachsenenalter, Schweden, Türkei, Polen

Family relationships play an important role in the social and economic integration of immigrants. Families are not only a resource for immigrants in their adaptation to their place of destination, helping with initial settlement and economic adjustment based on social and economic networks, but are also a source of values, reinforcing the retention or redefinition of the culture and values of their origins (Brubaker 2001; Portes 1995; Zhou 2001). Hence, families have a complex impact on those of foreign-born origins as they provide many of the resources needed for success in the new society yet also serve as a 'brake' on assimilation to the family patterns of the new society. The relative balance of these processes has powerful consequences for the integration and inclusion of immigrants and their children.

A focus on the family necessarily raises the question of gender relationships. The roles of women and men in families are challenged by the immigration process if the new society constructs gender roles differently from those in the society of origin. Relationships between husbands and wives and between parents and their sons and daughters are often strained as changes occur at work, in school and at home. Sev-

eral major research reviews have highlighted the importance of studying family relationships and the critical role of immigrants' gender relationships, and have called attention to these lacunae in the research literature (for reviews see Hugo 2000; Bjerén 1997; Pedraza, 1991).

Each of the two central axes of family life, between parents and their children and between men and women, is under conspicuous challenge among immigrants and their children in Sweden. Sweden has an egalitarian family system, structured and reinforced by social policies emphasizing gender and generational equality (Bernhardt 1992). Family relationships are more weakly institutionalized, encouraging widespread cohabitation; union partners are freely chosen, encouraging out-partnering; and egalitarian gender roles encourage a more equal sharing of support and care roles by the parents of children (Bernhardt 2005).

It is likely, however, that the Swedish-born children of immigrants will vary greatly in the extent to which they assimilate these new ideas about families in their transition to adulthood. The patterns in the countries of origin will clearly have a strong impact, but it is likely that circumstances in Sweden will also shape their responses. Living with others of similar national origins often provides networks of information and opportunities, given that the language barriers are low and the claims of kin and *landsmen* are still strong (Murdie and Borgegard 1996). But too close a connection with other immigrants, whether residentially or occupationally, can limit social integration into the larger Swedish society and access to its opportunities. Immigrant and ethnic clustering may also intensify prejudice and discrimination against those who are living and working separately from longer-term residents (Pred 2000).

In this paper we focus on ethnic and gender differences in family attitudes among the adult children of immigrants in Sweden. We also ask: which factors facilitate or retard these young adults' adopting more "Swedish" attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering, and egalitarian work-family balance? What are the effects of greater exposure to Swedish society, e.g., via increased education or residential integration? Does a weakened family structure reduce the odds of clinging to traditional family forms?

Sweden's recent history of immigration and family policy

The study of immigrant family patterns in Swedish society has taken on particular importance early in the 21st century because Sweden has experienced rapid increases in immigration over the last decades of the 20th century, as have many other European countries. As a result, a new generation of Swedish-born children of recent immigrants is beginning the transition to adulthood in the 21st century. The number of foreign-born persons in Sweden increased from 538,000 in 1970 to almost one million in 1999 (Table 1). While the total Swedish-born population increased by less than five percent over the nearly 30-year period, the foreign-born population increased by 82 percent. As a result, the proportion born outside Sweden increased

from about 7.1 percent of the population to 12.5 percent between 1970 and 1999, so that one in eight persons living in Sweden at the end of the 20th century was foreign born.

Table 1. Changing Swedish society: More foreign-born, more non-European

	1970	1999	% Change
Swedish total population	8,077	8,861	9,7
Swedish born population (thousands)	7,539	7,880	4,5
Foreign-born population (thousands)	538	982	82,5
% of population foreign-born	7,1	12,5	
Of foreign-born:			
% from Nordic countries	59,7	28,5	
% from other Europe	32,7	32,9	
% from non-Europe	7,6	38,6	

Source: Statistics Sweden

The impact of immigration on Swedish society has been shaped even more by its changing composition. Not only was the proportion foreign born much less in 1970 than in the late 1990s, but three out of five who were foreign born in 1970 were from other Nordic countries (59.7%), primarily from Finland. Most of the rest (one-third) were from other European countries (32.7%) and only 7.6 percent of the foreign-born population in 1970 was from countries outside of Europe. By 1999, however, 38.6 percent of the foreign born were from non-European countries, that is, 379,000 persons. Among the foreign born in 1999 from the non-Nordic countries, those from Poland (40,000) and from Turkey (31,000) are among the largest groups. Hence, our analysis of the children of the foreign-born, which focuses on those of Polish and Turkish origins, targets two of Sweden's major immigrant groups. These communities represent culturally and socially diverse populations and illustrate a range of adjustments among the new populations living in Sweden.

The growth in the numbers of Swedes from non-Western countries is a particular challenge, because Sweden's extensive social and family policy programs were established while Sweden was a culturally homogeneous country. These policies were designed to reinforce the values of that culture: individual choice and gender equality both at home and in the work place. These values often contrast with the gender relationships and the marriage and work patterns that are common among immigrant families in Sweden. Many immigrant communities reinforce familism over individualism by supporting early marriage and discouraging "second demographic transition" behavior as non-family living, cohabitation, out-of-wedlock parenthood, and female employment (Lesthaeghe 1995). Hence, they emphasize gender separation by expecting only men to be employed and women to focus on caring for their families. They normally strongly encourage male dominance and control. Sweden is thus an extreme example of the potential for clashes between immigrants and the native-born population on family-related issues.

What happens to the family attitudes of immigrants' children as they are exposed to new contexts of family, gender, and child-based policies supported by the state and other non-family institutions? The financial incentives provided by the state in-

crease the motivation of immigrants and their Swedish born children to become “Swedish.” But are these incentives enough? What happens to the adult children of immigrants socialized in Sweden when their background, with its culture of gender segregation and familism, is at odds with the broader culture into which they are becoming adults? More specifically, we ask: What are the family attitudes among the adult children of immigrants, compared to those of Swedish origins? We focus on attitudes because many of the young adults have not yet had the opportunity to form families of their own. Moreover, we expect that data on attitudes, reflecting family norms, may be important indicators of subsequent family behavior.

We selected a series of family attitudes that are key to understanding the transition to adulthood of the children of immigrants.

- Attitudes towards cohabitation tell us both about intergenerational relationships (given that cohabitation was rare in both home countries) and gender relationships (commitments between men and women);
- Attitudes towards out-partnering are profound indicator of the weakening of intergenerational ties and the assimilation of ethnic groups;
- Attitudes towards the balance between work-and family are a key dimension of ‘new’ Swedish family patterns, with a focus on gender equality.

Data, Measures, and Methods

Data

Our analysis is based on a survey of young adults in Sweden (Family and Working Life in the 21st century), funded by the Swedish Social Science Research Council. It was a mail questionnaire survey with about 2,800 respondents, both males and females. The fieldwork was carried out in the spring of 1999, with the help of the survey unit of Statistics Sweden. In addition to the main sample of young adults born in Sweden with two Swedish-born parents, there was also a special, smaller sample of young adults born in Sweden, but with one or both parents born in Poland or in Turkey.

The Swedish sample of about 2,300 respondents consisted of individuals who were 22, 26 or 30 years old at the time of the survey. Their response rate was 67%. The second-generation of Polish or Turkish origins was a sample of about 500 respondents. It consisted of individuals who were 22 or 26 years old, since there were so few 30-year olds in this group. The questionnaire contained questions about their plans, expectations and attitudes regarding family and working life, as well as factual information about their current situation and background characteristics. We analyze the 22- and 26-year olds of all three groups.

Measures

The main goal of the research project “Family and Working Life in the 21st century” was to analyze the relationship between attitudes, various socioeconomic characteristics and demographic behavior. Therefore, a fairly large number of attitudinal questions were included in the survey. As outcome variables, we analyze those in three areas: attitudes towards cohabitation, about the appropriate balance of work and family for couples with young children and, for the children of the foreign born, attitudes about out-partnering.

Outcome variables. Our measure of restrictive attitudes to cohabitation focused on the circumstances in which cohabitation was considered appropriate. Respondents were given four options: 1) under any circumstances, 2) not at all, or restricted to situations of 3) commitment to marriage or 4) when there are no children.

The question about the ideal family situation for a family with pre-school children had three response alternatives: 1) Only the man works and the woman takes the main responsibility for home and children, 2) Both work, but the woman works part-time and takes the main responsibility for home and children, and 3) Both parents work roughly the same hours and share the responsibility for home and children equally. For the analysis of attitudes to work-family balance, the first two were combined and labeled “traditional”, while the third category was labeled “egalitarian.”

The questions about out-partnering were not asked of the Swedish-origin population and were only obtained for the non-partnered. We can compare the attitudes of young adults of Polish and Turkish origins on two questions: First, a question was asked of the young adults: How important is it to you to marry someone of your ethnic background? The answer options were: very important, rather important, or not at all important. A second question was included to gauge their perception of their parents’ attitude: Would your parents approve if you married a Swede? The answers here were: not at all, doubtful, and yes. This latter question was not designed to measure the parental attitude directly but to obtain some indication of generational change in attitudes as perceived by young adults about their parents.

Predictor variables. The principal concern of this paper is to assess the impact of indicators of exposure to both the Swedish and origin cultures on these attitudes. We consider two indicators of exposure in the community, educational level, which exposes young people directly to the Swedish school system, and community ethnic concentration, which affects the entire family. We also consider three family-level measures of exposure, employed mothers, which provides exposure indirectly through the mother’s experiences, disrupted childhood family structure, which reduces the impact of a cultural role model (usually the father), and out-married parents, which weakens the origin influence and often introduces a strong Swedish influence if the other parent is Swedish. Descriptive statistics on these measures, together with the control variables, are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Means for Swedish, Polish and Turkish origin

Independent variables	Swedish origin		Polish origin		Turkish origin	
	All	All	No coresidential partner	All	No coresidential partner	
<i>Education (1-10)</i>	5,42	5,61	5,86	4,50	5,01	
<i>Non-intact family background (0, 1)</i>	0,22	0,35	0,37	0,19	0,21	
<i>Age (22, 26)</i>	23,98	23,77	23,53	23,24	22,79	
<i>Metro (while R growing up) (0, 1)</i>	0,22	0,53	0,54	0,67	0,64	
<i>Gender (1=male, 2=female)</i>	1,54	1,53	1,49	1,58	1,57	
<i>Actual union type</i>						
no coresidential partner (reference)	51,1	56,9	na	57,9	na	
a cohabiting partner	43,7	37,7	na	15,8	na	
a marital partner	5,2	5,4	na	26,3	na	
<i>Economic condition (0-2)</i>	1,10	1,04	1,06	1,02	0,93	
<i>Mother worked while R growing up (1-3)</i>	2,07	2,26	2,21	2,12	2,12	
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>						
did not work	21,1	14,8	16,6	24,9	25,6	
part-time	50,9	44,3	45,8	38,3	37,2	
full time	28,0	40,9	37,6	36,8	37,2	
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity (0-2)</i>	na	0,17	0,19	0,55	0,53	
<i>Parental intermarriage (0-1)</i>	na	0,81	0,80	0,37	0,37	
Number of respondents	1536	318	181	209	121	

The variable ‘mother worked while R growing up’ is based on a survey question about maternal employment while the respondent was growing up (before starting school). It has three categories, namely ‘at home’, ‘part-time work’ and ‘full-time work’. Respondents who did not remember or did not answer this question were coded as ‘part-time work’ (the mean value).

Information about the respondents’ attained educational level was taken from registers at Statistics Sweden. Combining this with survey information about whether the respondents were currently studying, and the number of years after age 16 that the respondent reported being a student, a ten-category educational variable was constructed. The category with the lowest level included those who had not pursued any education beyond the compulsory nine school years, while in the highest category the respondents had long post-gymnasium (post-secondary) education and were either currently studying or had reported more than eight years of study after age 16.

The other measure of community exposure is ethnic residential concentration. The respondents of Polish or Turkish background were asked whether the neighborhood in which they grew up was composed mainly of Swedes, mostly immigrants or mixed. We constructed a three-level scale, with “mostly immigrant” indicating a high level of immigrant concentration and “mainly Swedish” indicating a low level of concentration.

Information on paternal out-marriage and childhood family structure were measured with direct questions on these dimensions. Childhood family structure was indicated by whether they grew up with their two biological parents or not. Pa-

rental out-marriage was only measured for those of Polish and Turkish origin; all those of Swedish origin had two Swedish-born parents.

Additional control variables include age (whether the respondent was age 22 or age 26), the economic condition of the family while they were growing up (coded continuously), and whether they grew up in one of Sweden's metropolitan areas (Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö).

Analytic methods: We analyze these questions using descriptive tabulations, showing the detailed variations of attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering, and work-family balance. We then turn to a multivariate analysis of the impact of exposure to Swedish society in the schools, community, and home, using logistic regression, dichotomizing each of the attitudes into their more and less "Swedish" forms.

Descriptive analysis

Attitudes towards cohabitation¹

The decisions that young adults make as they begin their own family life in the transition to adulthood are major indicators of intergenerational continuity or change for native-born Swedes. We begin with attitudes towards cohabitation.

Among those of Polish and Swedish origins, and for both men and women, levels of approval are very high. About 85% feel that cohabitation is OK under all circumstances, even if there are children (Table 3). Women are somewhat more approving among those of Swedish origin and less approving among those of Polish origin. But these differences are small. While there is almost no difference between men of Polish and Swedish origin (86% approve without restriction), there is a small gap between women of Polish and Swedish origins (82% vs. 89%).

Table 3. Attitudes toward cohabitation among men and women by ancestry

	Second generation					
	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
It's never OK	8,4	5,3	4,1	7,7	16,9	19,0
OK for a short time before marriage	1,4	2,1	2,0	3,6	14,4	15,5
OK if there are no children	4,8	3,3	8,1	6,6	16,9	19,8
OK even if there are children	85,4	89,3	85,8	82,1	51,8	45,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number of respondents	706	808	148	168	83	116

The stark contrast is the distinctive attitudes of those of Turkish origins. Only about half of those of Turkish origin accept the idea of cohabitation even if there were children compared to about 85% of those of Polish and of Swedish origins. One-fifth of those of Turkish origins totally reject cohabitation under any circumstances.

¹ For further analyses of this question, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2007).

Nevertheless, over 80 percent of young Turkish-origin men and women accept cohabitation under some circumstances. While distinctive relative to Polish- and Swedish-origin young adults, those of Turkish origins are clearly becoming more like other young adults in Sweden, who share positive attitudes toward cohabitation, than like the Polish and Turkish communities their parents left in the 1960s and 1970s.

Attitudes towards inter-partnering²

Disapproval of out-partnering is a powerful force maintaining ethnic distinctiveness. The attitudinal question was not asked of the Swedish-origin population. Therefore we cannot compare those of Polish and Turkish origins with the majority population, but we can contrast the attitudes of young adults of Polish and Turkish origins. This attitudinal question was addressed only to those who were not partnered, and they are somewhat less connected to their ethnic communities than those who are already married (Bernhardt et al 2005).

For those of Polish origin, the issue seems almost totally irrelevant. Well over 90 percent of the Polish-origin young adults report that inter-ethnic partnering is not at all important to them (Table 4). This is not surprising, given that a large majority (80%) of those are from families where their parents have already inter-partnered with someone of non-Polish origins (60% were married to someone of Swedish origin and 20% to someone of some other non-Polish origin). The issue is more relevant for those of Turkish origin, particularly for women. About 40% of the young adults of Turkish origins report that partnering with someone of Turkish origins is very or rather important to them. About half report that their parents would not approve fully if they married a Swedish person. However, more than one-half of the women of Turkish origin and 60% of the men of Turkish origin think it is fine to marry someone with other than Turkish origins, and that their parents would approve.

Table 4. Attitudes toward endogamy among young adults by origin and sex

	Young adults ¹		Parents ²	
	Polish	Turkish	Polish	Turkish
Men				
Very important/Not at all	2,0	22,8	0,0	5,0
Rather important/Doubtful	5,9	17,5	1,9	36,7
Not at all important/Yes	92,1	59,7	98,1	58,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	101	57	107	60
Women				
Very important/Not at all	0,9	24,0	0,0	20,2
Rather important/Doubtful	2,7	22,7	2,7	29,8
Not at all important/Yes	96,5	53,3	97,3	50,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	113	75	113	84

1 Question: How important is it to you to marry someone of your ethnic background?

2 Question: Would your parents approve if you married a Swede?

2 See also C. Goldscheider (2007)

Attitudes towards work-family balance³

One of the most dramatic changes in family patterns world wide is the increase in mothers' work outside the home. Motherhood is the period in the life course when the demands of childcare are most intense. Yet it is often the moment when time spent at work has the greatest payoff in long-term career earnings for both young men and young women. This life course pressure of work and family is relatively new for women, even in Swedish society. It is almost unheard of in societies with more traditional family systems, where the mothers of young children either earn income at tasks that can be combined with childcare or earn nothing at all. We now focus on the attitudes young adults hold about the ideal way to balance these pressures—the work-family balance. We explore whether the traditional gender structure defining this balance that many immigrants have brought with them will be reproduced among their adult children. Work-family balance attitudes reveal the norms about the family roles of young adults of different ethnic origins and, in turn, are another dimension of the social integration of immigrants and their children in Swedish society.

Our question is normative: what do young adults in Sweden report that they prefer and are there differences by origin? Do they want or hope to be egalitarian or do they prefer a traditional or semi-traditional work-family balance? And are there large gender differences in these attitudes?

Young men in each group are more likely to reply that a traditional or semi-traditional work-family balance is ideal. Gender differences are relatively small among those of Polish origin: young men and young women do not differ in their work-family balance attitudes (Table 5). More than 80% of young women of Polish origin consider an egalitarian balance between work and family to be ideal, and this is also the case for 77% of young men of Polish origin. Gender similarity also characterizes those of Swedish origin. However, differences between young men and young women are much greater among those of Turkish origin. More than 70% of young women of Turkish origin think an egalitarian work-family balance is ideal, while less than half (48%) of the young men of Turkish origin agree. Furthermore, less than one out of ten young women of Turkish origin indicate that the ideal woman should stay home with her young children. This attitude characterizes fully one fourth of the young men of Turkish origin.

Table 5. Ideal work division among couples with small children by sex and origin

Work division	Swedish		Polish		Turkish	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
He works, she doesn't	7,6	5,7	9,2	5,0	25,3	8,0
He full, she part	20,8	15,1	14,1	13,7	26,6	21,2
Equal or she works more	71,7	79,2	76,8	81,4	48,1	70,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

³ For more detailed analyses, see Bernhardt and F. Goldscheider (2006b).

Viewed from a larger perspective, it is perhaps amazing that nearly half of young men of Turkish origin chose the egalitarian option as ideal, hardly the stereotype of Turkish patriarchy. Nevertheless, the gender gap is substantial in these attitudes, suggesting that young women and young men of Turkish origin may have difficulty finding partners who are from their own ethnic background yet who share their vision of family life. Those who are moving toward a more egalitarian view of work and family balance might also be experiencing a significant generational gap, as their attitudes conflict with their parents' family-work experiences and attitudes.

What shapes family attitudes in young adulthood?

Up to this point we have considered attitudes towards cohabitation, out-partnering and the work-family balance among young Swedish born adults differentiated by ethnic origin (Swedish, Polish, and Turkish origins) and separately for men and women. We now turn to other sources of differentiation within ethnic and gender categories: education, ethnic residential concentration, maternal employment, parental intermarriage, and childhood family structure. We ask: Are these characteristics linked to family processes and are they potential sources of change? More specifically, do young adults of Polish and Turkish origins with higher levels of education, or who come from families who are already inter-ethnically married, or those from areas with lower levels of ethnic concentration have family attitudes that more closely resemble those of Swedish-origin young adults? If so, are some factors more potent than others? We use multivariate regression techniques (logistic regression) to address these issues (Table 6).

Each of the indicators of exposure to Swedish society, in the schools, the community, and the home, has some impact on these attitudes towards modern Swedish family forms. The patterns are not always consistent, however, although they are generally in the expected directions. The effects of some exposure measures depend on the attitude being studied, as well as the group being considered. Further, the level of exposure (community, family) is not a consistent marker.

The two community measures, exposure to schools and neighborhoods, provide a clear example of this inconsistency. Education has no significant effect on restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation in any of these three groups, nor on restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Polish and Turkish origins, but it strongly reduces traditional attitudes towards the work-family balance in all three. The finding that education is of great importance for attitudes towards the distribution of roles within the family corroborates the results reported by Röhr-Sendlmeier and Yun (2006) for Germany.

Table 6. Multivariate analysis of attitudes toward family forms (odds ratios)

	Restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation			Traditional work-family balance			Restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering	
	Swedish	Polish	Turkish	Swedish	Polish	Turkish	Polish	Turkish
Independent variables	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk	Relative risk
<i>Education (10 category variable)</i>	1.059	1,089	0,987	0.907**	0.812*	0.916	1,043	0,842
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity</i>	na	1,997*	1,332	na	1,329	1.026	1,295	1,976^
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>								
Part-time	0.652*	0,467^	0,595	0.523**	0.638	0.258**	0,870	1,755
Full time	0.835	0,787	1,372	0.385**	0.327*	0.476^	1,554	1,918
<i>Non-intact family background</i>	0.986	0,499^	0,584	0.840	1.540	0.615	0,562	0,226*
<i>Parental intermarriage</i>	na	0,804	0,345**	na	0.710	0.460^	na	na
<i>Age 26</i>	0.704*	1,656	0,761	1.075	1.385	0.914	0,630	0,510
<i>Metro (while R growing up)</i>	1.263	1,088	1,102	0.957	1.290	0.879	6,016	2,054
<i>Female</i>	0.657**	1,452	1,115	0.602**	0.675	0.324**	1,088	1,037
<i>Actual union type</i>								
Cohabiting partner	0.849	1,110	0,610	1.159	1.110	1.729	na	na
Marital partner	3.186**	0,766	2,535*	2.788**	1.563	2.350^	na	na
<i>Economic condition</i>	1.105	1,042	0,564	0.979	1.733*	0.936	1,312	0,408^
<i>Pseudo R²</i>	0.032	0.072	0.174	0.049	0.104	0.154	0.096	0.139
<i>Number of respondents</i>	1512	311	197	1409	303	191	141	96

** .01 > p; * .05 > p > .01; ^ .10 > p > .05

Neighborhood ethnic concentration, in contrast, has only two significant effects, on cohabitation among those of Polish origins and on out-partnering among those of Turkish origins. Each increase in concentration on the three-level scale nearly doubles the odds that those of Polish origins hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, although the effect is to increase traditionalism on the other two measures, as well. Among those of Turkish origins, each increase in concentration similarly about doubles the odds of holding restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering.

The three family-level measures of exposure (employed mothers, absent fathers, and out-married parents) also have inconsistent effects, although again most are in the expected directions. Having a mother employed full-time while the young adults were growing up strongly and significantly reduces support for the traditional work-family balance for each group, and even a mother who worked part-time has a strong effect, although it is only significant for those of Swedish and Turkish origins. Having a mother who worked also reduces the odds that young adults of Swedish and Polish origins hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, although the stronger impact results from a mother who worked part-time rather than full-time, with no consistent effect on those of Turkish origin. Such an experience had no impact on attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Polish origin.

In contrast, growing up in a non-intact family has a weaker impact on these attitudes. It does not matter at all for those of Swedish origins. Among the immigrant-origin groups it reduces restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation among those of Polish origins and reduces restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering among those of Turkish origins.

The most powerful family influence, of course, is having a parent who is not from either Poland or Turkey. This measure is not available for those of Swedish origin, all of whom have two Swedish-born parents, and not surprisingly, had such a strong effect on those of Polish or Turkish origins that we had to drop it from the model. Having inter-ethnically partnered parents also encourages non-traditional views of the other two attitudes among those of Turkish origins.

We also controlled for gender, actual union type and economic conditions during childhood. Young women with two Swedish-born parents are significantly less likely than young men to hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation, as well as to favour a traditional work-family balance. No significant gender differences were found for those of Polish origin, but young women of Turkish origin were found to be significantly more in favour of egalitarian gender roles than their male counterpart. Those already married were significantly more likely to hold restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation relative to those unpartnered, as well as to favour more traditional gender roles. This was true for both Swedish and Turkish origin young adults, while no such difference was found for those of Polish origin. Poor economic conditions in childhood increase the likelihood that those of Polish origin will favour a traditional work-family balance, while it decreases the likelihood that those of Turkish origin will hold restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering.

Finally, we pooled the three ethnic groups (only respondents of Polish or Turkish origin for the analysis of restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering) to test whether inter-group differences were significant. The results (see table 7) regarding restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation show that the views of both those of Polish and those of Turkish background are significantly different from the respondents of Swedish background (relative risks were 2.060** and 5.690**, respectively). However, with regard to views on traditional work-life balance, those of Polish background were not significantly different from Swedish origin young adults, while the relative risk for those of Turkish background was 1.922**. Comparing those of Polish and Turkish background with regard to restrictive attitudes towards out-partnering confirmed the huge difference between these two groups: those of Turkish background had an risk of 13.471**!

Table 7. Multivariate analysis of attitudes toward family forms (odds ratios)

Independent variables	Restrictive attitudes towards cohabitation Relative risk P	Traditional work- family balance Relative risk P	Restrictive attitudes towards out- partnering Relative risk P
<i>Education (10 category variable)</i>	1.048	0.893 **	0.892
<i>Neighborhood ethnicity</i>	1.529 *	1.156	1.759 ^
<i>Mother worked while R growing up</i>			
Part-time	0.620 **	0.508 **	1.518
Full time	0.870	0.383 **	1.850
<i>Non-intact family background</i>	0.830	0.901	0.277 *
<i>Parental intermarriage</i>	0.830 **	0.611 ^	na
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Polish	2.060 **	1.442	
Turkish	5.690 **	1.922 **	13.471 **
<i>Age 26</i>	0.803	1.079	0.542
<i>Metro (while R growing up)</i>	1.242	1.011	2.287 *
<i>Female</i>	0.825	0.577 **	1.045
<i>Actual union type</i>			
Cohabiting partner	0.827	1.191	na
Marital partner	2.511 **	2.250 **	na
<i>Economic condition</i>	1.016	1.080	0.577
<i>Pseudo R²</i>	0.119	0.064	0.346
Number of respondents	2029	1905	237

** .01 > p; * .05 > p > .01; ^ .10 > p > .05

Concluding thoughts

The data we have presented on young adults of Polish and Turkish origins in Sweden suggest that there are systematic differences among the native born in family-related attitudes that reflect their ethnic origins, with sharp differences between young adults of Turkish and Swedish origins. Swedes of Polish origins much more closely resemble those of Swedish origins. However, both groups of young women and men of non-Swedish origins appear to be approaching the attitudes of Swedish origin young adults, particularly relative to the family patterns in their parents' home communities. Moreover, young adults of Polish and Turkish origins with higher education and those who live outside communities with high proportions of immigrants more closely share the family attitudes of Swedes of Swedish origins than do those with less education or who live in residentially concentrated communities.

These findings shed light on the multiple dimensions of the relative integration of the second generation of young men and women of Turkish and Polish origins in Sweden. To a larger extent, the family attitudes of those of Polish origin are becoming indistinguishable from those of Swedish origins. And young adults of Turkish origin are moving in the Swedish direction but continue to have distinctive family attitudes.

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Address of the authors/Anschrift der Autoren:

Eva Bernhardt, professor emerita
Calvin Goldscheider, professor emeritus
Frances Goldscheider, professor emerita

Corresponding address/Korrespondenzadresse:

Eva Bernhardt
Tegelviksgatan 77
S-116 47 Stockholm

E-mail: eva.bernhardt@kvinfo.su.se
calvin_goldscheider@brown.edu
frances_goldscheider@brown.edu

Hanna Idema & Karen Phalet

Transmission of gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families: The role of gender, intergenerational and intercultural relations

Transmission von Geschlechtsrollenvorstellungen in deutsch-türkischen Familien: die Rolle von Geschlecht, intergenerationalen und interkulturellen Beziehungen

Abstract

This study investigates how gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents are shaped by intergenerational as well as intercultural relations. As part of a major survey of migrant families in Germany (Nauck, 2000), Turkish same-sex parent-child dyads (N=405) were each asked separately about their gender-role values, about socialisation goals and styles in parent-child relations, and about degrees of acculturation and perceived discrimination in intercultural relations. Intergenerational discrepancies differed across gender. In that second-generation daughters showed a significant shift towards more egalitarian values, but sons remained as conservative as their fathers. To explain the adoption of egalitarian vs. conservative gender-role values by Turkish adolescents, socio-demographic, intergenerational and intercultural factors were entered as independent variables in analyses of covariance with adolescents' values as a dependent variable. As expected, adolescents who are more acculturated, as indicated by self-reported German language proficiency, are more egalitarian. In addition, we find most egalitarian values among daughters of more highly educated and more egalitarian mothers. Conversely, father's religious socialisation goals and the perception of discrimination

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Studie wird untersucht, wie die Geschlechtsrollenvorstellungen türkisch-deutscher Jugendlicher sowohl durch intergenerationale als auch interkulturelle Beziehungen geprägt werden. Als Teil einer größeren Befragung von Einwandererfamilien in Deutschland (Nauck 2000) wurden Eltern-Kind-Dyaden gleichen Geschlechts (N=405) getrennt voneinander über ihre Geschlechtsrollenvorstellungen, Sozialisationsziele und Erziehungsstile in den Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen, sowie über das Ausmaß von Akkulturation und wahrgenommener Diskriminierung in den interkulturellen Beziehungen befragt. Die Diskrepanz zwischen den Generationen unterschied sich je nach Geschlecht dahingehend, dass bei den Töchtern ein signifikanter Schub in Richtung egalitärer Wertvorstellungen auftrat, während die Söhne so konservativ wie ihre Väter blieben. Um die Annahme egalitärer vs. konservativer Geschlechtsrollenvorstellungen durch türkische Heranwachsende zu erklären wurden soziodemographische, intergenerationale und interkulturelle Faktoren als unabhängige Variablen in Kovarianzanalysen einbezogen, wobei die Wertvorstellungen der Heranwachsenden als abhängige Variable angesehen wurde. Wie erwartet waren im höheren Maße akkulturierte Heranwachsende – was durch die Selbsteinschätzung der Kennt-

reinforce conservative values in sons. The findings suggest a gendered transmission pattern, where the mother is the direct cultural transmitter and the father exerts influence through normative reference to religious authority. Most importantly, tense intercultural relations are associated with conservative gender-role values among the sons of Turkish migrants.

Key words: acculturation, transmission, gender roles, generations, intercultural relations, discrimination

nisse in der deutschen Sprache gemessen wurde – egalitärer eingestellt. Darüber hinaus waren die egalitärsten Wertvorstellungen bei denjenigen Töchtern anzutreffen, die Mütter mit höherer Bildung und egalitären Wertvorstellungen hatten. Umgekehrt verstärkten die väterlichen Ziele im Bereich der religiösen Sozialisation und Diskriminierungswahrnehmungen konservative Wertvorstellungen bei den Söhnen. Die Ergebnisse legen ein geschlechtsspezifisches Transmissionsmuster nahe, bei dem die Mutter die unmittelbare Kulturvermittlerin ist, der Vater aber über die normative Bezugnahme auf religiöse Autorität Einfluss ausübt. Am wichtigste ist jedoch, dass angespannte interkulturelle Beziehungen mit konservativen Geschlechterrollenvorstellungen bei den Söhnen der türkischen Migranten assoziiert sind.

Schlagworte: Akkulturation, Transmission, Geschlechtsrollen, interkulturelle Beziehungen, Diskriminierung

Introduction

In western European migration contexts, the different and often conflicting values of migrants from majority Muslim countries like Turkey, are at the heart of public and political debates over issues of migration and integration. In particular, Islam is commonly associated with more conservative gender-role values that are at odds with the European host societies' normative commitment to gender equality in the private and public sphere (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 2002). Yet, cultural norms and values are never static. Especially in a context of migration where different cultures meet, migrant or minority values are subject to acculturative change. Moreover, migrant parents tend to acculturate at a much slower rate than their children, so that intergenerational value discrepancies increase with length of residence in the receiving society (Portes & MacLeod, 1996; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phinney, Ong & Maden, 2000). As a consequence, studies comparing migrant and non-migrant families find the largest intergenerational discrepancies between migrant parents and children (Kwak, 2003).

On the one hand, children of migrant parents come to adopt host cultural values, so they tend to endorse traditional family values of interdependence to a lesser extent than their parents (Phinney & Ong, 2002; Rosenthal, Ranieri & Klimidis, 1996). On the other hand, however, cross-cultural studies of values have found much evidence of value continuity in migrant families, in particular with regard to traditional

family values in non-western cultures of relatedness or interdependence (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Greenfield, 1994). This last stream of research suggests that family values of interdependence may resist acculturation and persist in the second generation, in spite of predominant cultural values of independence in Western receiving contexts. Moreover, Nauck (2001) reports more intense intergenerational transmission for core cultural values of relatedness in Turkish migrant families as compared with non-migrant families in Turkey. Apparently, migrant families may be (even) more motivated to pass on core cultural values to the next generation, as they are competing with different and sometimes conflicting host cultural values or role models.

This last finding of more intense value transmission in a migration context hints at the role of intercultural relations in explaining cultural continuity or discontinuity. Interestingly, acculturation studies show that the direction of acculturative change is not predetermined: while acculturative change in the direction of host cultural values and norms is probably the most common finding, the opposite shift away from the host culture may also occur (Berry, 2002). For example, Birman and Trickett (2001) found that Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents identified more strongly with the ethnic culture than their parents. More precisely, evidence of reaffirmation was found for ethnic identity issues, in spite of higher levels of language and behavioural acculturation among adolescents as compared with their parents. Ethnic reaffirmation in the second generation can be understood from the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM; cf. Bourhis, Moise, Perrault & Sénécal, 1997). According to Bourhis' Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), converging and mutually accepting migrant and host acculturation orientations are associated with more harmonious intercultural relations, while diverging orientations are associated with intercultural conflict. More specifically, in relatively exclusionist receiving contexts, where migrants experience more hostility and threat in intercultural relations with hosts, they tend to separate or dissociate from the host culture and instead reaffirm or reinvent the ethnic minority culture and identity as a source of collective self-worth. In turn, migrant acculturation orientations that stress ethnic separation, will further exacerbate hostile reactions from the host society, and aggravate inter-ethnic tension between migrant and host communities (Phalet & Kosic, in press; Piontkowski, Rohmann & Florack, 2002; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001). Family values of interdependence play a central role in supporting a sense of collective identity and in-group solidarity in a migration context (Verkuyten, 2001). Therefore, perceived threat in tense intercultural relations may reinforce adolescents' allegiance with traditional family values.

To recapitulate, studies of intergenerational continuity or change in migrant families have reported seemingly contradictory findings of acculturative shifts towards host cultural values, or intergenerational persistence of ethnic cultural values, or even ethnic reaffirmation, or a shift away from the host culture. In light of these diverging findings, our study is concerned with the key question of cultural continuity or change in migrant families. To establish and explain the values of the next generation from a traditional non-western family background, is the overall aim of our study.

More specifically, this study focuses on gender-role values in Turkish-German migrant families, as one aspect of family relations and obligations. Gender-role values are important for our understanding of acculturative change, because they are at once very central to minority cultures and identities *and* they are known to differ on average from host cultural values in Western receiving societies. In line with Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Model of Family Change (MFC), cross-cultural studies expect and find that gender-role values are becoming more egalitarian with the transition from traditional to modern family models in more socio-economically developed societies (Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu, 1999; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). According to Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, with the decline of material interdependence between family members, the emphasis in modern non-western 'cultures of relatedness' shifts towards emotional forms of interdependence that support personal autonomy rather than rigid paternal authority and that assign equal status to women and men. Thus, the family model of emotional interdependence differs both from a more hierarchical traditional family model *and* from the prototypical western model of independence. In Turkey for instance, the Value Of Children (VOC) surveys reveal more egalitarian gender roles in younger generations of women, in more highly educated women, in cities and in more recent periods (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). However, Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC has not yet been tested in a migration context. Cross-cultural trends in family values raise the question whether a similar change towards more egalitarian values can also be found in migrant families who have moved from less developed countries to economically advanced *and* culturally different western societies. Therefore, our first research question regards *the degree and direction of acculturative change in the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents as compared with the values of their parents.*

The main psychological process that secures some degree of value continuity across generations is the cultural transmission of values within the family (Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Schönplflug, 2001). In parallel, value continuity or change also depends on acculturation processes in intercultural relations outside the family (Berry, 2002). While intergenerational and intercultural relations jointly shape the values of Turkish-German adolescents, they have mostly been studied separately. Typically, cross-cultural social psychologists have looked for explanations in terms of group processes in intercultural relations whereas developmental psychologists have mostly focused on the role of parents and parenting in intergenerational relations (Grusec, Goodnow & Kuczynski, 2000; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). Our study aims to improve our psychological understanding of value continuity or change among Turkish migrant youth by connecting different explanatory factors from cross-cultural social and developmental psychology. Hence our main research question: *how do intergenerational relations between parents and children on the one hand, and intercultural relations between migrants and hosts on the other hand, influence the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents?"*

In what follows, relevant theory and research on cultural transmission, acculturation and gender-role values are briefly reviewed. Next, we argue different hypothetical explanations of the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents in more detail. To this end, we combine theory and research explaining value continuity or

change from two distinct approaches: from intergenerational relations within migrant families and from intercultural relations between migrant and host communities.

Concepts and theory

Cultural transmission and family values

The concept of cultural transmission broadly refers to the process of perpetuating the behavioural features of a cultural group through teaching and learning (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). Transmission is a dynamic process that never leads to a full replication of cultural repertoires from one generation to the next; rather, transmission results in varying degrees of cultural replication and adaptation in a changing environment (Boyd & Richardson, 1985). A young child learns cultural customs, norms and values mainly through *enculturation*, which is the largely unreflective and unintentional absorption of the surrounding culture through social modelling, observation and participation in routine cultural practices. This process is complemented by *socialisation*, which includes the active and purposive teaching of culturally consonant values, norms and behaviours (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). From an ecological perspective on child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), children do not only learn from interactions with their parents within the immediate family context. They also learn from other interactions with peers, adults and institutions outside the family. In a context of migration, cultural transmission within the family is embedded in a surrounding cultural environment that differs from the parents' heritage culture. Following Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981), Berry (et al, 2002) distinguishes between *vertical transmission* from migrant parents to children from *horizontal transmission*, which takes place through peer contact within or outside migrant communities. In addition, so-called *oblique transmission* refers to the influence exerted by adults other than the parents, like teachers, and by institutions other than the family, like schools (Berry et al., 2002). In the case of Turkish migrant families, vertical transmission from parents to children takes place mostly within the context of the ethnic community and culture. In contrast, the contexts of horizontal and oblique transmission are more ethnically mixed and culturally diverse. Whereas vertical transmission is seen to support cultural continuity within migrant families and communities, cultural change enters the family system through informal culture learning in cross-cultural peer contact, through formal education in school, and/or through the adoption of alternative adult role models from the host culture.

Most research on cultural transmission is concerned with the conservation of social or cultural values from one generation to the next (Grusec et al, 2000; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988). Values are defined as abstract desirable goals that become the guiding principles in developing personal attitudes and behaviours (Schwartz, 1992). Not only do values motivate

culturally consonant personal goals across a wide range of social contexts. Shared cultural values can also confer a sense of collective identity and moral community, which serves to protect personal self-worth and to secure social support. The latter function of cultural values as containers of collective identity and solidarity is most important in migrant or minority groups. To the extent that they support minority identities and loyalties, ethnic cultural values are therefore expected to resist rapid acculturative change (Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001a).

Family values, in particular, are central to the cultural construction of identity and community. Moreover, they differ significantly across cultures. According to Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, cultural differences between predominant western values of separateness and non-western values of relatedness are at the origin of contrasting family models of independence versus interdependence (see also Greenfield, 1994). There are also differences within and between non-western cultures, so that family models in modernizing societies are developing new egalitarian forms of interdependence between family members. As a consequence, low socio-economic development in many non-western cultures is associated with more traditional hierarchical family values. Conversely, socio-economic advancement and educational expansion in modern non-western societies are setting a cross-cultural trend towards more modern egalitarian family values (Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). In line with Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, many migrant groups from non-western backgrounds come to the West with family values that are far more conservative than host cultural values (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Farver, Narang & Bhadha, 2002; Nauck, 1989; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004; Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989). Consequently, the children of migrant parents are confronted with very different traditional non-western versus western family models in the contexts of ethnic and host cultures. Not surprisingly, family values are typically contested as symbolic boundary markers in intercultural relations (Lamont, 2002; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 2002). And most migrant or minority parents are strongly committed to passing on *their* visions of family values to their children (Nauck, 2001; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001a).

Gender-role values across cultures

Under the heading of family values, we focus more specifically on gender role values in Turkish migrant families. In this study, the concept and measure of gender role values refers primarily to the equality of men and women, in the sense of equal status for women within the family and equal opportunities in education and employment. Conservative values assign an inferior intra-familial status to the wife, adhere to a traditional family model with a male breadwinner and female caretaker, and stress independence and academic achievement as socialisation goals for boys only. Agreement or disagreement with these views can be ordered along a continuum that opposes conservative gender role values to more egalitarian values.

In general, gender-role values refer to the cultural meaning of gender as distinct from sex. Whereas *sex* refers to the biological aspects of being female or male, *gen-*

der refers to the acquired behavioural and psychological aspects of being male or female (Ashmore, 1990). Biological differences between men and women are at the origin of differential socialisation goals and practices, teaching boys and girls to accept and perform distinct gender roles. However, gender roles are by no means determined or fixed across cultures. On the one hand, cross-cultural research reveals some similar normative ideas about gender and shows that the differences between culturally valued and commonly perceived male and female roles may be very large or very small but that they are hardly ever reversed (Berry et al., 2002). For instance, Williams and Best (1990) found common stereotypes representing men as more assertive and competitive and women as more compliant and caring in 25 countries. Similarly, a study among children in 25 countries found a common tendency to portray women as caring for children and men as occupied in work roles outside the home (Gibbons, Styles & Shkodriani, 1991).

On the other hand, cross-cultural commonalities leave much room for cultural variation in gender-role values. Thus, Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC predicts more gender inequality in less developed countries, where traditional family models are centred on material interdependence. Rigid paternal authority in hierarchical relations across generations and across gender characterizes traditional family models. In addition to economic development, cultural meaning systems also make a difference in gender-role values, with most egalitarian values in western 'cultures of separateness', which value independence, as distinct from non-western 'cultures of relatedness', which value interdependence. Accordingly, Trommsdorff and Nauck (2005), who replicated the Value Of Children (VOC) surveys in six non-western cultures, including Turkey, Indonesia, China and Korea, confirm that traditional family systems in less developed countries tend to assign women to an inferior status. Similarly, Inglehart and Norris (2003), analyzing the World Value Surveys (WVS), found that cultures across the globe differ greatly in the extent to which they value gender equality, in the sense of equal rights and opportunities for men and women in their sexual, family and public lives. In addition, they point to the normative role of religion in enforcing conservative gender-role values, in spite of mounting egalitarian pressures with socio-economic development. Most notably, participants in majority Muslim countries were found to espouse the most conservative gender-role values on average, which assign an inferior status to women; in contrast, participants in the historically protestant and largely secularized North-West of Europe were most committed to egalitarian gender-role values; with the other regional and religious country clusters falling somewhere in between.

Looking beyond cultural differences, however, the VOC surveys reveal a significant cross-cultural trend towards more egalitarian gender role values over the last decades and in younger generations of women (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). This normative trend confirms the expected shift from traditional to modern family models in cultures of relatedness in Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC. It coincides with global socio-economic development and educational expansion, so that younger generations of women are more highly educated than their mothers and grandmothers. Interestingly, and in spite of significant and large cultural differences (Inglehart & Norris, 2003), value change in non-western coun-

tries is converging with similar trends towards more egalitarian gender role values in Western Europe and in the United States (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001; Van den Akker, Halman & De Moor, 1994). In the light of cross-cultural changes in gender role values, as predicted by Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC, the relative persistence of conservative gender role values in many migrant families raises interesting new questions about value transmission and acculturation in a migration context.

Value acculturation in migrant families

Cross-cultural acculturation studies examine processes of cultural change in intercultural relations between migrants and hosts (Berry, 2002). In another line of research, studies of value transmission have focused mostly on the role of parents and parenting in intergenerational relations. When applied to migrant families, these studies do not usually take on board group processes in intercultural relations as they affect the family system of migrants or minorities (Schönpflug, 2001). Consequently, few studies of migrant families have combined the influences of intercultural and intergenerational relations in the same analysis (see Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Kwak, 2003).

In acculturation studies, the emphasis has been on value change rather than continuity. Most often, value change is conceived as an acculturative shift in the direction of host cultural values. Change is usually measured by way of mean difference scores that indicate the size of intergenerational discrepancies or 'gaps' between the values and acculturation orientations of parents and children (e.g., Kwak & Berry, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2002; Phinney, Ong & Maden, 2000; Rick & Forward, 1992). In the domain of gender role values for instance, Phinney and Flores (2002) found that Hispanics in the United States who have more social contacts with the host society and who are more fluent in English, tend to have more egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles. In addition, generational status, education and gender also make a difference, so that less educated first-generation men hold the most conservative views of gender roles. Most notably, the comparison of first and second generation Hispanics shows the expected acculturative shift towards more egalitarianism in the second generation.

However, the way of measuring value change in acculturation studies does not allow inferences about the strength of intergenerational value transmission within migrant families. As Nauck (1989) pointed out, evidence of aggregate-level value change in acculturation studies has been misinterpreted as indicating the failure of intergenerational transmission in migrant families. A separate strand of cross-cultural research on cultural transmission, however, has contradicted this interpretation of intergenerational discrepancies as failed transmission. To the contrary, the few studies that focus on intergenerational transmission in migrant families, have documented significant or even enhanced continuity in the values of migrant parents and their children (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 1989; Schönpflug, 2001). In the domain of family values for example, Phalet and Schönpflug (2001a) showed that Turkish family values, which stress interdependence between generations and

traditional gender roles, are effectively transmitted from Turkish migrant parents to their children. Thus, adolescents whose parents are strongly committed to traditional family values, are themselves more attached to family relatedness than those whose parents are rather weakly committed. Moreover, value transmission is mediated by parental conformity pressure, indicating the goal-directed socialization of traditional family values by migrant parents. More in general, transmission studies estimate the degree of intergenerational value similarity by correlating parental with filial values over parent-child dyads. High correlations indicate successful transmission, which is commonly attributed to the normative impact of parental values and parenting practices in the family context (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1986; Grusec, Goodnow & Kuczynski, 2000; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Rudy & Grusec, 2001).

Importantly, mean differences in values in acculturation studies, and correlations of values between generations in transmission studies, carry different information. Technically speaking, strong value transmission can go together with a significant acculturative shift at the aggregate level. Taking together seemingly contradictory evidence from acculturation and transmission research on migrant families, this is indeed what we should expect. In line with findings of effective value transmission, the children of more conservative migrant parents would still be more conservative in their gender roles than children whose parents are less conservative. But regardless of their parents' values and in line with findings of value acculturation, the next generation would move collectively in the direction of more egalitarian gender-role values in the host society. Note that the reverse pattern may also occur: values can be maintained across generations at the aggregate level in the absence of significant transmission from parent to child. This alternative pattern of cultural continuity without vertical transmission is often seen in non-migrant families, where the transmission of cultural values is supported by socializing agents or institutions outside the family. This is why intergenerational discrepancies in non-migrant families may be minor or negligible even in the absence of significant value transmission from parents to children (Nauck, 1989). More in general, parents and children may have similar value orientations without direct transmission from parents to children, because, as a family, they share a common socio-cultural environment and common status attainment (Bengtson, 1975; Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

This study combines elements from both research traditions on acculturation and transmission in migrant families. Its aim is to explain variation and change in the gender-role values of the second generation. To this end, we use data on Turkish-German families from a major comparative survey among migrant families and youth in Germany (Nauck, 2000). Specifically, the Turkish-German sample consists of $N = 405$ same-sex parent-child dyads, i.e., mother and daughter or father and son, who have answered similar questions about gender-role values. This design allows us to test expectations of value continuity and change derived from studies of value transmission and acculturation. In addition, we replicate value patterns across gender. Furthermore, the survey provides information about the education of the parents and about parenting beliefs and practices. Specifically, migrant parents answered questions about socialisation goals for their son or daughter and about their preferred parenting styles. In addition to the direct effect of parental values, we can there-

fore test the impact of parents' resources, goals and styles on the values of their children. Finally, adolescents were asked questions about their experiences of acculturation, including language learning, ethnic distance and perceived discrimination, in intercultural relations with German hosts. In this way, we can simultaneously test the impact of intergenerational and intercultural relations on the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents. Moreover, the role of intergenerational and intercultural relations is replicated across gender, by comparing value transmission and acculturation in mother-daughter and in father-son relations.

Hypotheses

Gender and intergenerational discrepancies

Taking the perspective of the second generation, their gender role values are influenced both by the Turkish heritage culture and by the German host culture. How they negotiate different and sometimes conflicting cultural values with regard to gender roles is the focus of our study. The first Turkish migrants arrived in Germany as guest workers in the 1960s. As a consequence of chain migration, family reunification, and cross-border marriages in the second generation, the Turkish community is currently the largest population of migrant origin in Germany. With respect to gender roles, cross-cultural studies of values show that on average, Turkish migrants and their children are significantly more conservative, or less egalitarian than native Germans (Nauck, 1989). As it is expected from Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, value differences between migrant and host communities within Germany are in line with national differences in gender inequality and in gender role values between Turkey and Germany (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). Also in line with Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC, gender-role values within Turkey are becoming more egalitarian in urban regions, in younger generations of women, and in women with higher education (Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu, 1999; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). However, the Turkish migrants in Germany are more likely to be from more rural and less educated strata of the Turkish population, where traditional family values continue to be the norm. Moreover, there is evidence of the relative persistence of conservative family values in Turkish migrant families (Nauck, 1989; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004).

Building on Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC, in cross-cultural studies of values, our first exploratory question regards the degree and direction of value change in Turkish migrant families from one generation to the next. On the one hand, cross-cultural contact in a migration context may cause an acculturative shift in adolescents in the direction of more egalitarian host cultural values, and away from the traditional gender role model of their parents. In line with acculturation studies showing that adolescents acculturate more rapidly than their parents, we therefore expect *significant intergenerational discrepancies between Turkish-German adolescents' more egalitarian values and their parents' more traditional values (Hypothesis 1a)*. On the other hand, gender role values across cultures are known to differ across gender,

with women being more egalitarian on average than men (Beutel & Marini, 1995). Indeed, women's status improves with more egalitarian gender roles while men stand to lose status. In parallel, more conformity pressure is typically exerted on the male side of traditional family systems, since men are expected to take care of their old-aged parents later on and to assume authority over their wives and children (Nauck, 1989; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001a). In line with the gendered nature of family values and across generations, therefore, Turkish migrant men tend to be more conservative than women in their value orientations (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2004). Accordingly, we expect that *the gender-role values of Turkish-German men are more oriented towards conservation, and hence more likely to resist acculturation, as compared with the values of women (Hypothesis 1b)*.

Intergenerational relations within migrant families

Most research on cultural transmission is concerned with the vertical transmission of values or norms from parents to children during childhood or adolescence. As the primary transmitters of culture, parents directly influence the values of their children. However, some parental values are more strongly or more effectively transmitted than others. For instance, Turkish migrant parents in the Netherlands successfully transmit traditional family values to their children, including filial obligations and normative gender roles, but not academic achievement values (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001b). Since gender-role values are an important part of family values, it is expected that gender-role values are effectively transmitted from parents to children. Therefore, *Turkish migrant parents with more egalitarian gender-role values are expected to have children with more egalitarian values (hypothesis 2a)*. Figure 1 shows the hypothetical influence of parental values and parenting practices on the values of Turkish-German adolescents. All hypothetical explanations will be replicated across gender.

Not only are some parental values more strongly transmitted than others, some parents are also more successful in transmitting their values than others. Indeed, research on value transmission shows that parenting beliefs and practices play an important role in the transmission process (Grusec, Goodnow & Kuczynski, 2000; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). In the first place, parenting beliefs and practices directly inform the values of the children. For instance, authoritarian styles of parenting are associated with the socialisation of hierarchical values in a traditional family model (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). In addition, it has been suggested that across cultures certain parenting practices support the transmission of values from parents to children, while other practices interfere with the transmission process (Schönplflug, 2001). For example, a lack of warmth or empathy in parenting was associated with reduced intergenerational transmission across value domains (Schönplflug, 2001). This can be understood from Cashmore and Goodnow's (1985) two-process approach of value transmission. According to the two-process approach, effective transmission requires first, that children accurately perceive their parents' values and second, that they willingly accept these values as their own. Parenting beliefs and practices affect

both processes. For instance, a cold and rejecting parenting style will interfere with the acceptance of parental values by the child, since imposed values are not usually internalised and integrated into a coherent personal value system (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Grusec et al., 2000). Moreover, parenting also affects the accurate perception of parental values, which is required for effective transmission (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Knafo & Schwartz, 1992). Since consistency is known to enhance the effective communication of parental values to the child, the use of value-congruent parenting practices may be particularly powerful in enabling the accurate perception, and hence the transmission of parental values. For example, traditional family values are most effectively conveyed by value-congruent socialisation goals stressing conformity and obedience (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001a). To take into account all possible ways in which parenting may impact on adolescents' values, this study not only tests the main effects of parental values and parenting practices on adolescents' values, but it also tests for possible moderator effects of parenting. By moderation we mean that the impact of parental values on the values of their children can be stronger or weaker depending on the corresponding parenting practices.

Two aspects of parenting that have been most extensively researched, are parenting styles and parental goals for their children, or so-called socialisation goals (Levine, Miller & West, 1988; Schönplflug, 2001). Self-reported parenting styles are known to vary along two distinct dimensions of parental warmth and parental control (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Parental warmth refers to higher or lower levels of acceptance, responsiveness and emotional closeness. Parental control is conceptualised here as being demanding and restrictive with a focus on behavioural compliance (Barber, 1996). Combining both dimensions, an authoritarian style is characterized by higher levels of control and less warmth, as opposed to an indulgent style, which pairs more warmth with lower levels of control (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Interestingly, Baumrind (1989) identifies a 'traditional parenting style', which is characterized by a gendered division of tasks, with a distant, authoritarian father and a warm, indulgent mother. In line with the traditional pattern, adolescents in Turkey were more frequently found to perceive indulgent as well as authoritarian parenting (Sümer & Güngör, 1999). Moreover, a cross-cultural study comparing perceived parenting styles by Turkish migrant and non-migrant youth, confirmed the traditional cultural meaning of paternal authority in Turkish migrant families (Güngör, in press). To examine the role of parenting styles, this study includes measures of self-reported parental warmth and control by father or mother.

Building on Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Model of Family Change, we expect that an authoritarian parenting style contributes to the socialization of conservative gender roles, in line with a predominant traditional family model of interdependence among Turkish migrants. Intergenerational relations in the traditional model are characterized by the economic-utilitarian value of children, lifelong material interdependence between parents and children, normative gender roles that assign a low intra-familial status to women, and distant, authoritarian parenting practices that emphasize conformity goals and restrictive control. This traditional model contrasts with a modern family model of emotional interdependence in more developed cultures of relatedness. In the latter model, the emphasis shifts towards the psychological value of

children, lifelong emotional interdependence in intergenerational relations; increased gender equality; and warm, empathic parenting practices that encourage autonomy goals and emotional closeness. According to Kağıtçıbaşı's distinction between traditional and modern family models therefore, *authoritarian parenting (high control) in Turkish migrant families should contribute to the socialization of conservative gender-role values, while empathic parenting (high warmth) would contribute to more egalitarian values (hypothesis 2b)*.

Not only parenting styles but also parental socialisation goals contribute to the transmission process (Schönpflug, 2001). In line with Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, traditional family systems are characterized by parental goals that stress conformity and obedience in children, as distinct from more modern systems of interdependence, which tend to encourage autonomous agency (Levine et al, 1988). Following up on the cross-cultural finding that there are more conservative gender roles in countries where the population is mostly Muslim (Inglehart & Norris, 2003), this study focuses on a particular type of conformity goals: those referring to religious authority. Religious socialization goals for children stress conforming their behaviours to religious rituals and rules, and accepting religious authority as a guiding principle in their lives (Meyers, 1996). Across cultures, the role of religion and religious socialisation in maintaining and reinforcing conservative gender-role values has been widely recognized (Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Kloppenburg & Hanegraaf, 1995; Sharma, 1987; Van den Akker, Halman & De Moor, 1994). Therefore, it is expected that *religious socialisation goals contribute to the socialization of conservative gender-role values in Turkish migrant families (hypothesis 2c)*.

Finally, family-based resources, as indicated by the educational qualifications of the parents, also influence the socialization of values within the family (Bengtson & Dunham, 1986). Across cultures, the access of women to formal education is directly related to the decline of traditional gender-role values, so that more educated people, and especially more educated women, prefer more egalitarian gender-role values (e.g. Best & Williams, 1997; Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005; Nauck, 1989; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). Not only is the level of education of the parents associated with their own gender-role values, so that parents, and mothers in particular, with higher levels of education have more egalitarian values. But more qualified women are also more able to act upon egalitarian gender-role values than women with less education, which makes them into more consistent and hence more effective role models for their children (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985). Moreover, women with a higher educational and occupational status represent more attractive and influential egalitarian models for their children, so that parental education increases both the accuracy of perception and the acceptance of egalitarian values (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985). Thus, Schönpflug (2001) showed that the transmission of values from father to son was stronger for more highly educated Turkish migrant fathers. As can be seen in *Figure 1*, we expect that *parental education influences the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents both directly and indirectly, through more egalitarian parental values (hypothesis 2d)*.

Intercultural relations with the host society

Unlike vertical transmission from migrant parents to their children, horizontal and oblique pathways of transmission refer to interactions with peers, teachers or other adults, who mostly represent host cultural values in a context of migration. Extending Bourhis' (et al., 1997) IAM of migrant-host relations to the explanation of value acculturation, the impact of the host culture on the second generation depends crucially on the quality of intercultural relations between migrant and host communities. If we apply a two-process approach of value transmission to horizontal or oblique pathways of transmission (cf. Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985), the impact of intercultural relations on the values of the next generation is twofold. Firstly, some degree of cross-cultural contact between migrant and host communities is required for the accurate perception of host cultural values. In addition, migrants or minorities will be more inclined to accept host cultural values, if they experience intercultural relations as friendly or inclusive rather than hostile or exclusive.

Acculturation is the process of socio-cultural change that occurs whenever two or more cultures come into direct and sustained contact (Berry, 2002). This is not necessarily a linear process in which the migrant gradually gives up the heritage culture, and replaces it by the culture of the host society. Rather, it is a bi-dimensional process, in which migrants or minorities combine some degree of ethnic culture maintenance with some degree of cross-cultural contact and participation in the receiving society. The ensuing acculturative changes can take many forms, and value change is one of these (Berry, 2002). Furthermore, the acculturation orientations of migrants and hosts mutually influence each other, so that concordant or discordant migrant and host orientations lead to more harmonious or more conflicting intercultural relations (Bourhis et al., 1997). Conflicting intercultural relations are characterized by maximally diverging and mutually exclusive orientations, so that perceived ethnic prejudice or discrimination from the side of the host society typically reinforces ethnic distance, or a preference for ethnic separation on the side of migrant groups (Piontkowski et al., 2002; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick et al., 2001).

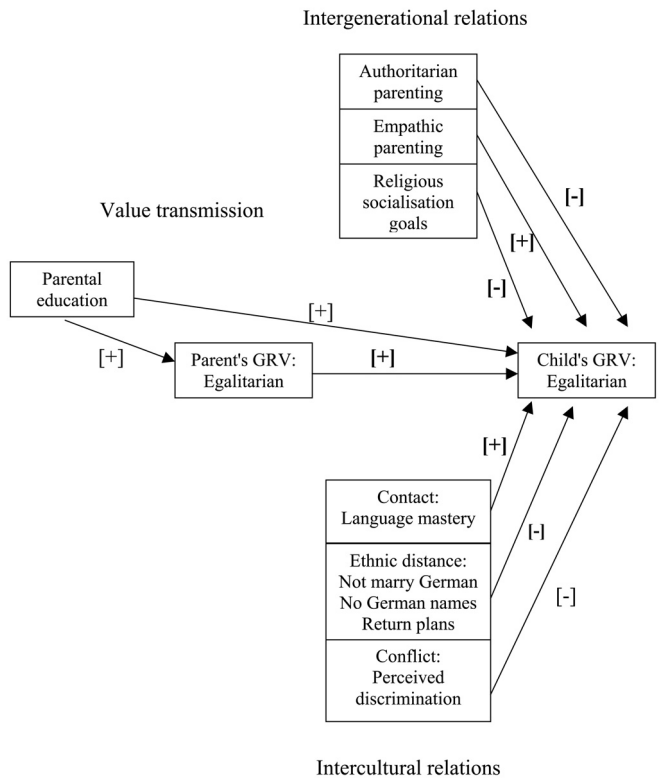
Building on Bourhis' IAM, it is argued here that value changes in the direction of the host culture are more likely with a higher degree of acculturation and cross-cultural contact in the context of a harmonious intercultural relationship. Conversely, ethnic distance and perceived discrimination in hostile or tense intercultural relations will mitigate the normative impact of the host culture. Hence, Turkish-German adolescents who are more competent in, and more oriented towards the receiving culture and society, should have more egalitarian gender-role values (see *Figure 1*). In contrast, the experience of discrimination in intercultural relations may lead to the ethnic reaffirmation of conservative gender-role values (see *Figure 1*). In order to assess the experiences of acculturation and intercultural relations among Turkish-German adolescents, we use measures of German language proficiency, ethnic distance from German culture and society, and perceived discrimination. All hypothetical explanations will be replicated across gender. Below, we argue in more detail the hypothetical effects of intercultural relations on the values of Turkish-German adolescent.

Most acculturation studies use attitudinal measures to identify the preferences of migrants or minorities for ethnic and/or host cultural values, norms or customs. However, such attitudinal measures are often poor predictors of actual or behavioural acculturation (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). Therefore, this study includes behavioural as well as attitudinal indicators of the acculturation orientations of Turkish-German adolescents. In the first place, migrants or minorities differ in the degree of behavioural acculturation, as measured by their familiarity with, and competence in the German language and culture. Clearly, a fair degree of behavioural acculturation is required for migrants or minorities to engage in intercultural relations and to fully participate in the host society (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Specifically, language proficiency and language use are key indicators of behavioural acculturation (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Felix-Ortiz & Newcomb, 1998; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). As language mastery is the prime prerequisite for cross-cultural contact, it should influence the access of migrants to the host society and its value system. Yet, the evidence of the role of host language acquisition in value acculturation is mixed. Thus, Leaper and Valin (1996) found that English language use was related to gender equality, so that Mexican-American mothers who spoke English at home, report more egalitarian values. However, this was not true for Mexican-American fathers. Likewise, Phinney and Flores (2000), in their study among Hispanic migrants in the US, showed that English language proficiency was associated with egalitarian gender-role values. However, this language effect was no longer significant once migration generation, education, and contacts with non-Hispanic friends were entered into the equation. In the present study, adolescents' self-reported German language proficiency reflects not only their objective competence but also, or maybe mainly, how confident they are about their language skills. More confidence in one's language skills is not only related to higher levels of language mastery but also to more frequent language use. As a measure of behavioural acculturation, therefore, *better self-reported German language proficiency should be associated with more egalitarian gender-role values in Turkish-German adolescents (hypothesis 3a)*.

Looking beyond behavioural or actual acculturation, acculturation attitudes also make a difference. According to Berry's (2002) well-known and extensively validated bi-dimensional acculturation model, the acculturation attitudes of migrants or minorities are organized along two distinct dimensions: ethnic culture maintenance and cross-cultural contact. Combining both dimensions, acculturation attitudes can be categorized into a fourfold typology: integration (high contact, high maintenance), assimilation (high contact, low maintenance), separation (low contact, high maintenance) or marginalization (low on both). For the purpose of explaining the adoption of host cultural values by acculturating adolescents, the contact dimension is clearly the most relevant dimension. Thus, Phinney and Flores (2002) found that minority youth in the US with more cross-ethnic friendships had more egalitarian gender-role values. For the frequency and quality of cross-cultural contacts, both behavioural and attitudinal aspects of acculturation are important. Not only should migrants or minorities be able to engage in cross-cultural interactions with hosts, but they should also be willing to do so. Therefore, the rejection of cross-cultural con-

tact in a separation type of acculturation is expected to interfere with value acculturation in the direction of the host culture. In contrast, integration or assimilation types of acculturation, which favour cross-cultural contact with the host society and culture, should enhance value acculturation. Accordingly, in their study of value acculturation among Turkish migrants, Phalet and Swyngedouw (2004) found that migrants who were more oriented towards separation from the host culture, had more conservative values than those who were more oriented towards integration or assimilation. In the present study, we used three indicators of ethnic distance as measures of negative attitudes towards cross-cultural contact in a separation type of acculturation: firstly, the rejection of a German marriage partner, secondly, the rejection of German names for one's children, and lastly, one's future return plans to Turkey. In line with previous findings of value acculturation, it was expected that *Turkish-German adolescents who are more separated, in terms of ethnic distancing from the German host culture, have more conservative gender-role values (hypothesis 3b).*

Figure 1. Hypothetical model: Expected effects of intergenerational and intercultural relations on the gender role values (GRV) of Turkish-German adolescents



Finally, acculturation is a two-way process (Bourhis et al., 1997). From an interactive perspective, the frequency and quality of cross-cultural contact required to achieve value acculturation does not only depend on the orientations and skills of migrants. It also depends on the degree to which migrants are accepted and included by dominant groups and institutions in the host society. For example, Nauck (2001) found that higher levels of perceived discrimination are related to less inter-ethnic contacts in the social networks of Turkish migrants. Similarly, perceptions of discrimination in intercultural relations have been related to reactive ethnic identification and ethnic reaffirmation among minority youth (Andriessen, 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). In this study, perceived discrimination is measured at the personal level and in different social contexts, such as the school, shops and the neighbourhood. In accordance with Bourhis' (et al., 1997) Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), we expect *more conservative gender-role values among Turkish-German adolescents who perceive more ethnic discrimination (hypothesis 3c)*.

Method

Samples and measures

The data used to test our hypotheses were gathered as part of a major survey among migrant families in Germany (Nauck, 2000). The sampling design couples adolescents with their parents in same-sex parent-child dyads, i.e. fathers with sons and mothers with daughters. The Turkish migrant sample consists of 205 Turkish fathers and their sons, and 200 Turkish mothers and their daughters (N=405). Turkish migrant families were sampled in Berlin and in the Lake Constance (Bodensee) region in the South of Germany. The parents are first-generation migrants who were born in Turkey and who were mostly attracted as guest workers by the German government and industries in the early 1970s. The average age of the fathers was 45 years and that of the mothers 41 years. The average age of their children was fifteen years. Of the children, 80% were born in Germany, and most others arrived in Germany in early childhood. Since all children attended primary school in Germany, they are considered here as second generation. At the time of the survey, they were in grades seven to nine of secondary school, with 54% attending lower vocational tracks. While the higher streams in the German school system prepare students for higher education, lower vocational tracks prepare students to make the transition to the labour market. Most Turkish migrant parents, and women in particular, had low levels of education. Of the fathers, 8% had no formal qualifications, 59% had primary, 29% full secondary, and 4% tertiary qualifications. Of the mothers, one in three or 34% had no formal qualifications, 46% had only primary, 17% full secondary, and 3% tertiary qualifications.

In a first step of the data collection procedure, adolescents filled out paper-and-pencil questionnaires in German in school. In order to minimise social or situational sources of correlation between generations, parents and children were approached

separately, in different contexts, and most often in different languages. Thus, in a next step, parents were contacted by co-ethnic interviewers at their homes for standardized face-to-face interviews in the language of their choice (i.e., Turkish or German).

As measures of gender-role values, parenting and acculturation, the parent and child questionnaires include the following questions and scales.

Gender-role values. A short version of the Sex Role Orientations (SRO) scale (Brogan & Kutner, 1976; Krampen, 1983) was used to measure gender-role values in parents and children. Principal Component Analysis yields one factor opposing more egalitarian to more conservative gender role values, which explains 45.5% of the variance for children and 45.4% for parents. The following five items loaded on this factor: *'In case of disagreement between husband and wife, the husband should always decide' (reversed)*, *'A husband's task is to earn money; a wife's task is to look after the home and the family' (reversed)*, *'The education of boys should be more important for teachers and parents than that of girls' (reversed)*, *'Girls should be allowed to learn the same occupations as boys'*, and *'Parents should encourage independent behaviour in their daughters as well as in sons'*. The items form an internally consistent composite scale ($\alpha = .70$ for children and $.69$ for parents). Response categories are recoded from (1) fully disagree to (4) fully agree, so that lower scores indicate more conservative gender-role values and higher scores more egalitarian values.

Religious socialisation goals. The self-reported religious socialisation goals by parents were assessed with the following three statements: *'My child should obey the teachings of the Quran'*, *'My child should learn a lot about the mosque and the faith when he/she is still young'* *'My child should visit the mosque weekly'*. The items form a reliable composite scale ($\alpha = .87$). Response categories are recoded from (1) fully disagree to (4) fully agree. Hence, a lower score indicates that less importance is attached to the religious socialization of the child, and a higher score indicates that religious socialization is more important.

Parenting styles. To assess distinct warmth and control dimensions of self-reported parenting styles, Nauck and Schönplflug (1997) developed cross-cultural measures of empathic parenting (i.e., warmth or indulgence) and authoritarian parenting (i.e., restrictive control). Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation yields the expected two-factor solution for authoritarian and empathic styles of parenting, with the former explaining 30% of the variance and the latter an additional 23%. Five items measure *authoritarian parenting*: *'Under no circumstances do I permit my child to contradict me'*, *'If my child says something that does not please me, I get very upset'*, *'If my child has been assigned a task, I do not allow him (her) to give up until (s)he has completed the task'*, *'I never tolerate that my child deviates even slightly from my orders'*, *'When there is a problem I listen to what my child has to say, but in the end I always decide alone'*. These five items form a reasonably internally consistent composite scale ($\alpha = .68$), with response categories recoded from (1) fully disagree to (4) fully agree. Hence, higher scores indicate more authoritarian

parents. In addition, three items measure *empathic parenting*: 'I know immediately when my child likes something very much just by looking at him (her)', 'When I see my child, I can guess without words if he (she) is sad', 'When I see him (her), I can feel when something is wrong with my child'. Together, these statements form a fairly internally consistent composite scale ($\alpha = .66$), with higher scores indicating more empathic parenting. It should be noted, however, that the distribution is very skewed, because many Turkish migrant parents fully agree with all three statements.

Parents' education. The education of the parents was coded into five categories, from (1) no qualifications, (2) primary school, (3) lower secondary, and (4) full secondary; up to (5) university degree.

German language proficiency Four questions measure the self-reported German language proficiency by adolescents, who rated their ability to understand, speak, read and write German. The four ratings form a reliable composite scale ($\alpha = .84$). Response categories were (1) little or no mastery, (2) good, or (3) very good, so that higher scores indicate higher levels of language proficiency.

Ethnic distance. Ethnic distance from the German host society and culture was measured by three separate questions. The first question concerns the rejection by adolescents of a German marriage partner: 'Can you imagine that one day you will marry a German (wo)man?' with response categories (3) certainly not, (2) possibly, and (1) probably. Note that a significant portion of adolescents who do not want to marry, are treated as missing. The next question regards the rejection of German names for children: 'Suppose you would have children in Germany, which names would you give to your children?' with response categories (3) Turkish names, (2) Turkish names that are easy to pronounce in German, or (1) German names. Adolescents who prefer other international names are treated as missing. Lastly, adolescents were asked about future return plans to Turkey: 'When you grow up, do you want to (3) return to Turkey, or (1) stay in Germany, or are you (2) undecided?' Those who want to emigrate to a country other than Turkey are treated as missing. The three questions about partner choice, name giving and return plans are used here as single indicators of ethnic distance, since they do not form a consistent composite scale.

Perceived discrimination. Adolescents' perceptions of discrimination were measured at the personal level. Specifically, they answered three questions about the extent to which they personally experienced unfair treatment or discrimination in school, in the neighbourhood where they live, and when shopping. These three questions form an internally consistent composite scale ($\alpha = .68$). Response categories were recoded from (1) fully disagree to (4) fully agree, so that a high score indicates high levels of perceived personal discrimination.

Results

Value discrepancies

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for all concepts and measures across gender, including values, parenting, education, acculturation and perceived discrimination. In addition, *Figure 2* represents the observed discrepancies in gender role values across generations and across gender.

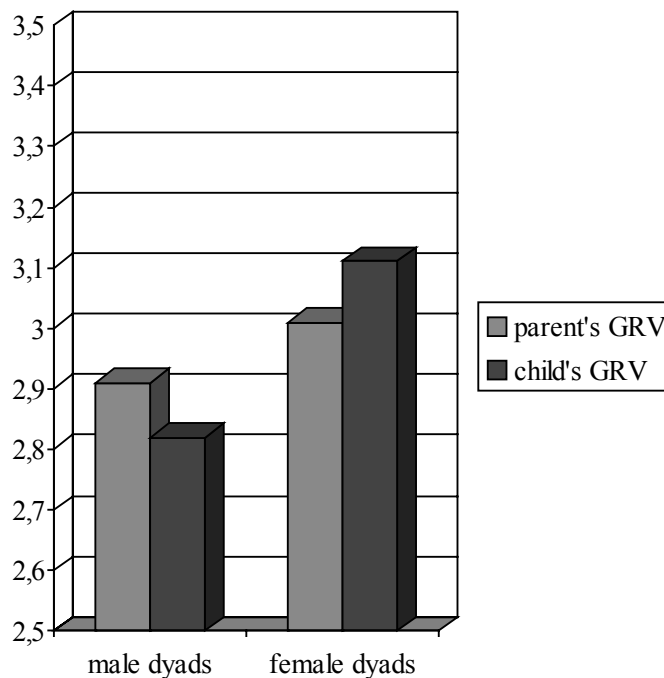
Table 1. Measures of Gender Role Values (GRV), parenting, education, acculturation and perceived discrimination: Means, standard deviations and differences between male and female dyads

	Male dyads:		Female dyads:		Gender difference:
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	T-value
Child's Gender-Role Values	2.82	.63	3.11	.65	-4.68***
Parent's Gender-Role Values	2.91	.67	3.01	.71	-1.30
Parental education (parent)	2.50	1.00	1.97	.97	5.44***
Parenting (parent):					
– religious socialisation goals	2.93	.95	2.65	1.04	2.82**
– authoritarian parenting	2.99	.67	2.82	.68	2.53*
– empathic parenting	3.43	.64	3.68	.48	-4.59***
Acculturation (child):					
– German language mastery	2.42	.51	2.48	.42	-.63
– not marry German partner	1.41	.57	1.53	.55	-1.61
– no German name for child	1.48	.90	1.27	1.19	2.1*
– future return plans	2.26	.73	2.22	.80	.09
perceived discrimination (child)	1.46	.56	1.38	.54	.26

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

Across generations and gender, Turkish migrant families tend to disagree in part with conservative gender role values. There are also significant differences along the generation and gender divides. As can be seen from *Figure 2*, intergenerational discrepancies between migrant parents and their children are significant for mothers and daughters only (paired-samples t -value = 2.06; $p < .05$). Turkish-German daughters have more egalitarian gender role values than their mothers. In contrast, sons have rather more conservative values than their fathers, but this difference is not significant. Looking across gender, value differences between fathers and mothers are not significant either. But sons are significantly more conservative (or less egalitarian) than daughters (t -value = -4.68; $p < .001$). This pattern suggests an acculturative shift among Turkish-German women towards more egalitarian values. As a consequence, we find evidence of a 'generation gap' between migrant mothers and daughters, but not between migrant fathers and sons. At the same time, the diverging gender role values of daughters are at the origin of an emerging gender gap in the second generation, opposing more egalitarian women to more conservative men.

Figure 2. Intergenerational discrepancies in Gender Role Values (GRV) in Turkish migrant families: Father-son and mother-daughter dyads



Turning to parenting, we find that Turkish migrant parents on average tend to agree with religious socialization goals and with authoritarian parenting. At the same time, most of them fully agree with empathic parenting. Overall, this pattern is in line with a traditional 'authoritarian-indulgent' parenting style, which combines restrictive control with emotional closeness (Baumrind, 1989), and which is also common in Turkey (Sümer & Güngör, 1999). But the parenting profiles of migrant mothers and fathers also differ. Fathers attach more importance to religious socialization ($t = 2.82$; $p < .01$); and they are more authoritarian ($t = 2.53$; $p < .05$). Mothers, in contrast, are much more empathic in their parenting styles ($t = -4.59$; $p < .001$). The gendered nature of the parenting profiles is in accordance with Baumrind's (1989) notion of a traditional parenting style, which combines a distant, authoritarian father with a warm, indulgent mother. Moreover, a recent study of perceived parenting styles confirms the persistence of authoritarian paternal control in Turkish migrant families (Güngör, in press). Furthermore, our data suggest that the nature of religious socialization in Turkish-German families is gendered, in that religious authority is linked to paternal authority or control in traditional family systems.

Lastly, Turkish-German adolescents rate their language skills in German as good to very good, but they would rather not marry a German partner nor give German

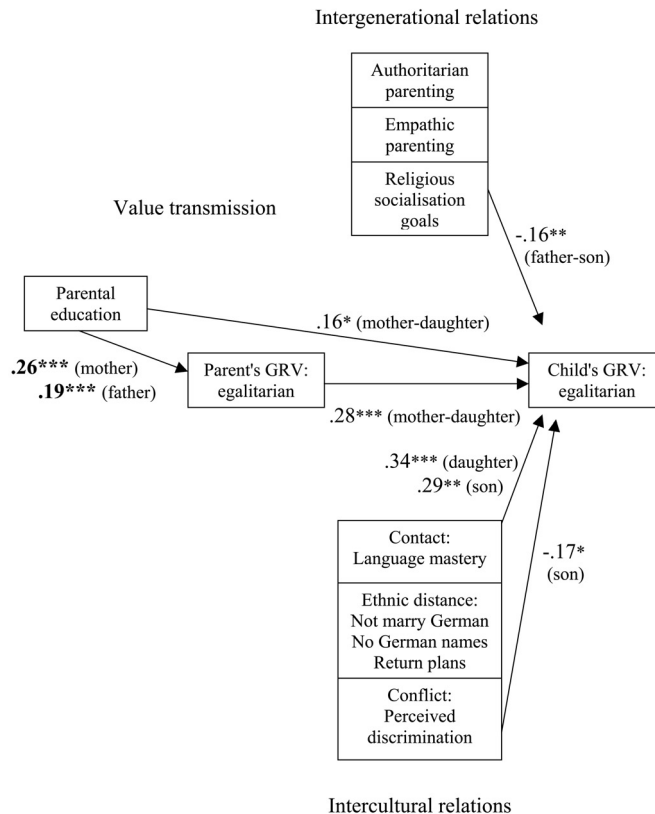
names to their children. Moreover, they have not yet decided if they will stay in Germany or return to Turkey in the future. Finally, daughters and sons do not differ significantly in their levels of acculturation and perceived discrimination, with one exception: Turkish-German girls are slightly less averse of German names for their children than boys.

Value transmission and acculturation

In a next step, children's values were entered as dependent variables in Analyses of Covariance (ANCOVA) taking the parents' education, values and parenting practices and the children's acculturation and perceived discrimination as independent variables. The model was tested separately for father-son dyads and for mother-daughter dyads (see *Figure 3*). In addition to the hypothesized main effects of parental education and parenting practices, interaction effects with parental values were also tested (cf. supra). To this end, both covariates were centred and their cross-product was added to the analysis (Aiken & West, 1991). The total explained variance (R^2) in adolescents' gender-role values was 16.9% in father-son dyads and 19.4% in mother-daughter dyads.

In father-son dyads, no significant direct transmission of values was found from father to son. Interestingly, there was also no significant intergenerational discrepancy between the values of Turkish migrant fathers and sons. Together, these findings suggest intergenerational continuity of conservative gender-role values on the male side of Turkish migrant families, in the absence of direct value transmission from father to son. Nevertheless, intergenerational relations do make a difference in the gender-role values of the sons. Specifically, the fathers' religious socialisation goals have a predicted effect on the gender-role values of their sons ($F(1,185) = 8.03$; $p < .01$, $\beta = -.16$). The more Turkish migrant fathers stress religious conformity as an important socialisation goal for their sons, the more conservative the gender-role values of their sons are (see *Figure 3*). Intercultural relations also play a role. As expected, a son's self-reported language proficiency is significantly related to his gender-role values ($F(1,185) = 12.48$; $p < .01$; $\beta = .29$). In sons, higher levels of German language mastery go together with more egalitarian gender-role values (see *Figure 3*). Finally, there is a significant main effect of perceived discrimination on the gender-role values of the sons ($F(1,182) = 3.99$; $p < .05$; $\beta = -.17$). As expected, the more discrimination the son encounters, the more conservative are his gender-role values (see *Figure 3*). No other main or interaction effects on adolescent values are significant in father-son dyads.

Figure 3. Effects of intergenerational and intercultural relations on the gender role values (GRV) of Turkish-German adolescents: Standardized regression coefficients for mother-daughter and father-son dyads



In mother-daughter dyads, we did find the significant direct transmission of gender-role values from mothers to daughters ($F(1,191) = 16.56; p < .001; \beta = .28$). As expected, the more egalitarian the gender-role values of the mother, the more egalitarian are the values of her daughter. At the same time, as a result of horizontal or oblique transmission, we saw that the daughters were also more egalitarian than their mothers. Apparently, Turkish migrant mothers effectively transmit their gender-role values in spite of value discrepancies between mothers and daughters. Note that this pattern of adaptive value change in the presence of effective vertical transmission from mother to daughter is the opposite of the male pattern of cultural conservation without vertical transmission from father to son (cf. supra). In addition and in line with expectations, the level of education of mothers has significant direct as well as indirect effects on their daughters' gender-role values. Thus, maternal education directly impacts on the values of the next generation, in that daughters of more highly educated mothers, hold more egalitarian family values ($F(1,191) = 3.40; p < .05$;

$\beta = .16$). Post hoc comparison of means indicates that this effect is seen at the transition to full secondary or higher education: mothers with at least full secondary education have more egalitarian daughters than mothers with lower levels of education. In addition, the education of the mother also influences the gender-role values of her daughter indirectly, through the more egalitarian values of more highly educated mothers. A separate ANOVA was performed to test the effect of parents' educational level on their own gender-role values. Across gender, parental education was a significant predictor of parents' gender-role values ($F(4,200) = 9.54$; $p < .001$; $\beta = .26$ for mothers; $F(4,205) = 6.75$; $p < .001$; $\beta = .19$ for fathers). This means that parents with higher education have more egalitarian gender-role values. However, this only affects the children's values in female dyads, since no significant value transmission takes place in male dyads. Finally, also for daughters, intercultural relations make a difference in the adoption of host cultural values. As expected, the self-reported German language proficiency by daughters had a significant effect on their gender-role values ($F(1,191) = 14.42$; $p < .001$; $\beta = .34$). As *Figure 3* shows, the higher the self-reported level of the German language mastery of adolescents, the more egalitarian are their gender-role values. This effect of language acculturation is fully replicated across gender. No other main or interaction effects are significant in mother-daughter dyads.

Discussion

Most Turkish migrants, who have been recruited from the more conservative, rural and less educated segments of the Turkish population, brought along their traditional family values, which assign inferior status to women (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005; Nauck, 1989). As a consequence, the children of Turkish migrants are confronted with very different host cultural values, which favour more egalitarian gender roles as part of a western family model of independence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). In light of the known cultural differences between ethnic and host cultural values pertaining to normative gender roles, this study is aimed at improving our understanding of the gender-role values of Turkish-German adolescents, and how they are simultaneously shaped by intergenerational relations within migrant families on the one hand, and by intercultural relations with German hosts on the other hand. Below, we briefly discuss the most important findings and their theoretical implications. We conclude by identifying some limitations in the data and the analysis, and some pointers for future research on value transmission and acculturation in migrant families.

Intergenerational discrepancies

Previous studies of value acculturation in migrant families revealed seemingly contradictory findings of cultural continuity *and* change in the second generation. Al-

though most studies find an intergenerational shift in the direction of host cultural values (e.g., Kwak, 2003), value acculturation is not a linear process. Thus, there is some evidence of effective or even enhanced value transmission from migrant parents to children (e.g., Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). Likewise, other findings document a reverse tendency towards ethnic reaffirmation, or an intergenerational shift away from the host culture (Birman & Trickett, 2001). Against the background of these conflicting findings, the first aim of this study was to establish intergenerational discrepancies in Turkish migrant families in the domain of gender-role values. Drawing on cross-cultural expectations and findings of value differences across generations and gender, we hypothesized that adolescents would be more egalitarian on average in their gender-role values than their parents (*Hypothesis 1a*), and that women would be more egalitarian than men (*Hypothesis 1b*). Our findings confirm both hypotheses, though only in part.

Most importantly, on the female side of Turkish migrant families, we find the expected value discrepancies between more traditional mothers and more egalitarian daughters. This acculturative shift towards more egalitarian values for daughters is in line with earlier findings of a slower rate of value acculturation in the first generation as compared with the second generation (e.g., Phinney & Vedder, in press). Moreover, the direction of value change suggests that Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Model of Family Change (MFC) can to some extent be generalized to Turkish migrant families. As distinct from Turkish families in Turkey, Turkish migrant families are directly exposed to egalitarian values as part of a culturally different family model of independence in the host society. According to Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC, socio-economic advancement and educational opportunities in the receiving society should be accompanied by the transition from traditional to modern family models of interdependence, which assign more equal status to women. However, Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC is confirmed only in part. Contrary to our first hypothesis, no significant intergenerational discrepancies were found on the male side of Turkish migrant families. If anything, the gender role values of the sons are rather more conservative than the values of Turkish migrant fathers, although this difference is not significant. Moreover, looking across gender and generations, the average profile of Turkish migrant families seems closest to a traditional family model. More precisely, the average Turkish migrant family was characterized by moderately conservative gender-role values, a strong emphasis on religious conformity, and a traditional authoritarian-indulgent parenting style (cf. Baumrind, 1989).

At the same time, we find the expected gender difference between the values of more egalitarian daughters and more conservative sons. As a consequence of the gendered nature of traditional family systems, there is more conformity pressure on sons, who are expected to take care of their old-aged parents in the future. Moreover, women have most to gain from egalitarian gender role values, in terms of equal status, opportunities and rights. Consequently, the egalitarian shift of the daughters of Turkish migrants is at the origin of a new gender gap in the second generation. Indeed, Turkish migrant mothers and fathers did not significantly differ in their gender role values, but their daughters and sons do. Most notably, more egalitarian second-generation women differ both from their mothers *and* from their brothers.

In sum, the picture of Turkish migrant families that emerges from our data is that of a traditional family model under pressure, due to the acculturative shift of daughters towards more egalitarian values in the host society. The theoretical question is whether value discrepancies in Turkish migrant families signify the transition towards a modern family model of interdependence, in line with Kagıtcıbaşı's (1996) MFC, or whether the next generation will be caught in a culture clash between the conservation of tradition and western values of independence.

Intergenerational relations and value transmission

How to explain the intergenerational change towards more egalitarian gender role values in women, in combination with the persistence of conservative values in men? Taking an intergenerational perspective on value transmission, cross-cultural psychologists have identified parental values and parenting practices as the primary sources of cultural continuity in family values (e.g., Rohan & Zanna, 1986). Indeed, traditional family values in migrant families appear to be effectively transmitted from one generation to the next (e.g., Knafo & Schwartz, 2001). In the domain of gender-role values, therefore, we expected that the children of more conservative parents would themselves have *more conservative values than children whose parents were less conservative (Hypothesis 2a)*. In addition, we hypothesised that parenting practices would also contribute to adolescents' gender-role values. In line with cross-cultural findings and with Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) MFC, more authoritarian parents and parents who stress religious socialisation goals more, should reinforce conservative gender-role values in their children, as opposed to more empathic, less authoritarian, and/or less religious parents (*Hypothesis 2b and c*). Finally, parental resources, as indicated by their formal qualifications, are crucial preceding variables that impact on the intergenerational transmission of values. Thus, the children of parents with higher levels of education were expected to have more egalitarian gender-role values (*Hypothesis 2d*).

Turning to our findings, distinct patterns of transmission were found for male and female dyads. In line with the second hypothesis, the gender-role values of the mother are directly transmitted to the daughter: more egalitarian mothers have more egalitarian daughters, and vice-versa, more conservative mothers have more conservative daughters. But there is no significant value transmission from father to son. Since the vertical transmission of gender-role values is situated on the female side of Turkish migrant families, our second hypothesis is confirmed only in part. In addition to the vertical transmission of traditional values from migrant parents to their children, the horizontal or oblique transmission of host cultural values also contributes to adolescents' own values. Indeed, and in line with our first hypothesis, effective value transmission from mothers to daughters goes together with adaptive change towards more egalitarian values in the host society in daughters. This pattern is in accordance with the more general nature of cultural transmission, which secures some measure of cultural continuity while allowing for adaptive changes to a changing socio-cultural environment from one generation to the next (Berry et al.,

2002). Interestingly, exactly the opposite pattern applies to the male side of Turkish migrant families, where conservative gender-role values resist acculturative change and persist into the next generation. Moreover, cultural continuity is achieved in the absence of direct intergenerational transmission from father to son within migrant families.

How is this unexpected finding of a gendered pattern of value transmission in Turkish migrant families best understood? One line of reasoning starts from the gendered nature of intergenerational transmission. Whereas mothers act as the primary socialising agents who pass on their own personal values in emotionally close relationships with their children, fathers represent a less personal and more distant normative authority within the traditional family system. This argument receives rather indirect support from observed gender differences in parenting within Turkish migrant families: in line with a traditional family model, we find more authoritarian control and more religious conformity pressure in Turkish migrant fathers, and more empathic parenting in mothers. This division of parental tasks confirms earlier findings of what Baumrind (1989) has called a traditional parenting style, where rigid paternal control is counterbalanced by maternal warmth or indulgence (Sümer & Güngör, 1999; Güngör, in press). The traditional gendered pattern of male authority and conformity pressure has been explained by the old-age security value of sons, who are expected to look after their parents in old age (Kagitcibasi, 1996). From what we know about the role of parenting in the transmission of values (cf. Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Rudy & Grusec, 2001), it is not surprising that the gendered parenting pattern should affect the transmission of values in Turkish migrant families. On the female side, high levels of empathy and emotional closeness are known to foster the communication and acceptance of parental values, while simultaneously allowing for adaptive value change as a consequence of acculturation. On the male side, in contrast, rigid paternal control may interfere with the personal transmission of values from father to son, while at the same time reinforcing the collective compliance of the next generation with traditional family values and gender roles. Finally, a rather different line of reasoning refers to gender differences in acculturation processes in order to explain gender differences in value acculturation. This argument will be developed further in the next paragraph under the heading of intercultural relations.

Returning to the role of intergenerational relations, we find that the hypothesized role of parenting is again partly confirmed by our findings. As expected fathers who stress religious socialisation goals more, have more conservative sons. Interestingly, the same is not true of mothers and daughters. Again, we refer to the gendered parenting pattern in traditional family systems as a possible explanation. We saw that religious conformity pressure is mostly exerted by fathers and not by mothers. Clearly, the reference to religious authority is part of the cultural meaning of paternal authority in Turkish migrant families. In line with cross-cultural findings on religion and gender equality, the religious socialisation of sons effectively reinforces conservative gender role values. However, no additional significant effects of parenting styles were found at the individual level. Still, the hypothetical association of parenting styles with gender-role values receives indirect support from gender differences

in adolescents' values. Thus, more conservative gender-role values in son are in line with the expected conservative impact of a more authoritarian and distant parenting style in Turkish migrant fathers. Conversely, a more lenient and warm parenting style in mothers goes together with more egalitarian values in daughters. The fact that parenting makes no significant difference within gender, however, may point to data limitations as well as conceptual problems. In particular, empathic parenting is so strongly endorsed by Turkish migrant parents that a ceiling effect may have suppressed its correlation with adolescents' values. Apparently, a rather strong normative consensus around a traditional parenting style in Turkish migrant families implies that there is little individual variation beyond a significant gender difference between more authoritarian fathers and more indulgent mothers. Furthermore, our measure of authoritarian parenting captures a restrictive form of parental control, which would interfere with the internalisation of values by children. Moreover, cross-cultural studies do not agree about the meaning and impact of parental control in the socialisation of values: although some degree of control is required, too much control or too rigid a form of control may actually hinder the transmission of values (Schönpflug, 2001). It should be added that the cultural meaning of paternal control especially depends on social representations of normative authority (Güngör, in press). To throw more light on the role of migrant fathers in the transmission of values, therefore, we would need more refined measures of different (e.g., behavioural and psychological) aspects of control in their cultural context.

Finally, we expected and found that education is crucial in enabling the socialisation of egalitarian gender-role values. One way in which education influences the values of the next generation is mediated through parents' own values. Thus, parents who have at least completed full secondary education are more in favour of gender equality. And this egalitarian effect of education is even stronger for women than for men (Beutel & Marini, 1995; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005). Our hypothesis was only partly confirmed, however, since only mothers effectively transmit their own gender-role values to their children. In addition, parental education also contributes directly to more egalitarian gender-role values in the next generation. Again, this direct effect is limited to mothers and daughters. It seems that more highly educated mothers are more influential egalitarian role models for their daughters than mothers with less education. We reasoned that highly qualified mothers are most likely to be both capable and committed to successfully applying egalitarian gender-role values in their own professional and family life. Thus, they provide their daughters with a most consistent and attractive female role model. In line with a two-process approach of value transmission (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985), we argued that educated mothers are most likely to ensure the accurate perception *and* the ready acceptance of egalitarian gender-role values by their children. We conclude that egalitarian gender-role values enter Turkish migrant families through the education of the mothers. Specifically, education has both direct and indirect impact on the gender-role values of the next generation, through mutually reinforcing maternal values and role models.

Intercultural relations and value acculturation

For a good understanding of cultural continuity and change, we should not only examine intergenerational transmission within migrant families but also the horizontal or oblique transmission of host cultural values. Taking a complementary perspective from intercultural relations, cross-cultural contact with German hosts entails the exposure of the second generation to more egalitarian gender-role values in the host society. In order to test the explanatory role of acculturation processes in intercultural relations, this study focuses on Berry's (2002) contact dimension of acculturation orientations. More specifically, we extend expectations from Bourhis' (et al, 1997) Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) to predict value acculturation in the second generation. In previous research, Bourhis' IAM has mostly been used to predict relational outcomes at the group level, such as friendly or hostile inter-group attitudes. In this study, our dependent variable is the value orientation of the second generation. We reasoned that value change in the direction of the host culture should be more likely with higher degrees of cross-cultural contact, and with lower levels of perceived conflict in more harmonious intercultural relations. To test this expectation, behavioural as well as attitudinal measures of minority orientations towards cross-cultural contact were included in the analysis. In order to assess the degree of ethnic tension or conflict in intercultural relations, adolescents were asked to report their personal experience of ethnic discrimination. One key indicator of behavioural acculturation, and an important prerequisite for cross-cultural contact, is the acquisition of the host language. Hence, it was expected that adolescents who report better mastery of German, would have more egalitarian gender-role values (*Hypothesis 3a*). In addition, questions about ethnic distance were used as an attitudinal measure of adolescents' contact orientation, with ethnic distance indicating a separation type of acculturation orientations. It was expected that more ethnically separated adolescents would have more conservative gender-role values (*Hypothesis 3b*). Similarly, adolescents' experience of intercultural conflict, as indicated by higher levels of perceived discrimination, should also predict more conservative gender-role values (*Hypothesis 3c*).

Our findings fully confirm the third hypothesis about the impact of language acquisition on the acculturation of adolescents' values. As expected, Turkish-German adolescents who feel more proficient or confident in the German language, espouse more egalitarian gender-role values. This is in line with earlier findings associating language learning with an acculturative shift in the direction of host cultural values (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002). Presumably, confidence in the host language increases the frequency and quality of cross-cultural interactions with hosts, which in turn enhance the accurate perception of host cultural values. Applying a two-process approach of transmission to value acculturation (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985), more frequent and friendly interactions with hosts should not only support the correct understanding, but also the acceptance of host cultural values by acculturating youth. In particular with regard to the acceptance of egalitarian gender-role values, we expected an additional negative effect of acculturation attitudes that stress ethnic distance or separation. As indicators of ethnic distance adolescents were asked whether they would accept a German marriage partner, or German names for their future children, and whe-

ther they would like to return to Turkey in the future. None of these indicators, however, added to the explained variance in adolescents' gender-role values. Yet, we did find the expected effect of perceived discrimination, so that adolescents who report more personal experiences of discrimination in school, in shops or in their neighbourhoods, have more conservative gender-role values. This association of perceived hostility in intercultural relations with ethnic persistence successfully extends Bourhis' Interactive Acculturation Model to the prediction of value change in a migration context. It should be added immediately, however, that the support for Bourhis' IAM is limited to the Turkish-German boys. Coming back to the gendered pattern of value transmission in Turkish migrant families, we argued that not only intergenerational relations but also intercultural relations may be gendered. While the latter argument has not yet been extensively researched, some studies have reported gender differences in acculturation (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002). In this study, one reason for the selective impact of inter-ethnic tension on the values of male adolescents could be the gendered meaning of ethnic identity, with conservative gender-role values being much more central to a male sense of ethnic loyalty. This would make sense since intergenerational solidarity in a traditional family model of material interdependence is more strongly enforced on males as future care-takers of their parents. A related reason refers to a double status threat. Turkish-German boys who feel more discriminated, may feel doubly threatened as members of a devalued ethnic minority group, and as men in a host society that disapproves of the superior status of males in a traditional, hierarchical family model. Since male adolescents may associate egalitarian gender-role values with perceived group threat in intercultural relations, the ethnic reaffirmation of conservative gender-role values by 'devalued males' would be in line with Bourhis' IAM.

As a general conclusion, we think that the combination of different explanations of adolescents' values from intergenerational as well as intercultural relations is a promising line of research, which should be developed further in future studies in other ethnic and host cultures. By bringing together both lines of explanation, our study was able to throw more light on gender differences in the transmission and acculturation of values. Thus, the values of adolescent girls were influenced most by direct intergenerational transmission from mother to daughter, while the values of adolescent boys are influenced more by their experience of ethnic discrimination and by normative reference to religious authority. For both girls and boys, however, language acculturation and value acculturation are closely connected, in that the acquisition of the host language enables the transmission of host cultural values. Studies that focus only on intergenerational relations within the family, or only on intercultural relations between migrant and host communities, may obscure our understanding of gender differences. More research is needed in order to test whether the observed gender differences in transmission and acculturation processes also hold for other value domains, and to what extent they generalize to other migrant groups with less traditional family values than the Turkish migrant group.

In addition, this study measures intergenerational value discrepancies, in the tradition of acculturation studies, along with intergenerational value correlations, in the tradition of transmission studies. The combination of both pieces of information in one and the same study enables a more balanced understanding of different pa-

thways of value transmission in culturally diverse settings. Moreover, this double approach is crucial for a good understanding of gender differences. In particular, our theoretical expectations of effective value transmission along with adaptive change towards more egalitarian gender roles, are supported only for women. The male side of Turkish migrant families shows a reverse pattern of cultural continuity of conservative values in the absence of significant transmission within the family. Most importantly, our study allows a first critical test of the extent to which Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996) Model of Family Change applies to migrant families, where egalitarian gender role values are associated with a dominant western culture of independence. So far, the support for Kağıtçıbaşı's MFC in migrant families is mixed, in that the model explains much better the female perspective than the male perspective on gender-role values. Looking across gender, the key theoretical question to be answered in future studies is whether the egalitarian shift of second-generation women is part of a global trend towards a modern family model of interdependence, or whether these women will have to choose between westernizing in exchange for equal status, or reinventing a tradition that perpetuates gender inequality.

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Address of the authors/Anschrift der Autorinnen:

Hanna Idema, M.A.
Prof. Dr. Karen Phalet, Full Professor
European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER)
University of Leuven and Utrecht University

Corresponding address/Korrespondenzadresse:

Prof. Dr. Karen Phalet
Faculty of Psychology and Education
University of Leuven
Tiensestraat 102
B-3000 Leuven

E-mail: K.Phalet@fss.uu.nl

Florian Schulz & Daniela Grunow

Tagebuch versus Zeitschätzung

Ein Vergleich zweier unterschiedlicher Methoden zur Messung der Zeitverwendung für Hausarbeit

Time-diary versus time-estimation data. A comparison of two different methods of measuring the time spent on housework

Zusammenfassung

Ein Vergleich der Ergebnisse von Zeitverwendungstagebüchern und Zeitschätzungen lässt Zweifel an der bislang aufrecht erhaltenen Annahme aufkommen, beide Methoden wären lediglich zwei verschiedene Wege zur validen Messung individueller Zeitbudgets. Auf der Basis eines eigens für diesen Methodenvergleich erhobenen Datensatzes wird gezeigt, dass die auf Grundlage beider Erhebungstechniken gewonnenen Daten signifikant unterschiedliche Ergebnisse hervorbringen und folglich zu unterschiedlichen theoretischen Schlussfolgerungen in Bezug auf die Determinanten geschlechtsspezifischer Zeitverwendungsmuster für Hausarbeit führen würden.

Schlagworte: Zeitverwendung; Tagebücher; Zeitschätzung; Häusliche Arbeitsteilung; Methodenvergleich.

Abstract

A comparison of time-diary data and data obtained through survey questions leaves us to doubt that both methods are just two different ways of measuring individual time budgets validly. Comparing data of a unique pilot study for assessing methodological concerns of time use measurement, we find that both measurement techniques produce significantly different results that would eventually lead to substantially different conclusions with respect to the determinants of gender specific housework patterns.

Keywords: Time use; time diary, time estimation; division of household labor; methodological test.

Einleitung

Gesellschaft und Politik haben das Thema der *Arbeitsteilung im Haushalt* als wichtigen Aspekt des Diskurses über die Geschlechter(un)gleichheit wiederentdeckt. Entsprechend groß ist der Bedarf an zuverlässigen wissenschaftlichen Informationen zu diesem zentralen Bereich des Alltagshandelns. In der aktuellen Forschung werden solche Befunde immer häufiger aus der Analyse von Zeitverwendungsdaten

gewonnen, da diese Daten einen einzigartigen Zugang zur „Funktionsweise“ der Gesellschaft bieten: „So if we can measure how the members of a society spend their time, we have the elements of a certain sort of account of how that society works“ (Gershuny 2000: 1). Auf der Ebene der Haushalte gilt das gleiche: Setzt man die individuelle Zeitverwendung beider Partner einer Beziehung (oder allgemeiner: der Mitglieder eines Haushaltes) in Relation zueinander, erhält man Aufschluss über die Differenzierung des partnerschaftlichen Alltags. Vergleicht man beispielsweise die für Haushaltsarbeit verwendete Zeit der Ehefrau mit der des Ehemannes, kann daraus ein Maß für die Arbeitsteilung zwischen diesen beiden Personen abgeleitet werden. Damit wird auch der soziale Charakter der Zeit bzw. der Zeitverwendung deutlich (Elias 1984), der sich in Partnerschaften z.B. in Form von gemeinsam verbrachter Zeit offenbart.

Vor dem Hintergrund des großen Bedarfs an Wissen über solche Haushaltsprozesse mag es geradezu als Glücksfall erscheinen, dass die Methoden, die zur Auswertung großer Datenmengen zur Verfügung stehen, in den letzten Jahrzehnten stetig weiterentwickelt wurden. So ist z.B. der gewaltige Entwicklungsschritt in der Mobilitäts- und Karriereforschung maßgeblich auf die Etablierung multivariater – und zunehmend auch längsschnittlicher – Analyseverfahren auf Individualebene zurückzuführen (vgl. für einen programmatischen Überblick Blossfeld & Prein 1998). Die hier etablierten Analysestrategien werden mittlerweile auch zunehmend bei der Untersuchung von Arbeitsteilungsprozessen im Haushalt eingesetzt (zuletzt bei Schulz & Blossfeld 2006). Allerdings sind mit der Einführung innovativer und zukunftsweisender Standards im Bereich der Auswertungsverfahren auch immer neue Anforderungen an die Datengrundlage verbunden.

Vor diesem Hintergrund versucht der vorliegende Beitrag, das Potenzial zweier in der Arbeitsteilungsforschung dominierender Datengenerierungsverfahren auszuloten und zu vergleichen: *Zeitverwendungstagebücher* und *Zeitschätzungen* im Rahmen größerer Umfragen. Obwohl der empirischen Sozialforschung mehrere alternative Möglichkeiten zur konkreten Erhebung von Zeitbudgets zur Verfügung stehen (vgl. Blass 1980: 106-139), haben sich über die Jahrzehnte der Anwendung diese beiden Methoden als die dominierenden herauskristallisiert. Während Zeitverwendungstagebücher nach wie vor als verlässlichere Quelle bei der Erhebung von Zeitbudgets angesehen werden (z.B. Marini & Shelton 1993; Juster et al. 2003), sind sie doch erheblich zeit- und kostenintensiver in der Durchführung als Zeitschätzungen, die prinzipiell relativ schnell und kostensparend durchgeführt werden können (z.B. Bonke 2005; Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005).

Als wesentlicher Nachteil für eine moderne Arbeitsteilungsforschung erweist sich vor diesem Hintergrund nun die Tatsache, dass diese Erhebungsmethoden zwar auf eine lange Forschungstradition zurückblicken können (Juster & Stafford 1991) und heute in nahezu beliebiger Differenziertheit vorliegen (Harvey 1993), jedoch aus einer Zeit stammen, in der die Verwendung von Aggregatdaten Standard war (vgl. z.B. die Arbeiten von Gary S. Becker), und somit auch geringere Anforderungen an die empirischen Rohdaten gestellt werden mussten. Zudem existiert bis heute kaum empirisches Datenmaterial, mit dem man beide Erhebungsstrategien direkt miteinander vergleichen könnte. Gegenüberstellungen der beiden Instrumente bewegen

sich bislang nahezu ausschließlich auf theoretischer oder methodologischer Ebene (vgl. z.B. Robinson 1999; Juster et al. 2003), was insbesondere darauf zurückgeführt werden muss, dass es fast keine Untersuchungen gibt, in denen beide Verfahren gleichzeitig bei denselben Zielpersonen getestet wurden. Diese unbefriedigende Situation hat zur Folge, dass die oftmals unterschiedlichen Ergebnisse, welche durch die verschiedenen Erhebungsstrategien hervorgebracht werden, zwar inhaltlich miteinander verglichen, jedoch nicht grundsätzlich kritisiert werden können. Ohne eine gesicherte empirische Basis wird zumeist angenommen, dass Zeitschätzung und Tagebücher die gleichen Dimensionen der Zeitverwendung in vergleichbarer Weise messen. Jüngste Untersuchungen aus Großbritannien (Kan 2006), Dänemark (Bonke 2005) und Norwegen (Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005) lassen jedoch ernsthafte Zweifel an dieser Annahme aufkommen.

Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist es nun, etwas zur Überwindung dieses Defizits beizutragen und die Daten von Zeitverwendungstagebüchern und Zeitschätzungen direkt empirisch miteinander zu vergleichen. Dies ist auf der Basis selbsterhobener Daten möglich: Im Rahmen einer kleinen Pilotstudie haben wir in Kooperation mit dem Staatsinstitut für Familienforschung an der Universität Bamberg (ifb) im Sommer 2005 beide Partner von 72 Paaren zu ihrer Zeitverwendung im Alltag befragt, und zwar sowohl mit Hilfe von Tagebüchern, als auch mittels Zeitschätzungen. Bevor die empirischen Ergebnisse dargestellt und daraus generelle Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden, wird ausführlicher auf den theoretischen und methodischen Stand der Zeitbudgetforschung, sowie auf die Anlage der empirischen Untersuchung eingegangen.

Tagebücher und Zeitschätzungen in der Arbeitsteilungsforschung

Gemeinhin werden die Methoden der Zeitbudgetforschung als „Königsweg“ zur Erfassung der häuslichen Arbeitsteilung angesehen (z.B. Künzler 1994: 58). *Tagebücher* und *Zeitschätzungen im Rahmen allgemeiner Umfragen* gelten bislang als zwei unterschiedliche Wege zum gleichen Ziel. Generell versuchen Forscher mit beiden Methoden herauszufinden, wie viel Zeit die Mitglieder einer gegebenen Population für bestimmte Tätigkeiten verwenden, wie sie ihren Alltag organisieren und den Tagesablauf strukturieren. Für die Arbeitsteilungsforschung sind beide Erhebungstechniken insofern von Bedeutung, als sie es ermöglichen, die absolute Beteiligung der Partner an der Hausarbeit zu messen (in Stunden und Minuten).¹ Während Zeit-

1 Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es (ebenfalls häufig verwendete) Maße, die lediglich Aussagen über die relative Beteiligung der Partner an der Hausarbeit machen, z.B. die sog. Task-Participation-Indizes (erstmalig Blood & Wolfe 1960). Ein direkter Rückschluss auf das tatsächliche Verhalten ist bei Verwendung dieser Maße nicht möglich; ein Nachteil, der insbesondere bei der Analyse von Veränderungen bedeutsam wird (für eine ausführliche Diskussion vgl. Künzler 1994: 51-54).

schätzungen mit relativ geringem Aufwand durchgeführt werden können, sind Untersuchungen mit Zeitverwendungstagebüchern wesentlich aufwändiger und teurer, weshalb der Zeitschätzung im Rahmen empirischer Erhebungen häufig der Vorzug gegeben wird. Dabei wird jedoch übersehen, dass diese beiden Methoden mitunter nicht beliebig substituiert werden können. Die theoretischen und methodischen Begründungen hierfür sind vielfältig und wurden bereits in mehreren Aufsätzen gegenübergestellt (zuletzt Kan 2006; Bonke 2005; Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005). Die wichtigsten Aspekte sollen nun in aller Kürze herausgearbeitet werden.

Im Allgemeinen wird die *Tagebuchmethode* als Erhebungsansatz mit der höchsten Validität und Reliabilität im Rahmen der Zeitbudgetforschung angesehen (vgl. z.B. Marini & Shelton 1993). Robinson (1999: 83) beschreibt die Tagebuchmethode als Ansatz zur Erforschung von Verhalten auf der Mikroebene. Da alles, was Menschen tun, Zeit beansprucht, kann mit Tagebuchdaten prinzipiell das Verhalten der Menschen in nahezu beliebiger Differenziertheit abgebildet werden (ebd.: 56). Grundsätzlich protokollieren die interviewten Personen bei der Tagebuchmethode ihren kompletten Tagesablauf (24 Stunden), oder relevante Ausschnitte, chronologisch entlang einer Zeitachse und bestimmten Tätigkeiten. Je nach Standardisierungsgrad des verwendeten Zeitbudget-Protokolls fällt diese Zusammenstellung mehr oder weniger detailliert aus. Im Extremfall sind die Befragten bei der Protokollierung der Tätigkeiten relativ frei und geben die Aktivitäten sowie die verwendete Zeit in eigenen Worten wieder (Harvey 1993: 215). Ein solches Vorgehen eignet sich dazu, den subjektiven Charakter eines Tagesablaufes abzubilden und eröffnet in dieser Hinsicht einen flexibleren Auswertungsspielraum, führt jedoch auch zu einem erhöhten Auswertungs- und Interpretationsaufwand seitens der Forscher/innen. Weiter verbreitet sind deshalb weitgehend standardisierte Tagebücher, bei denen sowohl die Zeitachse, als auch die möglichen Aktivitäten bereits vorgegeben sind (als aktuelles Beispiel in Deutschland vgl. Schulz et al. 2005). Solche Protokolle werden in aller Regel dann verwendet, wenn eine relativ enge Fragestellung forschungsleitend ist, bei der die zeitliche Genauigkeit der Einträge, sowie die interindividuelle Vergleichbarkeit der Tagebucheinträge im Mittelpunkt stehen.

Im Rahmen von *Zeitschätzungen* werden die befragten Personen gebeten, für bestimmte vorgegebene Aktivitäten anzugeben, wie viel Zeit sie dafür „normalerweise“ in einem bestimmten Zeitraum (i. d. R. Tag, Woche oder Monat) verwenden (Juster et al. 2003: 22). Anders als beim Tagebuch, bei dem die Befragten parallel oder zumindest relativ zeitnah die einzelnen Tätigkeiten protokollieren, geht es hier darum, Zeitsummen zu erheben, welche die Befragten in der Interviewsituation eigenständig und spontan errechnen sollen. Mit diesen Informationen kann keine Aussage über den Tagesablauf der Probanden getroffen werden, immerhin werden jedoch absolute Angaben zur verwendeten Zeit erhoben. Problematisch ist dieses Vorgehen insofern, als die vorgegebenen Tätigkeiten in der Praxis oftmals nicht konkret definiert werden (z.B. „Hausarbeit“) und nicht expliziert wird, was unter einer „normalen“ Woche bzw. einem „normalen“ Tag zu verstehen ist (Robinson 1999: 57). Zumindest das letzte Problem kann bei Tagebuchuntersuchungen umgangen werden, indem man die Zielpersonen fragt, ob sie den protokollierten Tag als einen für sie typischen oder „normalen“ Tag empfunden haben; für die Auswer-

tung könnten dann nur die als „normal“ etikettierten Tage verwendet werden (vgl. Bonke 2005: 353).

Weitere mögliche Erklärungen für die beobachtbare Diskrepanz zwischen Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten werden nachfolgend zusammengestellt (vgl. zusammenfassend z.B. Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005: 15-17). Da Hausarbeit in aller Regel in unregelmäßigen Abständen erledigt wird, und die Dauer solcher Episoden im Allgemeinen stark variiert, nennen Marini & Shelton (1993) Zufalls- sowie Erinnerungsfehler als einen wichtigen Grund dafür, dass Zeitverwendung nur schlecht geschätzt werden kann. Weiterhin sehen sie es zu Recht als Problem an, dass bei der direkten Messung in Form von Standardfragen meist nicht zwischen Haupt- und Nebentätigkeiten differenziert wird, und somit entweder bestimmte Zeitintervalle doppelt oder bestimmte Tätigkeiten gar nicht erfasst werden. Für den Fall, dass die Befragten gleichzeitig ausgeführte Tätigkeiten in die Schätzung einbeziehen, erwarten Marini & Shelton (1993) eine Überschätzung des tatsächlichen Zeitaufwandes.

Vielfach können die Differenzen zwischen den verschiedenen Methoden auch auf die Operationalisierung der abhängigen Variable zurückgeführt werden (Baxter & Bittman 1995; Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005). Zwei Probleme sind in diesem Zusammenhang besonders zu beachten. Zum einen muss bei der freien Protokollierung die Zuordnung der Tätigkeiten zu bestimmten Oberkategorien bei nachträglicher Verkodung der Zeitbudgetprotokolle intersubjektiv konsistent vorgenommen werden. Zum anderen kann beim geschlossenen Protokollierungsverfahren nicht per se angenommen werden, dass die Zielpersonen die vorgegebenen Kategorien so verstehen, wie sie vom Forscher gemeint sind. Hinzu kommt, dass Fragen nach bestimmten Tätigkeiten mitunter Effekte sozialer Erwünschtheit hervorrufen, die das Antwortverhalten systematisch beeinflussen können. Während dieser Umstand für die Zeitschätzung nachgewiesen ist, sind die Gestalt und das Ausmaß von Befragungseffekten bei der Tagebuchmethode noch unzureichend untersucht. Jedoch kann bei Daten, die durch eine längere Selbstbeobachtung der Befragten erhoben werden, eine Verhaltensmodifikation – wenn auch nur kurzfristig für den Befragungszeitraum – nicht ausgeschlossen werden (Künzler 1994: 58).

In diesem Zusammenhang kommen Press & Townsley (1998) in ihrer Untersuchung zu dem Schluss, dass Männer und Frauen bestimmte soziale Rollenvorstellungen in ihren Antworten auf direkte Fragen zur Zeitverwendung, wie sie v.a. im Rahmen von Zeitschätzungen vorkommen, reproduzieren, z.B. um unangenehme Nachfragen zu vermeiden oder um ein konsistentes Bild der eigenen Person zu vermitteln. Je nach Alter und Bildungsgrad, die als Proxy-Indikator für liberale Einstellungen interpretiert werden, überschätzen Männer und Frauen gleichermaßen ihren Beitrag zur Arbeit im Haushalt. Ein Beispiel: Von jungen, hochgebildeten (man könnte interpretieren: eher partnerschaftlich orientierten) Männern wird heute vielfach erwartet, dass sie ihre Frauen bei der Erledigung der Haushaltstätigkeiten zunehmend entlasten; demnach ist vor dem Hintergrund der normativen Strukturen zu erwarten, dass diese Männer ihre Zeit für Hausarbeit stärker überschätzen als z.B. ältere und niedrig gebildete Frauen (vgl. auch Kitterød & Lyngstad 2005: 16). In unseren eigenen Voruntersuchungen (zur unten ausführlicher beschriebenen Zeit-

verwendungsstudie) hat sich zudem gezeigt, dass Paare, die gleichzeitig im Rahmen einer Zeitschätzung befragt werden, nicht selten aufgrund divergenter Wahrnehmungen bei der eigenen und gegenseitigen Zeitschätzung in Diskussions- und sogar Aushandlungsprozesse über ihr zeitliches Engagement im Haushalt eintreten.

Eine Durchsicht der wichtigsten Studien zu diesem Thema der letzten rund 20 Jahre (Baxter & Bittman 1995; Robinson 1985; Marini & Shelton 1993; Niemi 1993; Press & Townsley 1998) zeigt, dass Frauen den Zeitaufwand für Haushaltstätigkeiten in der Regel stärker überschätzen als Männer. Bonke (2005) kann diesen Befund in seinen Analysen mit dänischen Daten zumindest auf niedrigem Niveau bestätigen, während Kitterød & Lyngstad (2005) keinen nennenswerten Unterschied zwischen Frauen und Männern ausmachen können. Kitterød & Lyngstad nennen zwei mögliche Gründe für diese, teilweise widersprüchlichen Befunde: Da Frauen einerseits noch immer den weitaus größten Teil der Hausarbeit erledigen (Künzler et al. 2001), sind sie deshalb eher geneigt, den Zeitaufwand für diese Tätigkeiten zu überschätzen (Marini & Shelton 1993); andererseits haben Frauen aus genau dem selben Grund einen besseren Einblick in die Zeitstrukturen und Zeitbindungen der Hausarbeit und könnten somit den Zeitaufwand im Grunde besser einschätzen (Press & Townsley 1998). Weiterhin ist es als problematisch anzusehen, dass Hausarbeit in aller Regel nicht kontinuierlich am Stück geleistet wird, sondern aus vielen, oft kurzen, über den Tag verteilten Episoden besteht, deren jeweilige Dauer schwierig zusammenzufassen ist, wenn man sie nicht relativ zeitnah in einem Tagebuch protokolliert (Bonke 2005).

Immerhin konstatieren Kitterød & Lyngstad, dass trotz teilweise großer Abweichungen zwischen den Ergebnissen der beiden Methoden, relativ ähnliche Muster der Variation zwischen verschiedenen Subpopulationen gefunden werden können. Sie schließen daraus, dass ein Vergleich der verschiedenen Herangehensweisen auf Ordinalskalenniveau möglich sei (2005: 15-16). Damit besteht immerhin die Möglichkeit, Vergleiche vom Typ „mehr/weniger“ anzustellen, ohne allerdings diese Unterschiede näher quantifizieren zu können. Vor diesem Hintergrund müssten auch multivariate Analysen ähnliche Relationen der erklärenden Variablen hervorbringen, und zwar unabhängig davon, mit welcher Methode die abhängige Variable gemessen wurde (vgl. Bonke 2005).

Zeitverwendung im Alltag: Die ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie

Als Teil des von der DFG geförderten Projekts „Innerfamiliale Arbeitsteilung als Prozess“, das am ifb Bamberg bearbeitet wird, haben wir in Auseinandersetzung mit aktuellen Zeitbudgetstudien ein eigenes Erhebungsinstrument zur Zeitverwendung im Alltag entwickelt. Dieses Instrument haben wir im Rahmen unserer Lehrveranstaltungen an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg für erste Pilotuntersuchungen eingesetzt und dabei Daten erhoben, die uns einen Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Messverfahren – Tagebuch und Zeitschätzung – ermöglichen (vgl. Grunow et al. 2006).

In einer ersten Erhebung wurden an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg 72 Paare zu ihrer Zeitverwendung im Alltag befragt.² Da immer beide Partner eines zusammenlebenden Paares befragt wurden, konnten somit 144 Personeninterviews durchgeführt werden. Die studentischen Interviewer/innen rekrutierten die Respondenten aus dem Kreis ihrer Verwandten und Bekannten, so dass es sich bei der Stichprobe nicht um eine Zufallsstichprobe handelt; allerdings konnten durch diese Herangehensweise nahezu sämtliche geplanten Interviews realisiert werden, so dass sich eine Kontrolle der Ausfälle erübrigt.

Das Herzstück der Untersuchung ist das ifb-Zeitverwendungstagebuch (Schulz et al. 2005; Schulz 2005), das von jedem/r Teilnehmer/in der Untersuchung an sieben aufeinanderfolgenden Wochentagen geführt wird. Das Tagebuch unterteilt die 24 Stunden des Tages in Zeiträume von 15 Minuten, d.h. in insgesamt 96 Intervalle. Die Respondenten werden gebeten, für jedes Intervall mit Hilfe von 27 standardisierten Kategorien anzugeben, welche Tätigkeit sie in dieser Zeit ausüben bzw. ausgeübt haben. Tätigkeiten, die parallel ausgeübt werden, z.B. das Zubereiten von Mahlzeiten und die Betreuung von Kindern, können als solche protokolliert werden; erste Auswertungen haben jedoch gezeigt, dass diese Möglichkeit relativ selten auch tatsächlich genutzt wurde. Zusätzlich wird erhoben, ob die jeweilige Tätigkeit gemeinsam mit dem Partner bzw. der Partnerin ausgeübt wird. Damit erhält man ein detailliertes Abbild des konkreten Alltags von Personen in Partnerschaften im Verlauf einer ganzen Woche.

Neben dem Zeitverwendungstagebuch, das zum Ausfüllen bei den Befragten verbleibt, wird zu Beginn der Erhebung ein standardisiertes Interview mit den Respondenten durchgeführt (die Erhebungsinstrumente sind dokumentiert in Grunow et al. 2006). Dabei werden zum einen soziodemographische Merkmale der Personen und des Paares erhoben. Darüber hinaus wird mit den Befragten eine Zeitschätzung durchgeführt. Die Befragten sollen einschätzen, wie viel Zeit sie an „normalen“ Wochentagen (Montag bis Freitag), sowie an typischen Samstag und Sonntagen im Mittel mit verschiedenen Tätigkeiten verbringen. Die vorgegebenen Tätigkeitskategorien decken sich bei dieser Erhebung exakt mit denen des Zeitverwendungstagebuches, so dass ein direkter Vergleich der Angaben zu den einzelnen Dimensionen der Zeitverwendung möglich ist.

Betrachtet man die unterschiedliche *Reichweite* der beiden verwendeten Instrumente, fällt auf, dass beide Verfahren nicht zwangsläufig das Gleiche messen müssen. Während das Tagebuch in einer *konkreten Berichtswoche* bearbeitet wird, bezieht sich die Zeitschätzung auf einen *hypothetischen Zeitraum*, z.B. eine „idealtypische Woche“. Dennoch erachten wir einen Vergleich der berichteten und geschätzten Zeit als sinnvoll: Beide Messverfahren werden häufig in der empirischen Sozialforschung angewandt und die Ergebnisse gerne aufeinander bezogen, *obwohl* normalerweise nur die Daten *einer* Erhebungsmethode vorliegen. Dabei werden die auf unterschiedliche Weise gewonnenen und bei verschiedenen Personen erhobenen

2 Die Stichprobe wird durch weitere Erhebungen kontinuierlich erweitert. Eine weitere Erhebung dieser Art erfolgte bei 72 Paaren von Mitte Januar bis Anfang Februar 2006; zwei weitere Erhebungen mit den hier beschriebenen Instrumenten wurden im Sommer 2006 durchgeführt.

Daten so interpretiert, als würden sie das gleiche messen; eine mögliche Inkommensurabilität aufgrund der unterschiedlichen Reichweite der Instrumente wird somit ignoriert. Vor diesem Hintergrund geht es uns darum, empirisch einzuschätzen, ob eine prinzipielle Vergleichbarkeit tatsächlich gegeben ist oder nicht.

Zur Charakterisierung der Stichprobe werden nun noch einige ausgewählte Indikatoren vorgestellt: Die hier verwendete Stichprobe umfasst 144 Personen, 75 davon weiblich und 69 männlich (es wurden 67 hetero- und fünf homosexuelle Paare befragt). Als höchsten formalen Schulabschluss gaben 19% der Personen den Hauptschulabschluss, 23% die Mittlere Reife und 58% das Abitur an. 44% der Befragten sind Vollzeit erwerbstätig und 16% arbeiten im Rahmen einer Teilzeitbeschäftigung; 40% sind nicht erwerbstätig. Die jüngste befragte Person ist 19, die älteste 75 Jahre alt. Der Altersmittelwert liegt bei rund 38 Jahren; der mittlere Altersabstand der Partner beträgt etwas mehr als zweieinhalb Jahre. Gemäß der Vorgabe für die Stichprobenziehung haben alle befragten Paare einen gemeinsamen Haushalt. 39 der 72 Paare haben Kinder; die durchschnittliche Kinderzahl der Eltern liegt bei 1,9. 29% der Paare leben mit minderjährigen Kindern zusammen, das jüngste dieser Kinder ist zum Befragungszeitpunkt 1 Jahr alt, das älteste 17 Jahre. Im Hinblick auf den Institutionalisierungsgrad der Partnerschaften lässt sich feststellen, dass 57% der Paare verheiratet sind und 40% der Paare eine nicht-eheliche Lebensgemeinschaft bilden (bei zwei Paaren lässt sich der Institutionalisierungsgrad nicht nachvollziehen).

In diesem Papier vergleichen wir die Angaben, welche die Befragten zum Zeitaufwand der Arbeiten im Haushalt auf Basis der unterschiedlichen Erhebungstechniken gemacht haben. Konkret werden folgende Tätigkeiten untersucht, die in der Literatur immer wieder als analytisch bedeutsame Bestandteile der Hausarbeit gesehen werden (vgl. z.B. Coltrane 2000; Lee & Waite 2005): (1) Abwaschen, Tisch decken; (2) Kochen, Mahlzeiten vorbereiten; (3) Putzen, Wohnung säubern, aufräumen; (4) Wäsche in Ordnung halten, waschen, bügeln; (5) Einkaufen von Lebensmitteln und alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenständen; (6) Koordination und Abstimmung der Arbeiten mit den Familien- bzw. Haushaltsmitgliedern; (7) Reparaturen am Haus bzw. an der Wohnung, Kfz-Pflege, Garten, Heimwerken; (8) Verwaltung, Behördengänge, u.ä.

Im Folgenden werden die Zeitschätzungen für die verschiedenen Tätigkeiten mit den jeweiligen Angaben der Tagebuchdaten verglichen. Dabei werden sämtliche Informationen aus den Tagebüchern genutzt, d.h. sowohl primäre, als auch sekundäre Aktivitäten zusammengefasst. In Anbetracht des geringen Stichprobenumfangs und der möglichen Selektivität aufgrund der Stichprobenziehung sollen die Ergebnisse nicht mit Repräsentativdaten verglichen oder inhaltlich interpretiert werden; die Analyse bezieht sich vornehmlich auf die methodisch motivierte Fragestellung der Übereinstimmung oder Abweichung von Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten. Die Berechnungen werden zum einen für die Gesamtstichprobe durchgeführt, zum anderen wird nach verschiedenen soziodemographischen Merkmalen kontrolliert. Für die Analysen werden nur die Angaben der Befragten an „normalen Wochentagen“, d.h. an Tagen von Montag bis Freitag berücksichtigt, da sich herausgestellt hat, dass Wochenenden (Samstag und Sonntag) tendenziell häufiger durch eine besondere

Zeitverwendungsstruktur gekennzeichnet sind. Um eine möglichst große Vergleichbarkeit zu anderen Untersuchungen zu diesem methodisch interessanten Thema zu erreichen, orientiert sich die Analyse an vielen Stellen an dem Vorgehen der Studien von Bonke (2005) und Kitterød & Lyngstad (2005).

Methodische Unsicherheiten der Zeitbudgetforschung

Es ist ein methodologischer Allgemeinplatz, dass die Ergebnisse empirischer Studien von der gewählten statistischen Modellierung abhängen. Ebenfalls wissen wir, dass die Art und Weise der Datenerhebung einen Einfluss auf die Ergebnisse hat. Im vorliegenden Fall müssen wir daher zumindest die Frage andiskutieren, ob Abweichungen zwischen Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten nicht auf die unterschiedliche Standardisierung der beiden Erhebungsinstrumente zurückgeführt werden könnte. Während die Zeitverwendung im Tagebuch in vorgegebenen Zeitintervallen von 15 Minuten Dauer erhoben wird, sind bei der Zeitschätzung keine derartigen Vorgaben zu beachten und es kann jede beliebige Zeitsumme genannt werden. Daher besteht prinzipiell die Möglichkeit, dass die beobachteten Abweichungen alleine dadurch zustande kommen, dass es den Befragten aufgrund der Standardisierung der Tagebücher gar nicht möglich ist, die „exakte“ Dauer einzelner Aktivitäten zu protokollieren und sie sozusagen dazu „genötigt“ werden, ungenaue Zeitangaben zu machen. Diese Problematik dürfte besonders jene Tätigkeiten betreffen, die entweder nur selten oder in kürzeren Intervallen (kleiner als 15 Minuten) ausgeführt werden.

Theoretisch ließe sich diesem Problem dadurch beikommen, dass man annimmt, dass die so entstehenden Ungenauigkeiten, d.h. Über- bzw. Unterschätzungen, zufällig über die Stichprobe verteilt sind und sich somit bei der Berechnung von Mittelwerten aufheben. Dieses Argument empirisch zu überprüfen ist allerdings nicht ohne Weiteres möglich. In unserem vorliegenden Fall lassen sich indes empirische Indikatoren finden, mit denen sich unsere Vorgehensweise inhaltlich stützen lässt: Die Analyse der Häufigkeitsverteilungen der geschätzten Zeitbudgets für einzelne Tätigkeiten zeigt, dass sich die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Befragten bei ihrer Zeitschätzung (von sich aus und unaufgefordert!) an einem 15- bzw. 30-Minuten-Intervall orientiert – und damit die Vergleichbarkeit recht gut unterstützt.

Jenseits der Implikationen, die diese Problematik für die praktische Durchführung unseres Methodentests hat, sind zwei Aspekte bemerkenswert. Zum einen wird deutlich, dass Zeitschätzungen dort ein bestimmtes Erkenntnispotential haben, wo Tagebücher einen „blinden Fleck“ aufweisen, nämlich in Bezug auf die erwartbare Exaktheit der geschätzten Zeitbudgets über standardisierte Kategorien hinaus. Damit zeigt sich wieder einmal, dass es das eine „gute“ Instrument zur Erhebung von Zeitbudgets nicht gibt, sondern jedes Verfahren bestimmte Vor- und Nachteile mit sich bringt, die sich eigentlich nur in der Summe ergänzen bzw. vermeiden lassen. Andererseits stehen wir vor dem Problem, dass die Daten, die man strenggenommen für eine saubere theoretische oder methodologische Analyse bräuchte, empirisch meist nicht realisierbar sind. So wäre es beispielsweise denkbar, ein Tagebuch zu entwi-

ckeln, in das die Befragten den Tagesablauf entlang einer selbst definierten Zeitachse ohne kategoriale Vorgaben protokollieren; ein solches Vorgehen wäre jedoch zu voraussetzungsvoll und fehleranfällig (z.B. aufgrund von Erinnerungslücken, wenn das Tagebuch nicht zeitnah ausfüllt wird, oder aufgrund von Effekten sozialer Erwünschtheit, die durch die unnatürliche Form der Selbstbeobachtung entstehen) und deshalb wahrscheinlich nicht praktikabel. Wir orientieren uns bei den untersuchten Instrumenten an den derzeit gängigen – d.h. international gebräuchlichsten – Erhebungsverfahren bzw. -standards (vgl. für einen immer noch gültigen Überblick Blass 1980).

Empirische Ergebnisse

Gesamtzeit für Haushaltstätigkeiten

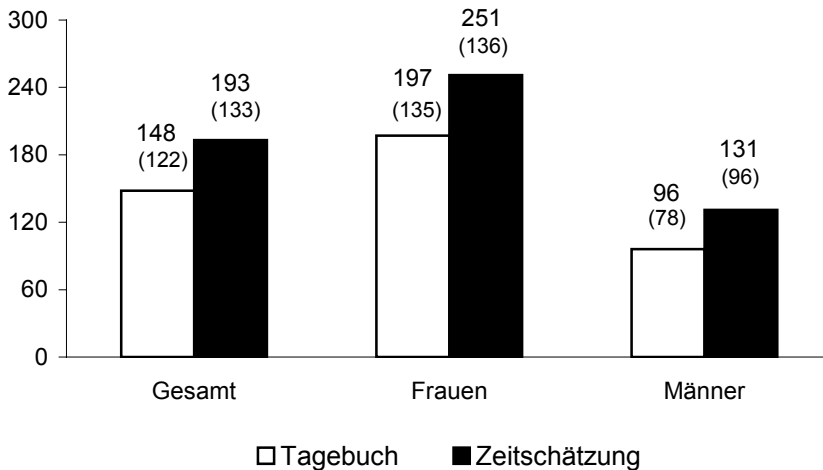
Abbildung 1 zeigt die durchschnittliche Zeit, welche die Befragten unserer Stichprobe an einem „normalen“ Wochentag (Montag bis Freitag, ohne Wochenende) für Hausarbeit verwenden. In der Grafik wird das arithmetische Mittel der Tagebuchdaten dem Mittelwert der Zeitschätzungsdaten gegenübergestellt, jeweils für die Gesamtstichprobe sowie für Frauen und Männer getrennt.

Im Mittel verwendet eine Person unserer Stichprobe 148 Minuten pro Wochentag für die im Haushalt anfallenden Tätigkeiten, wenn man die Daten der Zeitverwendungstagebücher zugrunde legt. Nimmt man die Daten der Zeitschätzung als Berechnungsgrundlage, ist der Mittelwert um 45 Minuten höher und liegt bei 193 Minuten pro Wochentag.³ Allerdings sind beide Variablen hoch korreliert, d.h. eine Person mit einer hohen berichteten Arbeitszeit wird signifikant häufiger eine hohe Schätzung abgeben. Das gleiche Muster einer Überschätzung im Verhältnis zur protokollierten Zeit zeigt sich, wenn man die Stichprobe nach dem Geschlecht differenziert: Frauen überschätzen die Zeitverwendung für Haushaltstätigkeiten im Mittel um 54, Männer um 35 Minuten (die Mittelwertunterschiede sind statistisch signifikant). Allerdings ist die berichtete Hausarbeitszeit von Frauen etwa doppelt so hoch wie die der Männer. Auf diesem hochaggregierten Niveau bestätigen sich die Befunde Bonkes (2005: 361), dass die Schätzwerte der Männer zwar tendenziell näher an den Tagebuchdaten sind als die der Frauen, die Frauen aber insgesamt präzisere Schätzungen abgeben, wenn man den mittleren „Schätzfehler“ mit dem Gesamtumfang der geleisteten Arbeitszeit vergleicht. Nach dieser Logik überschätzen

3 An dieser Stelle wird deutlich, dass sich die mittlere Hausarbeitszeit in unserer Stichprobe nicht sehr stark von den Ergebnissen groß angelegter repräsentativer Studien unterscheidet. So finden beispielsweise Künzler und Kollegen (2001) oder das Statistische Bundesamt (2004) zwar höhere Zeitbudgets für Hausarbeit, die aufgrund der jeweiligen, auf Zufallsstichproben basierenden Untersuchungsanlage auch eher dem statistischen Bundesdurchschnitt entsprechen dürften. Allerdings muss auch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass in unserer Untersuchung die Zeitverwendung an Wochenenden (Samstag und Sonntag) separat erfasst wurde und in der vorliegenden Analyse nicht berücksichtigt wird.

Frauen ihr Zeitbudget um 27% und Männer um 36%.⁴ Nicht bestätigt werden hingegen die Befunde von Kitterød & Lyngstad, die auf diesem Aggregationsniveau keinen Unterschied zwischen den unterschiedlichen Meßmethoden feststellen konnten (2005: 18).

Abbildung 1: Durchschnittliche Zeit für Hausarbeit an einem „normalen“ Wochentag in Minuten.



Arithmetische Mittelwerte, Standardabweichungen in Klammern, gerundet auf ganze Minuten. Fallzahlen: Gesamt 144 Personen, davon 75 Frauen und 69 Männer.

Quelle: ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie 2005; Datenbasis: Montag bis Freitag; eigene Berechnungen.

Die durchschnittliche Zeit für die gesamten Haushaltstätigkeiten wurde, zusätzlich zum Geschlecht, noch nach weiteren soziodemographischen Merkmalen kontrolliert, und zwar nach dem höchsten allgemeinbildenden Schulabschluss, dem Alter, dem Erwerbsstatus, der Elternschaft, sowie dem Institutionalierungsgrad der Partnerschaft. Auch wenn sich die berichtete Arbeitszeit (Tagebuch) in den Subgruppen teilweise deutlich unterscheidet, findet man dennoch in allen Untergruppen ähnliche Tendenzen der Überschätzung beim Vergleich der Mittelwerte aus Tagebuch und Zeitschätzung.

Insofern kann an dieser Stelle *ein erstes vorläufiges Fazit* gezogen werden. Auf dem hier gewählten Aggregationsniveau unterscheiden sich die Mittelwerte der Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten signifikant voneinander, auch, wenn man nach verschiedenen Merkmalen kontrolliert. Der mittlere Schätzfehler liegt bei gut einer dreiviertel Stunde pro Tag. Aus methodischer Sicht kann man aus diesen Ergebnis-

⁴ Diese Anteile berechnen sich wie folgt: Der mittlere „Schätzfehler“ wird dividiert durch die mittlere Arbeitszeit im Haushalt aus dem Tagebuch; beispielsweise für Frauen heißt das 54 Minuten / 197 Minuten = 0,274, d.h. ca. 27% (Berechnung für Männer analog).

sen schließen, dass Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten nicht beliebig gegeneinander ausgetauscht werden können, zumindest was einen Vergleich der absoluten Werte ab Intervallskalenniveau aufwärts angeht. Betrachtet man die Zeit für Hausarbeit jedoch als komparatives Merkmal (d.h. auf dem Niveau einer Ordinalskala), so ist ein Vergleich möglich, da sich in der Gesamtstichprobe sowie in den Untergruppen ähnliche Relationen zeigen; allerdings ist es auf diesem Niveau nicht möglich diese Relationen näher zu quantifizieren.

Zeitverwendung für einzelne Haushaltstätigkeiten

Die eben dargestellten Größenordnungen wurden berechnet als Summe der Zeit, die für die oben genannten acht einzelnen Haushaltstätigkeiten⁵ an einem „normalen“ Wochentag aufgewendet bzw. geschätzt wird:

$$t_{\text{Gesamt}} = t_{\text{Abwaschen}} + t_{\text{Kochen}} + t_{\text{Putzen}} + t_{\text{Wäsche}} + t_{\text{Einkaufen}} + t_{\text{Koordination}} \\ + t_{\text{Reparaturen}} + t_{\text{Verwaltung}}$$

Die Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit wurde also nicht direkt erfragt, wie z.B. in den Untersuchungen, die den Studien von Kitterød & Lyngstad (2005) bzw. Bonke (2005) zugrunde liegen. Diese indirekte Vorgehensweise hat – gegenüber einer direkten Nachfrage vom Typ „Wieviel Zeit verwenden Sie an einem normalen Wochentag für Hausarbeit?“ – den Vorteil, dass sie sich bei der Zeiterfassung eher an der Alltagswahrnehmung der Befragten orientiert. Eine Befragungsperson wird bei der Rekonstruktion ihres Tagesablaufes tendenziell nicht in abstrakten Kategorien wie „Hausarbeit“ oder „Freizeit“ denken, sondern eher die tatsächlichen Aktivitäten wiedergeben können, wie z.B. „Putzen“, „Kochen“ oder „Fernsehen“. Methodisch gesehen, wird bei diesem indirekten Vorgehen den Befragten die schwierige Aufgabe abgenommen, alle Episoden eines abstrakten Tätigkeitsbereiches über einen bestimmten Zeitraum zu rekonstruieren und daraus einen Mittelwert zu bilden, der die tatsächlich verwendete Zeit angemessen widerspiegelt (zu diesem Problem vgl. Robinson 1999: 56-58).

Betrachtet man nun die einzelnen Aktivitäten für sich, so fällt auf, dass die mittleren „Schätzfehler“ für einzelne Aktivitäten durchweg gering sind; die größeren Abweichungen für die Gesamtarbeitszeit ergeben sich offenbar aus mehreren kleineren Abweichungen bei einzelnen Tätigkeiten und sind somit in gewisser Weise ein Produkt der statistischen Modellierung: Was auf der Ebene der einzelnen Aktivitäten noch als vernachlässigbare Unschärfe angesehen werden kann, resultiert in signifikant voneinander verschiedenen Mittelwerten, wenn die Einzeltätigkeiten zu einem abstrakten Tätigkeitsbereich zusammengefasst werden.

5 In unserer Zeitbudgeterhebung haben wir die einzelnen Haushaltstätigkeiten aufgrund unseres Untersuchungsinteresses sehr detailliert erfasst. Damit ist zwar eine weitreichende Analyse der Hausarbeit möglich. Andererseits steigt auch der Zeitaufwand, der mit der Erhebung verbunden ist, sowie die Anforderungen an die Befragten, welche die Hausarbeitsepisoden auch in dieser Ausführlichkeit rekonstruieren müssen.

Tabelle 1 zeigt die Zeitbudgets für einzelne Haushaltstätigkeiten für die beiden unterschiedlichen Meßmethoden, also Tagebuch und Zeitschätzung.

Tabelle 1: Durchschnittliche Zeit für einzelne Haushaltstätigkeiten an einem „normalen“ Wochentag in Minuten.

	Gesamt		Frauen		Männer	
	TB	ZS	TB	ZS	TB	ZS
Abwaschen, Tisch decken	20 (20)	27 (23)	27 (24)	37 (25)	11 (11)	17 (16)
Kochen, Mahlzeiten vorbereiten	28 (32)	40 (36)	41 (36)	56 (34)	14 (21)	23 (30)
Putzen, Wohnung säubern; aufräumen	25 (31)	35 (39)	40 (33)	51 (41)	9 (17)	16 (27)
Wäsche in Ordnung halten; waschen; bügeln	15 (21)	21 (26)	25 (24)	34 (29)	4 (9)	6 (9)
Einkaufen von Lebensmitteln und alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenständen	22 (20)	25 (19)	29 (20)	32 (18)	14 (17)	18 (17)
Koordination/Abstimmung der Arbeiten mit den Familienmitgliedern	7 (11)	10 (14)	8 (11)	11 (15)	7 (11)	10 (13)
Reparaturen an Haus/Wohnung/Wagen; Kfz-Pflege; Garten; Heimwerken	27 (50)	30 (45)	22 (39)	24 (41)	33 (60)	37 (49)
Verwaltung; Behördengänge	4 (10)	5 (9)	4 (10)	6 (11)	4 (10)	4 (7)
<i>Personen gesamt</i>	144	144	75	75	69	69

Arithmetische Mittelwerte, Standardabweichungen in Klammern, gerundet auf ganze Minuten.

Legende: TB = „Daten des Tagebuchs“; ZS = „Daten der Zeitschätzung“.

Quelle: ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie 2005; Datenbasis: Montag bis Freitag; eigene Berechnungen.

Im Mittel liegt die Abweichung der Zeitschätzungsdaten (Spalte „ZS“) von den Tagebuchdaten (Spalte „TB“) für alle Tätigkeiten bei maximal 15 Minuten pro Tag (vgl. Tabelle 1). Die Abweichungen zwischen Tagebuch und Zeitschätzung liegen bei den Frauen im Durchschnitt etwas höher als bei den Männern, und zwar insbesondere bei den als klassisch „weiblich“ geltenden Tätigkeiten. Für beide Geschlechter gilt, dass die Abweichung bei den alltäglich auszuführenden Tätigkeiten, die in der Regel auch nicht aufgeschoben werden können, wie z.B. Kochen und Putzen, am größten ist. Bei eher „punktuellen“ Tätigkeiten, wie z.B. Reparaturen, Verwaltung oder Koordination ist die Abweichung verschwindend gering, in diesen Fällen liegt sie bei maximal fünf Minuten pro Tag. Bei allen Tätigkeiten ist der Mittelwert bei der Zeitschätzung größer als der des Tagebuches, d.h. im Mittel überschätzen die befragten Personen die Zeit, die sie mit Hilfe des Tagebuches berichten. Die Analyse verschiedener Untergruppen zeigt erneut, dass die Abweichungen in den Subgruppen (siehe oben) ähnliche Relationen aufweisen, und somit zumindest ein Vergleich der beiden Erhebungstechniken auf Ordinalskalenniveau möglich ist.

Wie kann man diesen Befund interpretieren? Es scheint, als könnten die Befragten den Zeitaufwand für einzelne, genau spezifizierte Tätigkeiten ziemlich gut schätzen. Dabei liegt bei fast allen untersuchten Subgruppen im Mittel eine Überschätzung vor, die im Durchschnitt bei maximal 15 Minuten pro Tag liegt. Diese Befunde zu den Einzeltätigkeiten relativieren ein Stück weit das Ergebnis der im Aggregat deutlichen Abweichung zwischen Zeitschätzung und Tagebuch bei der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit. An dieser Stelle soll noch darauf hingewiesen werden, dass eine exakte Schätzung der Zeit in unserer Stichprobe so gut wie gar nicht vorkam, außer in Fällen, in denen die befragte Person eine bestimmte Tätigkeit überhaupt nicht ausübte, also der Zeitaufwand „Null“ war.

Mittlere Abweichung und mittlere absolute Abweichung

Im nächsten Schritt soll das, was bislang als „mittlere Abweichung“ der Zeitschätzung von den Tagebuchdaten bezeichnet wurde, genauer unter die Lupe genommen werden. In den vorangegangenen Analysen wurde die Abweichung als das arithmetische Mittel gemäß der Formel

$$\bar{x} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (\text{Zeitschätzung}_i - \text{Tagebuch}_i)$$

berechnet. Eine Eigenschaft des arithmetischen Mittelwerts ist, dass „sich die Distanzen aller Messwerte zu diesem Punkt gegenseitig aufheben“, d.h. dass das Vorzeichen der individuellen „Schätzfehler“ berücksichtigt wird und sich Über- bzw. Unterschätzungen bezogen auf den Mittelwert ausgleichen (Kühnel/Krebs 2004: 77). Da der arithmetische Mittelwert die Unterschiede der zentralen Tendenz zwischen zwei Verteilungen (interindividuell) misst, kann mit dieser Maßzahl keine Aussage darüber getroffen werden, wie groß die *intraindividuelle* Abweichung der Zeitschätzung von den Tagebuchdaten ist. Mit anderen Worten, man kann nicht beurteilen, wie genau die befragten Personen ihre tatsächlichen Zeitbudgets schätzen können. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist zu vermuten, dass sich hinter den ziemlich ähnlichen Mittelwerten deutlich größere individuelle „Schätzfehler“, also Abweichungen der Zeitschätzungsdaten vom Mittelwert, verbergen.

Da es das vorrangige Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist, herauszufinden, ob und für welche Berechnungen Tagebücher und Zeitschätzungen gegeneinander ausgetauscht werden können, weil sie die gleichen (oder zumindest vergleichbare) Ergebnisse liefern, wird im Folgenden untersucht, wie sich die Ergebnisse der beiden Erhebungstechniken absolut unterscheiden. Dazu wird die mittlere absolute Abweichung der Differenz zwischen Zeitschätzung und Tagebuch folgendermaßen berechnet:

$$|\bar{x}| = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n |\text{Zeitschätzung}_i - \text{Tagebuch}_i|$$

Tabelle 2 stellt die Abweichung, berechnet nach dem klassischen arithmetischen Mittelwert, der mittleren absoluten Abweichung gegenüber. Dargestellt werden hier die einzelnen Tätigkeiten für alle Befragten insgesamt, sowie differenziert nach Geschlecht.

Tabelle 2: Abweichungen der Zeitschätzung von den Tagbuchdaten in Minuten.

	Gesamt		Frauen		Männer	
	ZS-TB	ZS-TB	ZS-TB	ZS-TB	ZS-TB	ZS-TB
Abwaschen, Tisch decken	8 (20)	15 (15)	9 (24)	19 (17)	6 (16)	11 (12)
Kochen, Mahlzeiten vorbereiten	12 (24)	19 (19)	15 (26)	24 (19)	9 (22)	15 (18)
Putzen, Wohnung säubern; aufräumen	9 (28)	19 (23)	11 (32)	24 (24)	8 (23)	14 (19)
Wäsche in Ordnung halten; waschen; bügeln	6 (20)	13 (17)	9 (27)	20 (20)	2 (8)	5 (7)
Einkaufen von Lebensmitteln und alltäglichen Gebrauchsgegenständen	3 (19)	15 (13)	3 (22)	18 (13)	3 (16)	12 (12)
Koordination/Abstimmung der Arbeiten mit den Familienmitgliedern	3 (16)	9 (13)	3 (16)	9 (13)	3 (16)	9 (14)
Reparaturen an Haus/Wohnung/Wagen; Kfz-Pflege; Garten; Heimwerken	3 (39)	21 (33)	1 (41)	20 (36)	5 (36)	22 (29)
Verwaltung; Behördengänge	1 (12)	7 (10)	1 (13)	7 (11)	0 (12)	6 (10)
<i>Personen gesamt</i>	144	144	75	75	69	69

Arithmetische Mittelwerte (ZS-TB) bzw. Mittlere absolute Abweichungen (|ZS-TB|), Standardabweichungen in Klammern, gerundet auf ganze Minuten.

Legende: TB = „Daten des Tagebuchs“; ZS = „Daten der Zeitschätzung“.

Quelle: ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie 2005; Datenbasis: Montag bis Freitag; eigene Berechnungen.

Tabelle 2 bestätigt die Vermutung, dass ein Vergleich der arithmetischen Mittelwerte bessere Schätzergebnisse suggeriert, als das beim Vergleich der mittleren absoluten Abweichung der Fall ist. Die Abweichung von Zeitschätzung und Tagebuchdaten liegt in den meisten Fällen um ein Vielfaches höher als der Mittelwert. Auch hier finden sich in Abhängigkeit der jeweils betrachteten Tätigkeit leichte geschlechtsspezifische Differenzen. Wiederum wurden weitere Subgruppen (differenziert nach Alter, Bildung, Erwerbsstatus, Elternschaft, Institutionalierungsgrad) nach dem gleichen Prinzip untersucht; diese Tests lieferten keine Hinweise auf systematische Subgruppenunterschiede bei den Messabweichungen und erhärten somit die Annahme eines methodologisch bedingten Befundes.

Folglich bleibt festzuhalten, dass auch auf der Ebene einzelner Tätigkeiten eine Schätzung der Zeit für die Arbeit im Haushalt nur selten gelingt, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass die Tagebuchprotokolle den tatsächlichen Zeitaufwand valide wiedergeben. Die Schätzwerte der interviewten Personen weichen teilweise deutlich von den

Tagebuchdaten ab. Dieser Befund wird bei Verwendung des arithmetischen Mittelwertes als Vergleichsgröße oft unterschätzt, da dieser Kennwert die dahinterliegende Variation ausgleicht. Was dieses Ergebnis für die Arbeitsteilungsforschung bedeutet, soll im Folgenden anhand einiger multivariater Untersuchungen illustriert werden.

Determinanten der Zeitverwendung – multivariate Analysen

Bonke (2005), sowie Kitterød & Lyngstad (2005) argumentieren, dass die Eigenschaft der ordinalen Vergleichbarkeit der Zeitbudgets in den Subgruppen zumindest ähnliche Relationen in multivariaten Analysen hervorbringen würde. Der folgende Analyseschritt beschäftigt sich daher mit einigen einfachen multivariaten Modellen, die jeweils mit verschiedenen abhängigen, aber denselben unabhängigen Variablen berechnet werden. Damit verbunden ist ein Analyseebenenprung von der Aggregat- hin zur Individualebene. Da unsere methodologische Untersuchung letztendlich inhaltlich motiviert ist, möchten wir im Rahmen der nachfolgenden Analysen keine „Variablensoziologie“ betreiben, sondern auf Basis des vorliegenden Datenmaterials exemplarisch auf einige Thesen der ökonomischen Theorie (z.B. Becker 1998; Ott 1992; vgl. zusammenfassend Blossfeld & Drobnič 2001; Schulz & Blossfeld 2006) Bezug nehmen, um die unmittelbare theoretische Relevanz unseres Instrumentenvergleichs zu verdeutlichen.

Die Vertreter der ökonomischen Theorie argumentieren, dass Hausarbeit aufgrund ihrer geringeren ökonomischen Wertigkeit im Vergleich zur Erwerbsarbeit von den handelnden Individuen negativ bewertet wird (z.B. Ott 1992). Jeder Akteur versucht, diese „unangenehmen“ Tätigkeiten weitgehend zu vermeiden, um die Opportunitätskosten der Zeit, die aufgrund von Verpflichtungen im Haushalt nicht für andere, ökonomisch wertvollere Tätigkeiten zur Verfügung steht, so niedrig wie möglich zu halten. Da in einem Paarhaushalt jedoch immer ein gewisses Quantum an Hausarbeit erledigt werden muss, hängt der Beitrag des einen Beziehungspartners von dem des anderen ab. Die ökonomische Verhandlungstheorie postuliert vor diesem Hintergrund, dass der Anteil an Hausarbeit, den ein Akteur leisten muss, von den relativen Humankapitalressourcen im Vergleich zum Beziehungspartner abhängt: Verfügt dieser Akteur – relativ gesehen – über ein großes Einkommenspotential am Markt, so muss sie/er relativ weniger Hausarbeit erledigen als im Falle geringerer Humankapitalressourcen.

Ein ähnlicher Humankapitalmechanismus liegt der Neuen Haushaltsökonomie Gary Beckers (1998) zugrunde. Beckers Theorie zufolge ist es für einen Paarhaushalt rational, dass ein hoher individuell erzielter Lohnsatz bzw. ein hohes Humankapital mit einer Spezialisierung auf Marktaktivitäten einhergeht und umgekehrt ein niedriger Lohnsatz bzw. ein geringes Humankapital den Rückzug vom Arbeitsmarkt in den Haushalt nach sich zieht. Diesem Mechanismus liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, dass der Haushaltsnutzen nur durch Spezialisierung maximiert werden kann, nämlich dann, wenn die Allokation der Zeit der Haushaltsmitglieder auf die Bereiche Erwerbstätigkeit und Hausarbeit optimiert wird.

Strenggenommen können aus den referierten Theorien nur Längsschnitthypothesen abgeleitet werden, da die Theorien prinzipiell Aussagen über die Dynamik arbeitsteiliger Prozesse im Zeitverlauf machen (vgl. Schulz & Blossfeld 2006). Diese können wir allerdings mit unseren Daten nicht überprüfen, da wir lediglich eine Querschnitterhebung durchgeführt haben. Darüber hinaus beschäftigen wir uns in diesem Papier mit einem Vergleich von Individualdaten, obwohl die Theorien eigentlich eine Paarperspektive vorgeben. Aus diesen methodischen Gründen gehen wir bei den anschließenden Berechnungen von den folgenden, aus theoretischer Sicht notgedrungen verkürzten Hypothesen aus: Die Zeit, die ein Akteur für Hausarbeit aufwenden wird, ist umso geringer, je höher die Humankapitalressourcen einer Person im Vergleich zum Partner bzw. der Partnerin sind; umgekehrt gilt das gleiche: je geringer die relative Ressourcenausstattung eines Akteurs ist, desto größer ist der zeitliche Umfang der Hausarbeit.⁶

In den folgenden Modellen wird auf Basis einer linearen Regression die Gesamtzeit der acht Haushaltstätigkeiten unter Zuhilfenahme verschiedener Kovariablen berechnet. Gemäß der ökonomischen Theorie werden die relativen Erwerbs- und Einkommensverhältnisse der befragten Personen berücksichtigt; „Frau < Mann“ bedeutet, dass die ökonomischen Ressourcen (Erwerbsumfang bzw. Beitrag zum Haushaltseinkommen) der Frau deutlich geringer gegenüber denen des Mannes sind, im Fall „Frau = Mann“ sind die Verhältnisse weitgehend ausgeglichen und bei „Frau > Mann“ übersteigen die Ressourcen der Frau die des Mannes deutlich. Um die Zusammensetzung der Stichprobe zu kontrollieren, werden weitere Variablen in die Berechnungen einbezogen, nämlich das Alter der Person, der Institutionalisierungsgrad der Paarbeziehung, sowie die Elternschaft.⁷ Die Berechnungen werden getrennt nach Geschlecht durchgeführt, um zu vermeiden, dass die abhängigen Variablen paarweise zusammenhängen. Von den fünf homosexuellen Paaren wird jeweils ein Partner zufällig ausgewählt; dadurch kann die geringe Fallzahl ohne Verzerrung der Unabhängigkeitsannahme für beide Geschlechter etwas erhöht werden.

Mit den hier dargestellten Modellen kann natürlich kein umfassender Test der ökonomischen Theorie geleistet werden, das ist aber auch nicht beabsichtigt. *Vielmehr geht es darum, zu zeigen, dass die Regressionsanalysen unterschiedliche Effekte für die unabhängigen Variablen produzieren, je nachdem, welche abhängige*

6 Eine solche Herangehensweise ist in der aktuellen Arbeitsteilungsforschung an der Tagesordnung (vgl. z.B. Künzler et al. 2001), weshalb wir eine Replikation im Rahmen dieses Methodenvergleichs für sinnvoll halten. Prinzipiell stehen wir dieser Vorgehensweise jedoch kritisch gegenüber, weil damit weder die Zeitbezogenheit des Gegenstandsbereiches, noch die der Theorien angemessen abgebildet werden kann.

7 Zwischen den drei Kontrollvariablen bestehen sehr starke Zusammenhänge. Dieses Multikollinearitätsproblem ist dafür verantwortlich, dass diese drei Variablen im abgebildeten Modell nicht die aus der Literatur bekannten Effekte anzeigen (z.B. einen positiv signifikanten Effekt der Elternschaft bei Frauen). Weitere Berechnungen mit Modellen, in denen Elternschaft und Institutionalisierungsgrad jeweils separat als Kontrollvariablen eingehen, weisen jedoch die erwarteten Effekte signifikant aus (Modelle nicht abgebildet). Die Effekte der theoretisch relevanten Erwerbs- und Einkommensvariablen sind unabhängig von der Berücksichtigung der Kontrollvariablen stabil.

Variable (Zeitverwendung laut Tagebuch oder Zeitverwendung laut Zeitschätzung) verwendet wird, d.h. es soll die Hypothese geprüft werden, ob in Abhängigkeit des statistischen Analyseverfahrens unterschiedliche Ergebnisse erzielt werden, wenn verschiedene Methoden der Zeitbudgetmessung eingesetzt werden. Die Anzahl der in den Modellen berücksichtigten Fälle ist gleichwohl sehr gering, soll aber durch weitere Datenerhebungen kontinuierlich vergrößert werden. Immerhin vermitteln die hier dargestellten Ergebnisse bereits einen interessanten Einblick in die unterschiedliche Struktur der Daten.

Tabelle 3 zeigt die unstandardisierten Regressionskoeffizienten der linearen Regression der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit, sowie den Hinweis auf die statistische Signifikanz der Koeffizienten. Es fällt auf, dass die Schätzung der Gesamtzeit für Frauen durchweg besser gelingt, als die für Männer (vgl. das korrigierte R-Quadrat). Generell ist das Muster der unabhängigen Variablen für die Tagebuchdaten für beide Geschlechter relativ ähnlich zu dem der Zeitschätzungsdaten. Bei Frauen ist der Koeffizient für einen ähnlichen Erwerbsumfang „Frau = Mann“ (im Vergleich zu „Frau < Mann“) für Tagebuchdaten nicht statistisch signifikant, für Zeitschätzungsdaten schon. Dabei handelt es sich im Sinne der oben dargestellten Theorien um eine zentrale Variable, deren Ausprägung in dem einen Fall zur Annahme, im anderen Fall jedoch zur Ablehnung der Ressourcenhypothese führen würde. Ebenfalls zeigt sich eine Variation für den Alterskoeffizienten, der ebenfalls nur für Zeitschätzungsdaten signifikant ist.

Tabelle 3: Multiple lineare Regression der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit – Erwerbsrelation (B-Regressionskoeffizienten).

	Frauen		Männer	
	Tagebuch	Schätzung	Tagebuch	Schätzung
Konstante	92**	123***	-24	-5
Alter	2	3**	2**	3***
Nichteheliche Lebensgemeinschaft (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Ehe	43	36	29	5
Kinderlos (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Eltern	78	68	-40	-39
<i>Erwerbsrelation:</i>				
Frau < Mann (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Frau = Mann	-42	-61*	66***	44*
Frau > Mann	-74	-40	130***	218****
N	71	71	68	68
Korrigiertes R-Quadrat	0,441	0,498	0,293	0,353

B-Regressionskoeffizienten, gerundet auf ganze Zahlen; Listenweiser Fallausschluss bei fehlenden Werten.

Signifikanz: **** $p \leq 0,001$; *** $p \leq 0,01$; ** $p \leq 0,05$; * $p \leq 0,10$.

Quelle: ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie 2005; Datenbasis: Montag bis Freitag; eigene Berechnungen.

Bei der Schätzung der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit der Männer zeigt sich ein deutlich anderes Bild. Zwar ist in beiden Fällen die Anpassungsgüte der Modelle deutlich geringer als bei den Frauen, die Effekte der unabhängigen Variablen sind jedoch

weitgehend identisch, sieht man einmal von der deutlichen Variation im Signifikanzniveau des theoretisch interessanten Koeffizienten „Frau = Mann“ ab.

Tabelle 4 zeigt weitere Berechnungen zur Modellierung der ökonomischen Ressourcen, diesmal unter Einbeziehung der Einkommensrelation des Paares, dafür ohne die Angaben zur Erwerbstätigkeit. Diesmal unterscheiden sich die beiden Modelle für Frauen nur im Hinblick auf den Einfluss der Elternschaft. Die Veränderungen im Signifikanzniveau und in den Koeffizienten hängen wahrscheinlich mit der geringen Stichprobengröße zusammen; hier wären Analysen mit größeren Stichproben nötig um zu zeigen, ob diese Ergebnisse stabil sind. Für die Männer finden wir deutliche Unterschiede zwischen den Modellen auf Basis der Zeitschätzungen und der Tagebücher. Wiederum differieren die Ergebnisse in Abhängigkeit des Messverfahrens bei der abhängigen Variable (grau hinterlegt). Während man also im vorliegenden Fall die abhängige Variable für die Analyse der Frauen recht gut austauschen könnte, ist es bei Männern entscheidend, welche Daten zur Bildung der Gesamtzeit hergenommen werden; Tagebücher und Zeitschätzung liefern deutlich unterschiedliche Muster. Aber auch hier gilt, dass sich diese erst mit größeren Stichproben als substantiell erweisen können. Allerdings lässt sich aus diesen Ergebnissen schließen, dass entgegen der verbreiteten Annahme, Zeitschätzungs- und Tagebuchdaten wohl *nicht* beliebig substituierbar sind.

Tabelle 4: Multiple lineare Regression der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit – Einkommensrelation (B-Regressionskoeffizienten).

	Frauen		Männer	
	Tagebuch	Schätzung	Tagebuch	Schätzung
Konstante	34	77	-41	-18
Alter	3	2	4**	5***
Nichteheliche Lebensgemeinschaft (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Ehe	55	38	92*	21
Kinderlos (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Eltern	63	137**	-129**	-82
<i>Einkommensrelation:</i>				
Frau < Mann (Ref.)	---	---	---	---
Frau = Mann	-4	31	61**	26
Frau > Mann	14	51	111***	199****
N	39	39	37	37
Korrigiertes R-Quadrat	0,411	0,595	0,374	0,432

B-Regressionskoeffizienten, gerundet auf ganze Zahlen; Listenweiser Fallausschluss bei fehlenden Werten.

Signifikanz: **** $p \leq 0,001$; *** $p \leq 0,01$; ** $p \leq 0,05$; * $p \leq 0,10$.

Quelle: ifb-Zeitverwendungsstudie 2005; Datenbasis: Montag bis Freitag; eigene Berechnungen.

Zusätzlich zu den hier abgebildeten Berechnungen wurde für alle dargestellten Regressionsmodelle mittels T-Tests geprüft, ob sich die Koeffizienten der einzelnen Einflussvariablen zwischen den Modellen für Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungsdaten (getrennt für Frauen und Männer) signifikant voneinander unterscheiden. Da dies für alle theoretisch relevanten Variablen der Fall ist, unterstützt dieser Befund unse-

re These, dass die Auswahl der abhängigen Variable tatsächlich für inhaltliche Untersuchungen entscheidend ist.

Diskussion

Im vorliegenden Papier wurde untersucht, ob Zeitbudgetdaten, die durch Tagebuchuntersuchungen bzw. Zeitschätzungen im Rahmen allgemeiner Umfragen erhoben werden, ähnliche Ergebnisse hervorbringen und somit prinzipiell gegeneinander ausgetauscht werden können. Dabei wurde davon ausgegangen, dass Tagebücher zwar die valideren Ergebnisse produzieren, gegenüber Zeitschätzungen allerdings wesentlich aufwändiger und teurer sind.

Da es auch ein Ziel moderner Forschung sein muss, mit möglichst geringem Aufwand gute Daten zu erheben, benötigt man empirische Kenntnisse über die Güte von Zeitschätzungsdaten im Vergleich zu Tagebuchdaten. Zu diesem Zweck haben wir im Rahmen einer engen Verzahnung von aktueller Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Bamberg, mit Mitteln des Staatsinstituts für Familienforschung (ifb), eine eigene kleine Pilotstudie auf Querschnittsbasis durchgeführt, in der sowohl Tagebuch-, als auch Zeitschätzungsdaten mit speziell für diesen Auswertungszweck aufeinander abgestimmten Erhebungsinstrumenten bei denselben Zielpersonen erhoben wurden.

Als wichtigster Befund der Analysen soll festgehalten werden, dass die Zeitbudgets der befragten Personen je nach Messtechnik unterschiedlich ausfallen können. Auf dem aggregierten Niveau der Gesamtzeit für Hausarbeit pro Tag produzieren die beiden Herangehensweisen signifikant voneinander verschiedene Mittelwerte für verschiedene Subgruppen. Während die arithmetischen Mittelwerte für einzelne Haushaltstätigkeiten recht gute Schätzergebnisse suggerieren, zeigt eine Analyse der mittleren absoluten Abweichung, dass die Schätzwerte die Tagebuchdaten im Mittel um ein Vielfaches über- bzw. unterschreiten. Dies ist eine Folge der statistischen Eigenschaft des arithmetischen Mittelwerts, der die Abweichungen vom Stichprobenmittel ausgleicht, während die Abweichungen bei Messung der absoluten Abweichung aufsummiert werden. Somit hat nicht nur die Erhebungstechnik, sondern auch die Auswahl der Auswertungsmethode einen starken Einfluss auf die Ergebnisse. Darüber hinaus wurde untersucht, ob die Verwendung unterschiedlich erhobener Zeitbudgets (als abhängige Variablen) einen Einfluss auf die Stabilität der Regressionsmodelle bei identischen unabhängigen Variablen im Rahmen linearer Regressionsanalysen hat. Insbesondere für Männer zeigt sich, dass je nach Messverfahren teilweise völlig unterschiedliche Effektkoeffizienten und statistische Signifikanzen produziert werden. Für Frauen sind die Abweichungen weniger stark ausgeprägt, allerdings zeigt sich auch hier, dass das Verfahren einen Einfluss auf die Ergebnisse hat. Vor dem Hintergrund unserer theoriegeleiteten Hypothesen (ökonomische Theorie) wären wir sowohl für Männer als auch für Frauen je nach Messverfahren zu unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen gelangt.

Fazit: Die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse liefern *erste Anzeichen* – nicht mehr, aber auch nicht weniger! – dafür, dass Tagebuch- und Zeitschätzungszahlen nicht beliebig substituiert werden können und bestätigen damit tendenziell die Einschätzungen der internationalen Untersuchungen von Kan (2006), Bonke (2005), sowie Kitterød & Lyngstad (2005). Dies gilt umso mehr, je ausgefeilter das Analyseverfahren und damit, je detaillierter die zugrundeliegende Fragestellung oder Theorie ist. Es ist daher an der Zeit, geeignete empirische Daten in größerem Stil zu erheben, die einen gründlichen Methodenvergleich verfügbarer Zeitverwendungsmaße erlauben, da man sonst dem beständigen Zweifel ausgesetzt ist, ob die verwendeten Daten wirklich valide Zeitbudgets abbilden. Dabei müsste insbesondere darauf geachtet werden, dass die erhobenen Daten auch für die Anwendung zukunftsweisender Analysetechniken (z.B. als abhängige Variable für Ereignisanalysen) geeignet sind, da nur unter dieser Voraussetzung ein neuer und gesicherter Erkenntnisstand auf dem Gebiet der Arbeitsteilungsforschung erreicht werden kann.

Insgesamt sollten die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse jedoch mit einer gewissen Vorsicht aufgenommen werden, da es sich bei der verwendeten Stichprobe nicht um eine Zufallsstichprobe handelt und auch der Umfang der Stichprobe relativ gering ist. Dennoch haben sich erste interessante und relativ stabile Tendenzen und Relationen gezeigt, die als heuristisches Startkapital die Grundlage für die Ausweitung der Stichprobe und weitergehende Analysen bilden.

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Anmerkung

Für hilfreiche Hinweise zu früheren Versionen dieses Aufsatzes möchten wir uns bedanken bei Dr. Marina Rupp und Dipl.-Soz. Harald Rost (beide ifb Bamberg), sowie den anonymen Gutachter/innen der Zeitschrift für Familienforschung. Zudem danken wir den Studierenden unserer Lehrveranstaltung (Proseminar „Theorie und Empirie der familialen Arbeitsteilung“) an der Universität Bamberg für die Unterstützung bei der Datenerhebung, sowie unseren Hilfskräften Annika Jabsen und Christopher Schmidt für ihre sorgfältigen Arbeiten im Rahmen der Datenaufbereitung und -bereinigung.

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Anschrift der Autoren

Dipl.-Soz. Florian Schulz
Staatsinstitut für Familienforschung an der Universität Bamberg (ifb)
Heinrichsdamm 4
D-96047 Bamberg

E-mail: florian.schulz@ifb.uni-bamberg.de

Dr. Daniela Grunow
Center for Research on Inequalities and the Life Course
Department of Sociology
Yale University
P.O. Box 208265
New Haven, CT 06520-8265
USA

E-mail: daniela.grunow@yale.edu

Das Staatsinstitut für Familienforschung an der Universität Bamberg (*ifb*) berichtet an dieser Stelle in loser Folge über aktuelle Forschungsprojekte, neue Forschungsvorhaben, Tagungen und Veröffentlichungen. Diesmal werden zwei neue Projekte am *ifb* vorgestellt.

Kinder in gleichgeschlechtlichen Lebensgemeinschaften

im Zentrum des Interesses des Projektes, welches das *ifb* im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums der Justiz durchführt, steht die Lebenssituation von Kindern, die in eingetragenen Lebenspartnerschaften aufwachsen. Hier ist die vorrangige Fragestellung, wie sich die Ausgestaltung der rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen auf die Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen und die Unterstützung der Kinder auswirkt. Wichtige Teilaspekte in diesem Kontext stellen die Regelungen der Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen einerseits und die Entstehungsgeschichte der Regenbogenfamilien andererseits sowie ihre Konsequenzen für die Betroffenen dar.

Weiterhin ist von besonderem Interesse, ob sich Unterschiede zur Situation von Kindern in gleichgeschlechtlichen Lebensgemeinschaften ohne Eintragung ergeben und in wie weit die Ergebnisse mit denen, die in anderen Ländern erzielt wurden, auch mit der deutschen Situation übereinstimmen.

Da wir über die Lebensrealitäten gleichgeschlechtlicher Paare und Familien bislang kaum fundierte Kenntnisse haben, wird die Alltagsgestaltung der Familien und die Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen einer eingehenden Betrachtung unterzogen. Dabei spielt der familiäre Hintergrund des Kindes und damit der Entwicklungsprozess hin zur Regenbogenfamilie eine wichtige Rolle; zumal sich die Frage stellt, in wie weit Scheidungs- und Trennungserfahrungen zu bewältigen waren. Schließlich beeinflusst die Herkunft des Kindes maßgeblich die Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten der Lebenspartner in rechtlicher wie in sozialer Hinsicht. In diesem Kontext sind auch Erfahrungen mit künstlicher Befruchtung *Co-Parenting* und weitere Formen der Elternschaft zu untersuchen. Zudem sind Haltungen und Reaktionen des Umfeldes – wie z.B. mögliche Stigmatisierungen und Diskriminierungen – von Interesse.

Eine fundierte rechtstatsächliche Forschung, welche diese Zielgruppen ausreichend berücksichtigt, bedarf verschiedener Zugänge zur Thematik und damit ver-

bunden einer Kombination von passgenauen Forschungsmethoden. Daher wird hier ein *Multi-Method-Design* gewählt, das verschiedene Untersuchungsmethoden bei unterschiedlichen Zielgruppen anwendet.

Zur Bereitstellung von Basisdaten zur Verbreitung der verschiedenen gleichgeschlechtlichen Lebensformen wird eine Auswertung der amtlichen Statistik durchgeführt.

Im Fokus der Studie stehen zwar Eingetragene Lebenspartnerschaften mit Kind(ern) im Haushalt, doch wäre es zu kurz gegriffen, wenn sich die Untersuchung ausschließlich auf die Fälle von Elternschaft im Kontext der ELP beschränken würde. Zum einen ist die Ausgestaltung der Lebenspartnerschaft im Kontext der neuen Regelungen eine maßgebliche Rahmenbedingung für die Familiensituation und zudem ein wichtiger und bislang kaum beleuchteter Untersuchungsgegenstand. Zum anderen können bestimmte Fragestellungen durch das Hinzuziehen einer Kontrollgruppe wesentlich besser bearbeitet werden; dies gilt beispielsweise für die Einflussfaktoren auf die Nutzung und Beurteilung der Rechte. Die Betroffenenperspektive wird daher durch eine quantitative Erhebung bei gleichgeschlechtlichen Paaren mit und ohne Eintragung, die Kinder im Haushalt haben, abgebildet, welche ihrerseits durch qualitative Befragungen fundiert wird.

Erste Hinweise auf die Auswirkungen der Lebenssituation auf die Entwicklung der Kinder wird eine entwicklungspsychologische Teilstudie liefern. Für deren Durchführung übernimmt das Staatsinstitut für Frühpädagogik in München (IFP) die Verantwortung. Die Studie wird sich zunächst auf die Untersuchung von Jugendlichen im Alter von 12 bis 18 Jahren konzentrieren.

Zur Einschätzung der rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen und ihrer Konsequenzen werde flankierend qualitative Expertengespräche mit Richter(inne)n, Jugendamtsmitarbeiter(inne)n, Interessenvertreter(inne)n und Beratungseinrichtungen geführt.

Das Forschungsvorhaben wurde im November 2005 begonnen und hat eine Laufzeit von zwei Jahren. Es wird von einem wissenschaftlichen Beirat begleitet.

MAJA Hebammen in der Familienbildung

Niedrigschwellige Angebote zur Familienbildung zählen seit langem zu den bedeutendsten Aufgaben der Familienförderung. Dazu gehören die Ziele, Familien möglichst frühzeitig zu erreichen um präventive Unterstützung zu gewähren, möglichst alle Familien anzusprechen – insbesondere aber auch die sogenannten ‚bildungsfernen Schichten‘ – sowie passgenaue Angebote zu unterbreiten. In diesem Zusammenhang wurden viele verschiedene Modellprojekte entwickelt und gefördert und es entstehen auch in verbandlicher oder kommunaler Trägerschaft immer neue Ansätze und Konzepte. Allen gemein ist das Ringen mit der Problematik, Eltern frühzeitig und in ihren Alltagsbezügen anzusprechen und ihnen grundlegende Informationen und Unterstützung anzubieten. Diese Überlegungen haben uns sehr bald an die Chancen denken lassen, die sich durch die Einbindung von Hebammen im Kontext von Geburtsvorbereitungskursen eröffnen: Die Kurse setzen noch vor der

Geburt ein, begleiten die Eltern durch den Übergang und werden von nahezu allen werdenden Eltern – auch von Männern – wahrgenommen. Was also läge näher, als Hebammen so fortzubilden, dass sie familienbildende Inhalte in ihre Tätigkeit integrieren und zugleich als „Schnittstelle“ für weitere Angebote fungieren können?

Das Konzept für eine entsprechende Fortbildung wurde interdisziplinär gestaltet und in enger Kooperation mit dem Bayerischen Hebammen-Landesverband e.V. sowie einem „Pilotkurs“ entwickelt. Es ist als breit angelegtes Angebot konzipiert, das Hebammen bei ihrer Arbeit – je nach Situation und Einsatzmöglichkeit – nutzen können. Dazu gehören aktuelle Informationen über die Entwicklung und Situation der Familien, um die Belange und Bedarfe verschiedener Familien noch besser zu verstehen. Zugleich werden den Hebammen in der Schulung Werkzeuge und Informationen an die Hand gegeben, die es ihnen erleichtern, Familien in verschiedenen Situationen zu unterstützen bzw. mit bestimmten Situationen umzugehen. Ein zentraler Punkt ist auch die professionelle Positionsklärung, um die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der eigenen Verantwortung abzuschätzen. In diesem Kontext wird großer Wert darauf gelegt, dass die Hebammen sich als Vermittlerinnen in ein weites Hilfesystem begreifen und sich auf diese Funktion gut vorbereiten, indem sie sich in ihren regionalen Bezügen vernetzen.

Weitere Themen, die in der Fortbildung behandelt werden sind die neuen Rollen für Väter und Mütter nach der Geburt eines Kindes, und zwar auch im Hinblick auf das, was Eltern aus der Herkunftsfamilie ‚mitbringen‘. Von großer Bedeutung für die weitere Familienentwicklung ist es, wie mit den Veränderungen auf der Paarebene umgegangen wird. Daher werden Einführungen in die Themen Kommunikation, Paarbeziehung und Sexualität sowie Grundlagen der Gesprächsführung vermittelt.

Die Fortbildung wird von eigens geschulten Fachkräften in den Familienbildungsstätten angeboten. Diese arbeiten mit den im Rahmen des Projekts entwickelten Schulungs- und Arbeitsmaterialien. Die Fortbildungen, die inzwischen bayernweit angelaufen sind, werden für zwei Jahre wissenschaftlich begleitet. Die Erkenntnisse der Evaluation werden dann gegebenenfalls in eine Überarbeitung oder Ergänzung der Konzeption münden.

Jahresinhaltsverzeichnis 2006

Autor/Titel	Heft Nr.	Seite
<i>Abraham Martin</i> *		
Empirische Forschung und theoretischer Fortschritt in der Familiensoziologie: Korreferat zu Johannes Huininks Beitrag	2	253-261
<i>Bodenmann Guy</i> *		
Positionsbestimmung in der Paar- und Familienpsychologie	2	148-171
<i>Burkart Günter</i> *		
Positionen und Perspektiven. Zum Stand der Theorie- Bildung in der Familiensoziologie	2	175-206
<i>Brüderl Josef</i> *		
Was kann familiensoziologische Theorie? Korreferat zum Beitrag von Günter Burkart	2	206-212
<i>Cina Annette, Bodenmann Guy, Hahlweg Kurt, Dirscherl Thomas & Sanders Matthew R.</i>		
Triple P (Positive Parenting Program): Theoretischer und Empirischer Hintergrund und erste Erfahrungen im deutschsprachigen Raum	1	66-89
<i>Hagestad Gunhild O.</i> **		
Transfers between grandparents and grandchildren: The importance of taking a three-generation perspective	3	315-333
<i>Huinink Johannes</i> *		
Zur Positionsbestimmung der empirischen Familiensoziologie	2	212-253
<i>Kaufmann Vincent & Widmer Eric D.</i>		
Motility and family dynamics: Current issues and research agendas	1	111-130

* Beitrag zum Schwerpunktthema „Familienwissenschaftliche Konferenz ‚Wo steht die Familienforschung?‘ Bestandsaufnahme, neuere Entwicklungen und offene Fragen“

** Beitrag zum Schwerpunktthema „Generationentransfers“

<hr/>		
<i>Kreyenfeld Michaela & Geisler Esther**</i>		
Müttererwebstätigkeit in Ost- und Westdeutschland. Eine Analyse mit den Mikrozensen 1991-2002.....	3	333-361
<i>Künemund Haralds & Vogel Claudia**</i>		
Öffentliche und private Transfers und Unterstützungsleistungen im Alter – „crowding in“ oder „crowding out“?	3	269-290
<i>Motel-Klingenbiel & Tesch-Römer Clemens**</i>		
Familie im Wohlfahrtsstaat – zwischen Verdrängung und Gemischter Verantwortung	3	290-315
<i>Noyon Alexander & Kock Tanja</i>		
Living apart together: Ein Vergleich getrennt wohnender vs. zusammen lebender Paare	1	27-46
<i>Rohmann Elke, Küppner & Schmohr Martina</i>		
Wie stabil sind Bindungsangst und Bindungsvermeidung? Der Einfluss von Persönlichkeit und Beziehungsveränderungen auf die partnerbezogenen Bindungsdimensionen	1	4-27
<i>Röhr-Sendlmeier Una M. & Yun Jenny</i>		
Familienvorstellungen im Kulturkontakt: ein Vergleich italienischer, türkischer, koreanischer und deutscher Junger Erwachsener in Deutschland.....	1	89-111
<i>Silbereisen Rainer*</i>		
„Für Politik relevant“ bedeutet mehr als „Forschung mit Anwendungsbezug“ – Kommentar zum Beitrag von Guy Bodenmann.....	2	171-175
<i>Stegmann Anne-Katrin & Schmitt Marina</i>		
Veränderungen in langjährigen Partnerschaften des mittleren Erwachsenenalters.....	1	46-66
<i>Tyrell Hartmann*</i>		
Familienforschung – Familiensoziologie: Einleitende Bemerkungen	2	139-148

* Beitrag zum Schwerpunktthema „Familienwissenschaftliche Konferenz ‚Wo steht die Familienforschung?‘ Bestandsaufnahme, neuere Entwicklungen und offene Fragen“

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