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Partnering Patterns

Wachter, Gusta

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1.

Introduction

1.1. Union formation and dissolution among the children of immigrants

Around the turn of the century, many children of former guest workers and postcolonial immigrants started entering young adulthood throughout western Europe, including the Netherlands. The entry into young adulthood of this so-called second generation raised questions about their choices regarding union formation by both scholars and policymakers. Would the union formation and dissolution behaviour of the second generation become more similar to that of the majority population because they grow up in the same country? And which factors influence their union formation and dissolution patterns?

In order to get a better understanding of the union formation process of the second generation, research on this topic surged during the last two decades (e.g. Andersson et al., 2015; De Valk, 2011; Ferrari & Pailhé, 2017; Hamel et al., 2012; Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Hannemann et al., 2020; Hannemann et al., 2018; Holland et al., 2018; Huschek et al., 2012; Huschek et al., 2010; Huschek et al., 2011; Kleinepier & De Valk, 2016; Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2014; Milewski & Huschek, 2015; Pailhé, 2015; Rahnu et al., 2015; Wiik & Holland, 2018). Many of these studies have mainly been interested in differences between the second generation, on the one hand, and the first generation and majority population, on the other hand. This has been of particular interest as such differences serve as an indication of intergenerational adaptation across migrant generations.

Little is still known, however, about differences and diversity in union formation behaviour within the second generation. This is unfortunate as the second generation is neither a static nor a homogenous group (Crul & Doornik, 2003; De Valk, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007) and is expected to continue to grow and diversify in the future (De Beer et al., 2020). With this thesis, I aim to contribute to the literature by taking a broader approach to the union formation of the second generation by first addressing the main question: How does union formation and union dissolution in young adulthood vary within the second generation? Union formation and union dissolution behaviour is shaped by the social context in which a person is embedded through processes of socialisation. The norms that the second generation is socialised with may, however, vary between the family and the society at large. The second question I therefore pose is: How is diversity in union formation and union dissolution within the second generation related to processes of socialisation? Diversity is examined in a three-stage model. First, within the second generation, diversity in union formation behaviour between different origin groups is examined. Understanding the differences between groups is necessary in order to take the next steps and examine union formation patterns in more detail. In the second stage, within second-generation origin groups, differentiation in union formation as it relates to the macro context in which they are embedded is studied. The focus and innovativeness lies in the detailed analysis of differences across birth cohorts and childhood neighbourhoods. Third, within union types, different partner choices and their consequences for the risk of union dissolution are studied. I thereby go beyond the dominant focus to date, which has been on marital unions and the exogamy versus endogamy dichotomy.

Increasing our understanding of the diversity in union formation and dissolution within the second generation is important for multiple reasons. First, at the micro level, union

formation has important implications for other domains in an individual's life course, such as their position in the labour market (Bevelander & Groeneveld, 2012; Brewer & Nandi, 2014; Killewald & Gough, 2013) and moving behaviour (Guzzo, 2006; Jang & Snyder, 2015; Mikolai et al., 2020). A better understanding of diversity in union formation and dissolution therefore provides broader insights into the development of the life courses of the second generation and can be informative of their position in society. Second, the accumulation of individual life courses may cause changes in norms and behaviour at the macro level. These can, in turn, influence individual decision making. Third, as union formation is closely related to childbirth (Perelli-Harris et al., 2012), it influences future population structures (Coleman, 2004b; Kulu et al., 2019). Finally, the union formation and dissolution behaviour of the second generation influences societal debates on immigrant integration and can impact related policy decisions (Leerkes & Kulu-Glasgow, 2010; Sterckx, 2015).

The theoretical framework of this thesis is built around socialisation theories and incorporates several principles of the life course approach. Although the life course approach has gained in popularity (Shanahan et al., 2016), it has not been adopted in studies on migrants and their descendants to the same extent (Wingens et al., 2011). This can be explained by a lack of suitable and longitudinal data on the children of immigrants (Adserà & Ferrer, 2015). In this thesis, however, I use individual level, longitudinal, full population register data from Statistics Netherlands. Combined with the use of comparative European survey data (TIES), this enables a comprehensive, detailed study of the union formation behaviour of the second generation. These data and the presence of a large second-generation population makes the Netherlands a highly suitable context to study diversity in union formation within the second generation. Placed in a broader European context, the focus throughout this thesis is therefore on the Netherlands.

1.2. Research context

The Netherlands, like many other European countries, has become more culturally diverse over the last decades as a result of immigration (Jennissen et al., 2018; Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). The four largest non-European immigrant groups in the Netherlands originate from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles (Statistics Netherlands, 2019a). One of the domains where cultural differences between these origin groups can be observed is in their union formation and dissolution patterns (e.g. De Valk et al., 2004; Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006; Smith et al., 2012; van Huis, 2007; Van Huis & Steenhof, 2003a). With the coming of age of the second generation, the question has been raised to what extent their union formation and dissolution are influenced by patterns in both their birth country as well as their parents' country of origin. Before turning to the theoretical notions that help to explain how both influences can be at work simultaneously, it is important to understand the differences in union formation between cultures and countries. These differences determine the norms and behaviour the second generation is exposed to. A first necessary step, however, is the introduction of the second generation in the Netherlands.

1.2.1. The second generation in the Netherlands

The second generation in the Netherlands makes up 11 percent of the Dutch population of about 17,4 million people (Statistics Netherlands, 2020a). This is about half of the total migrant population.¹ Following the official definition used by Statistics Netherlands, the second generation in this thesis is defined as those being born in the Netherlands² with at least one foreign-born parent. It is a diverse group consisting of a multitude of origins (De Valk, 2010). This diversity in origin can be directly linked to the migration history of the Netherlands which is characterized by several periods (Zorlu & Hartog, 2001). Figure 1.1 shows the 20 largest second-generation origin groups in the Netherlands in 2020 (as part of the total second generation) and the median age of the respective groups. Not only is the second generation diverse with regard to their ethnic origin, there is also a large variation in age composition. Some children are born to more recent immigrants and are therefore younger (e.g. Polish and Syrian), while other origin groups are overall older due to longer migration histories (e.g. Belgian and German).

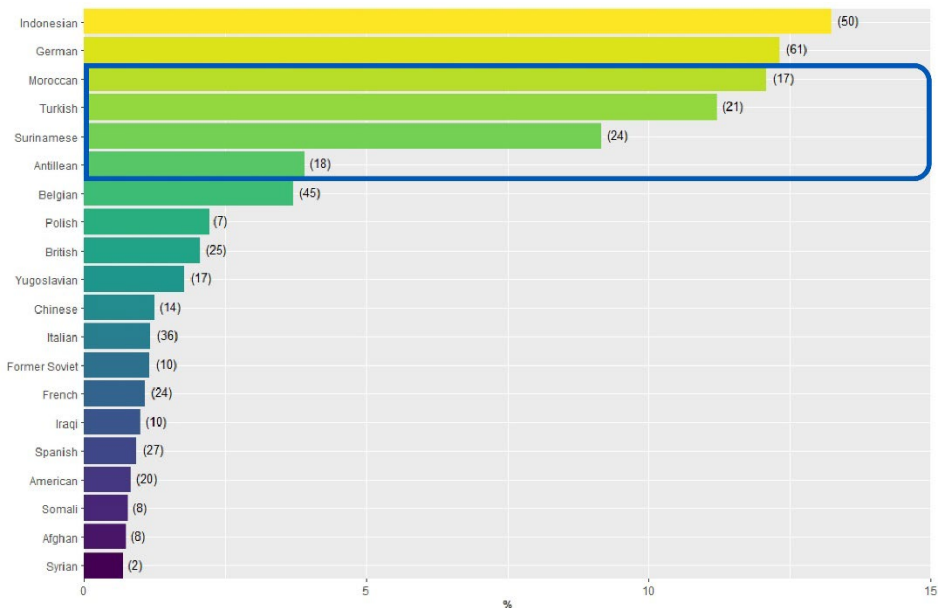
In this thesis I focus on the children of the four largest migrant groups with a non-European background in the Netherlands; those of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean descent.³ Many of them are still entering young adulthood, with a median age of around 20 years old. The age composition of these groups is related to the period of arrival in the Netherlands by their parents. The first two groups - Turkish and Moroccan - are predominantly children of former guest workers who were recruited in the 1960s and 1970s to fill labour shortages in the Netherlands and several other European countries (Akgündüz, 1993; Van Amersfoort, 1995; Zorlu & Hartog, 2001). Although the Moroccan second generation also forms a considerable group in several European countries, the Turkish second generation is overall the largest second-generation group throughout Europe (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). They are represented by significant numbers in the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, France, Spain, Switzerland and Austria (Crul et al., 2012). The Surinamese and Antillean second generation are, in contrast, specific to the Dutch context as these are the children of postcolonial immigrants from countries formerly colonized by the Netherlands (Van Niekerk, 2007). Whereas immigration from Suriname peaked around its independence in 1975, migration from the former Dutch Antilles is more continuous as its six islands are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, all with different levels of autonomy (Sharpe, 2020; Van Amersfoort & Van Niekerk, 2006).

¹ Total migrant population refers to individuals with both a first- and second-generation migrant background. Together they comprise 4.2 million individuals and make up 24 percent of the Dutch population.

² In case of chapter 2 the country of birth is the Netherlands or one of the following: Germany, Austria, France or Switzerland.

³ Indonesian is not categorized as non-European because a large proportion of individuals with an Indonesian background are children of parents with a Dutch background who were born in the former Dutch colony of Indonesia. Moreover, this group is relatively old and therefore no longer in the age of first union formation.

Figure 1.1. Twenty largest second-generation origin groups in the Netherlands as % of total second generation (2020), median age between ()



Source: CBS Statline - Population; age; generation and migrant background, 1 January. Own calculations

1.2.2. Union formation in the Netherlands

Union formation trajectories in the Netherlands and other western European countries have changed tremendously since the 1960s. Union formation trajectories shifted from being characterized by relatively early direct marriage from the parental home to including a variety of union formation options (Elzinga & Liefbroer, 2007; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008; Zimmermann & Konietzka, 2018). Nowadays it is common for young adults to cohabit with a partner before entering marriage. Some studies even suggest that a period of unmarried cohabitation is the new norm (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010; Hofäcker & Chaloupková, 2014). Although no data about unmarried cohabiting couples is available in the Netherlands before the 1990s, the share of cohabiting couples aged 20-40 living together unmarried increased from 29 to 52 percent between 1997 and 2020 (Statistics Netherlands, 2020d). Increasing numbers of people living together unmarried for a period of time automatically results in the postponement of marriage. The average age at first marriage in the Netherlands for men, for example, increased from 27 to 34 between 1960 and 2020. For women it increased from 24 to 32 (Statistics Netherlands, 2020b). Moreover, some people decide to forego marriage altogether and opt for unmarried cohabitation as an alternative final step in the union formation process (Di Giulio et al., 2019; Hiekel et al., 2014). As well as the postponement of marriage and the rise of unmarried cohabitation, divorce rates also started to increase in the Netherlands, rising from 2,2 in 1960 to 8,9 (per 1000 married couples) in 2019 (Statistics Netherlands, 2019b).

These shifts in union formation trajectories are often seen as part of the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) (Lesthaeghe & Van de Kaa, 1986; Van de Kaa, 1987). Following changes in economic structures, it has been argued that ideational changes in western societies such as individualization and secularization have triggered the SDT (Lesthaeghe, 2014; Studer et al., 2018). Institutions such as the family and the church have lost influence and people have become more autonomous in the way they want to shape their lives, including their union formation trajectories (Cherlin, 2020; Norris & Inglehart, 2011).

1.2.3. Cross-cultural differences in union formation

The shift in union formation patterns, as witnessed in many western European countries, did not occur at the same speed or to the same extent throughout the rest of the world. Although it has been suggested that the SDT is unfolding globally (Lesthaeghe, 2010) there are still large differences in union formation preferences and trajectories between countries (Bongaarts et al., 2017; Hofäcker & Chaloupková, 2014; Lesnard et al., 2016; Van Winkle, 2018). For example, the mean age at first marriage for women within the European Union ranges from 26.6 in Slovakia to 34.1 in Sweden (Eurostat, 2019). Moreover, unmarried cohabitation is much more common as a first union type in north-western Europe than in southern and eastern Europe (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010; Kalmijn, 2007). From a global perspective differences in union formation are even larger (United Nations, 2019).

Such differences between countries in union formation have, at least to some extent, been attributed to cultural differences (Hiekel et al., 2014; Kalmijn, 2007; Lesthaeghe, 2020; Perelli-Harris & Bernardi, 2015; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008). For decades several disciplines, from political science (Huntington, 1993; Inglehart & Baker, 2000), to cross-cultural psychology (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis, 1989) and demography (Reher, 1998; Todd, 1985), have tried to identify different cultures and the basis on which cultures differ from each other. An important and frequently used dimension on which categorizations are based is the degree to which societies are oriented towards either individuals or groups (Hofstede, 2011; Kagıtcıbası, 1997; Triandis & Gelfand, 2012). As described in section 1.2.2, nowadays western European countries are strongly focused on the individual, and autonomy in life course decisions is highly valued. In countries with a strong group-oriented culture, however, expectations and norms within the family about union formation largely define the timing and order of events as well as the choice for a partner (Buunk et al., 2010). This is, for example, the case in societies that are predominantly Muslim or Hindu due to the strong emphasis in these cultures on loyalty towards the family and its preferences rather than on the individual as in western societies. Union formation in these societies typically takes place at younger ages and is characterized by direct marriage and relatively low prevalence of divorce (Bongaarts et al., 2017; De Valk et al., 2004; Lesthaeghe, 2020). These type of trajectories are particularly common in numerous countries in Africa (Hertrich, 2017), South Asia (Jones, 2017) and the Arab world (Engelen & Puschmann, 2011; Rashad et al., 2005). In other regions such as Latin America and the Caribbean, cohabitation is a more accepted form of union formation and union dissolution is not unusual (Esteve et al., 2016; Liu et al., 2017).

Union formation in Turkey and Morocco

Turkey and Morocco are clear examples of more group-oriented societies and this is reflected in their union formation practices. In these predominantly Muslim countries marriage is encouraged as the preferred union type. Marriage therefore takes a central role and is important for the family's reputation as unmarried cohabitation is not widely accepted (Assaad & Krafft, 2015; Hortaçsu, 2003). Marriage is, moreover, not just seen as a bond between two partners, but also serves as a tool for connecting and benefitting families through mutual agreements (Baykara-Krumme, 2017; Hortaçsu, 2007). Because of its importance for the family's position and reputation, family and parents traditionally play an important role in the union formation process and partner selection of their children (Bedmar & Palma, 2011; Kavas & Thornton, 2013; Van Zantvliet et al., 2014). However, there are clear differences in union formation practices between rural and urban areas (HCP, 2016; HUIPS, 2014). In the rural areas, from which most of the Netherlands recruited guest workers originate (Dagevos et al., 2006; Fokkema & Harmsen, 2009), religious and traditional customs regarding marriage are adhered to more strictly. Consequently union formation was, and is, under stricter control of the family and community, resulting in younger marriage age, more consanguineous marriages and lower divorce rates in rural areas (Caarls & de Valk, 2018; Kavas & Thornton, 2013; Koc, 2008). Although union formation patterns in Morocco and Turkey are also subject to change (Assaad & Krafft, 2015; Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu & Ergöçmen, 2014), age at first marriage is still low compared to western European countries, unmarried cohabitation is largely taboo and divorce rates are relatively low (Caarls & de Valk, 2018; Engin et al., 2020).

These cultural differences are also reflected in the union formation behaviour of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. The preferred and actual age at first marriage of the Turkish and Moroccan first generation is much lower compared to the majority population (De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007b; Liefbroer et al., 2001) and unmarried cohabitation is relatively rare (Statistics Netherlands, 2020d). Moreover, the rate of exogamous marriage is low, reflecting the strong orientation towards the family and ethnic community (van Huis, 2007; Van Tubergen & Maas, 2007).

Union formation in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles

Union formation and dissolution behaviour in Suriname and the former Dutch Antilles are quite different from that in Turkey and Morocco. Marriage takes a much less prominent place, unmarried cohabitation is frequent and union dissolution is not uncommon (Algemeen Bureau voor Statistiek Suriname, 2014, 2021; Eelens, 2012; ter Bals, 2014). There are at least three reasons for these differences. First of all, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles are less group-oriented countries compared to Turkey and Morocco (De Valk et al., 2004). The family and community therefore play a less important role in the process of union formation. The second reason is the specific family structure present in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles that is characterized by the important role of women in society. Besides taking a central role within the family, women often also take part in the labour market (Kok et al., 2011; Van Deursen, 2011). Although women typically prefer monogamous long term

relationships (Bertens et al., 2008), it is not unusual for them to be head of the household and live without a man (Algemeen Bureau voor Statistiek Suriname, 2014; Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba, 2011). In the literature it is argued that this matriarchal structure relates back to the period of slavery when men and women were not allowed to be married and living together was not always possible (Terborg, 2020). Finally, there is a greater heterogeneity in religion than in Turkey and Morocco. On Aruba and Curacao, the largest islands of the Antilles, 73-75 percent of the population is Catholic (Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba, 2011; Van Deursen, 2011). In Suriname, while 48 percent are Christian, substantial portions of the population are Hindu (22 percent) or Muslim (14 percent) (Algemeen Bureau voor Statistiek Suriname, 2013).

As a result of this greater heterogeneity and the specific family structures, various types of unions other than marriage have long been accepted in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, even before marriage lost in significance in the Netherlands (Lamur, 1973). This is also reflected in the union formation behaviour of first-generation immigrants from these countries. Age at first marriage is somewhat higher among the Surinamese and Antillean first generation compared to the Dutch majority population (De Valk et al., 2004; Liefbroer et al., 2001). Unmarried cohabitation is common and divorce is also prevalent (Statistics Netherlands, 2020a, 2020d). Moreover, opposition towards exogamous unions is relatively low (Huijnk et al., 2010).

1.3. Theoretical framework

Union formation behaviour is shaped by the social context in which a person is embedded. This notion forms the basis of many theories used to explain union formation and dissolution. This is also the case for the theories used throughout the empirical chapters in this thesis, such as diffusion theories (Rogers, 1995), convergence theory (Jones, 1996), and the role of third parties and preferences as described in the model developed by Kalmijn (1998) to explain partner choice. Underlying all these theoretical frameworks in some way is the concept of socialisation. Through socialisation processes children learn what type of norms, values, and behaviour are required and supported to successfully function within their social group (Grusec, 2002; Maccoby, 2007; Smetana et al., 2015). The socialisation literature describes several mechanisms through which people's norms and behaviour are influenced by their social surroundings. The theoretical framework of this thesis is built around these socialisation processes and their influence on behaviour in young adulthood thereby taking the specific position of the second generation into account.

1.3.1. Parental socialisation

According to socialisation theories parents are the primary socialisation agents, especially during early childhood (Grusec, 2002; Maccoby, 2007). Parents transmit their preferences and norms to their children and thereby form the basis for the development of their child's norms and behaviour (Huijnk & Liefbroer, 2012; Jaspers et al., 2008; Min et al., 2012; Willoughby et al., 2012). Socialised in a different origin country, immigrants may hold

different norms and values regarding union formation than those that are common in the destination country (see previous paragraphs), and may subsequently pass these norms and values on to their children. As a result, the children of immigrants are likely to be socialised with the norms and preferences from their parents' country of origin (Carol, 2014; De Valk & Liefbroer, 2007b; Hannemann et al., 2018; Huschek et al., 2010).

The socialisation literature suggests three mechanisms through which parents transmit their norms and preferences. First, children learn and internalize the preferences and attitudes about union formation from their parents through direct intergenerational transmission of norms and values. Parents teach their children what is acceptable behaviour through instruction and sanctioning (Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Barber, 2000; Madsen, 2008; Manning et al., 2011). In Turkish and Moroccan families, the importance of marriage is, for example, likely to be emphasized whereas this will be less central in Surinamese and Antillean families. A second mechanism through which parental socialisation takes place is through role modelling. According to social learning theory, children do not only learn through experience or instruction but also by observing the behaviour of others and how this is received by the community (Bandura, 1969). Parents have first-hand experience with union formation, and potentially union dissolution. They therefore function as central role models in the union formation process of their children (Keijer et al., 2018; Kuo et al., 2017; Rhoades et al., 2012). As it is common for the Antillean and Surinamese first generation to live together unmarried or to end a union, their children are likely to observe this type of behaviour. In contrast, the Turkish and Moroccan second generation will mainly observe married family members. The third mechanism described in the literature is the process of social inheritance (Glass et al., 1986; Vauhkonen et al., 2017). Life courses are structured by social status. Because of intergenerational continuity in social status, the norms and behaviour of children and their parents are likely to be similar (Billari et al., 2019; Hiekel, 2021; Keijer et al., 2016).

Norms about union formation transmitted through socialisation clearly differ across origin groups. Cross-cultural research has, however, also pointed out differences in the degree to which conformity to parental preferences plays a role in the socialisation process. In group-orientated societies a stronger emphasis is placed on conformity and obedience (Kagitcibasi, 2005). Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, for example, hold stronger family-obligation and family-solidarity values than the Surinamese and Antilleans (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2008; Merz et al., 2009) and transmit collectivistic values such as family conformity and family relatedness to the next generation (Citlak et al., 2008; Durgel et al., 2009; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). Because norms transmitted by parents and the level of conformity towards parental preferences varies, socialisation theories are useful in explaining differences in union formation between (second-generation) origin groups. Social inheritance, on the other hand, can serve as a source of differentiation within origin groups.

1.3.2. Dual socialisation of the second generation

Parents are not the only socializing agents influencing the union formation and dissolution behaviour of the second generation. The second generation is also socialised outside of the parental home in the majority culture. Already in 1971, Valentine put forward a dual

socialisation model to explain why minority group members are able to function both within their ethnic group as well as in the broader society. He argued that, in addition to socialisation into their origin culture, members of all minority groups are also exposed to socializing agents and institutions within the majority culture (De Anda, 1984; Valentine, 1971). This is particularly true for the second generation. At home they may be socialised with cultural norms from their parents' country of origin. Yet already at a young age the second generation enters their birth country's institutions, such as the school system, where they are introduced to socialisation in the majority culture. Moreover, young people spend increasing amounts of time outside the parental home (Brown & Larson, 2009). Peers and other significant people therefore become increasingly important in the socialisation process during the transition to adolescence and young adulthood (Jensen Arnett, 2015; Smetana et al., 2015). Similar to parental socialisation, the influence on union formation behaviour of these secondary socializing agents can take place through the direct transmission of norms. Moreover, children and adolescents can also observe the union formation behaviour of their peers' parents, their teachers or neighbours and how these behaviours are received by the community. Parents are therefore not the only ones who can serve as role models. Although the norms and behaviour transmitted outside the parental home can reflect different cultural preferences, they are likely to also include those of the majority population.

1.4. Diversity in union formation from a life course perspective

The concept of dual socialisation has often been used to explain intergenerational adaptation across migrant generations. Much of the existing research in Europe on the union formation and dissolution of the second generation is motivated by the question of how their behaviour relates to both the majority culture and the culture in their parents' country of origin. Many studies have asked to what degree intergenerational adaptation between migrant generations takes place with regard to the timing of entering a union, the type of union and the preference for endogamous or exogamous partners. Overall, studies show that a certain degree of intergenerational adaptation seems to take place as the second generation, compared to the first generation, often resembles the majority population to a greater extent (Hannemann et al., 2018; Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006; Milewski & Hamel, 2010; Pailhé, 2015; Rahnu et al., 2015; Wiik & Holland, 2018). However, the degree to which intergenerational adaptation of union formation takes place varies according to migrant origin (Andersson et al., 2015; Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Hannemann et al., 2020; Kulu & Hannemann, 2019; Pailhé, 2015). Moreover, differences with the majority population typically do remain, causing an intermediate position for the second generation.

Whereas the concept of dual socialisation has often been used to explain intergenerational adaptation across migrant generations, I apply it to increase our understanding of diversity specifically within the second generation. This is done by integrating socialisation theories with several principles of the life course approach (Elder et al., 2003). This approach offers tools for studying the development of human lives through interdependencies across time, place and domains (Bernardi et al., 2019). I follow a three-

stage model that narrows the level of analysis down in each step. First, I consider differences within the second generation between origin groups. Second, I zoom into specific origin groups and study intragroup differences. Third, within union types, I examine a variety in partner choice options and their implications. In the following sections I elaborate on these three stages of analysis and discuss the role of dual socialisation and life course principles in relation to my contributions. Before doing so I will first briefly recount the main principles of the life course approach (Elder et al., 2003).

The first principle, life-span development, states that in order to understand human behaviour experiences earlier in life need to be taken into account. This is in line with socialisation theories as these suggest that the norms and preferences learned in childhood continue to exert a certain degree of influence in adulthood (Min et al., 2012; Settersten Jr, 2002). The second principle, human agency, explains that people have the possibility to, within certain limits, choose their own way in life. The way people are socialised influences their preferences and behaviour, yet it does not fully determine it. The third principle, timing, acknowledges that the moment (age) at which certain events happen in life is influential in determining the rest of the life course. Fourth is the principle of linked lives which emphasizes that lives are not lived alone. It is through these linked lives that socialisation takes place. There are dependencies on close ties, such as family members and friends, but also on weaker ties such as peers and neighbours. Finally, the principle of time and space emphasizes the importance of the macro level context in which lives are lived. This includes cultural differences, for example between countries, as well as the (historical) time at which one is born.

1.4.1. Diversity in union formation between origin groups

An important first step to understand diversity in union formation within the second generation is to examine differences between origin groups. As outlined in section 1.3, social contexts shape union formation and dissolution behaviour through socialisation first of all by parents. Differences in norms between parental countries of origin can be used to explain differences between second-generation origin groups as the socialisation practices and the transmitted norms will vary accordingly. Not surprisingly, a consistent finding in the European literature is that there is variation in union formation behaviour between second-generation origin groups (Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2014). Direct marriage (without a period of unmarried cohabitation), for example, is common among South Asian groups in the UK (Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Hannemann et al., 2020) and the Turkish and North-African second generation in European countries (Hamel et al., 2012; Hannemann et al., 2020; Huschek et al., 2011; Milewski & Hamel, 2010). This can be explained by the importance attached to marriage in these countries of origin and the strong group-oriented cultures that cause transmission of these norms to the next generation. On the other hand, Caribbean origin groups in the UK and the Netherlands have relatively low rates of (direct) marriage and high rates of unmarried cohabitation and union dissolution compared to other migrant groups and the majority population (Hannemann & Kulu, 2015; Hannemann et al., 2020; Kleinepiper & De Valk, 2016). Differences in migrant origin are also reflected in partner choice. South Asians in the UK and the Turkish second generation in Europe have high

rates of marrying within their own group (Hartung et al., 2011; Huschek et al., 2012; Kulu & Hannemann, 2019), whereas exogamy is a lot more common among Caribbean origin groups (Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006; Muttarak, 2010).

In this thesis, the first level of analysis focusses on differences between the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean second generation in the Netherlands. Throughout the chapters, differences in the norms of the parents' country of origin are taken into account when formulating hypotheses as these may be transmitted to the second generation through parental socialisation. The behaviour of these groups is, moreover, contrasted with Dutch majority-group peers in order to examine how differences within the second generation relate to norms prevailing in the majority culture.

1.4.2. Diversity in union formation within origin groups

The previous section explains how social contexts influence differences within the second generation between different origin groups. Social contexts are, however, heterogeneous and subject to change. In order to understand diversity in union formation within second-generation origin groups, it is therefore important to understand the dynamics of social contexts and how this may influence socialisation processes. One of the main principles of the life course approach that is useful for explaining diversity in union formation within the second generation is that of time and space (Elder et al., 2003). Because the norms about union formation and dissolution that the second generation is socialised with vary across time and space, differences in union formation within the second generation may be expected depending on when they were born (time) and where they grow up (space). Space and time as potential sources of variation within the second generation therefore make up the first two contributions in this thesis and will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

As a first contribution, and related to the component of time, I consider changes in union formation across birth cohorts. Each birth cohort is born at a specific point in (historical) time that is characterized by its own social norms and institutions. As a result, each birth cohort is faced with a unique set of opportunities and constraints that influence the development of the life course, including union formation and dissolution (Ryder, 1965). Comparing union formation behaviour across birth cohorts therefore offers an opportunity to study change. Among majority populations cohort changes in demographic behaviours have frequently been studied (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010; Lesnard et al., 2016; Perelli-Harris & Lyons-Amos, 2015; Sobotka & Toulemon, 2008; Van Winkle, 2018). Some studies focusing on the descendants of immigrants have also started to include birth cohorts in their analyses (Hamel et al., 2012; Huschek et al., 2012; Huschek et al., 2010; Milewski & Hamel, 2010), but typically merely as covariates or by grouping birth years into large categories that may disguise changes occurring over specific birth years. To fill this gap in the literature, I provide a detailed analysis of changes across birth cohorts in the timing of marriage within the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in the Netherlands. Focusing on the timing of marriage is interesting from a life course perspective as well, since the principle of timing stresses that the age at which events happen in life is highly influential in determining the rest of the life course.

Second, I contribute to the literature by examining differences in union formation within the second generation during young adulthood in relation to the ethnic composition of their childhood neighbourhood. Closely linked to the life course component of space, the macro context in which the second generation grows up varies. As a result, the social context and socialisation of the second generation can also be expected to differ across spatial units. Changes in union formation behaviour across migrant generations is often assigned to the dual socialisation of the second generation, making them more similar to the majority population. Yet, the extent to which the second generation is socialised by majority group members depends on their local context and surroundings. In areas with more majority group neighbours the second generation may be confronted more with prevailing norms in the majority culture which may impact their union formation and dissolution. Previous studies interested in neighbourhood effects on union formation of the second generation in young adulthood usually have cross-sectional designs, thereby ignoring the childhood context (Carol et al., 2014; Puur et al., 2021; but see van Zantvliet & Kalmijn, 2013 for US context). According to socialisation theories, however, norms internalized during childhood are relatively stable and influential throughout the life course (Min et al., 2012; Vollebergh et al., 2001). It is therefore key to examine the ethnic composition of the childhood neighbourhood as a potential source of differentiation in the union formation behaviour within the second generation. I do so for three second-generation origin groups in the Netherlands using full population, longitudinal, register data.

1.4.3. Diversity in union type and partner choice

In the third stage, I go into partner choice options within different union types and their consequences. The life course principle of life-span development acknowledges that in order to understand human behaviour, experiences earlier in life need to be taken into account. This calls for the inclusion of different types of unions in research on union formation and dissolution among the second generation. Whereas partner choice and the formation and dissolution of marital unions have been studied frequently in research among second-generation young adults (e.g. Eeckhaut et al., 2011; Hannemann et al., 2018; Kalmijn & Van Tubergen, 2006; Kulu & Hannemann, 2019; Milewski & Kulu, 2014; Smith et al., 2012; Van Tubergen & Maas, 2007), unmarried cohabitation and especially dating relationships during adulthood have not attracted the same amount of scholarly attention (for research about dating among second-generation adolescents see Van Zantvliet et al., 2015; Weißmann & Maddox, 2016). Another contribution to the literature is therefore the inclusion of analysis on dating, unmarried cohabitation and marriage. Moreover, taking a life-span perspective also implies not merely focusing on the start of unions but also the potential end. Therefore one of the chapters is dedicated to studying the risk of union dissolution.

There are several reasons why broadening the scope of union types is important. First, a single, direct marriage from the parental home is no longer the standard, and (serial) dating and cohabitation have become normal union formation behaviour (Eickmeyer & Manning, 2018). Experiences in dating relationships may influence choices with regard to unmarried cohabiting relationships or marriage (Sassler, 2010), for example with regard to partner choice. Second, for some groups direct marriage is uncommon and (a period of) unmarried

cohabitation is the norm. By focusing on marital unions, important union formation dynamics may be overlooked. Third, including multiple union types is important in order to test whether theoretical starting points and hypotheses hold across different relationships and origin groups. Finally, including different union types is particularly important in relation to partner choice. Partnering outside group boundaries is often seen as an indication of diminishing group boundaries. But when only considered with regard to marriage, part of interethnic partnering may be overlooked. This links to the final contribution of this thesis which is the inclusion of a variety in partner choice options. Traditionally, a distinction was only made between endogamous unions and exogamous unions, but with the emergence of the second generation it became unclear what these concepts entail for children of immigrants being socialised in two cultures (Song, 2009). In this thesis I therefore go beyond this endogamous - exogamous dichotomy and include more partner options, such as first-generation co-ethnic partners, second-generation co-ethnic partners, majority-group partners, partners with a non-co-ethnic migrant background and transnational partners. In the empirical chapters I do so both in relation to partner choice in dating relationships, as well as in relation to the risk of union dissolution from unmarried cohabiting unions. In a previous Dutch article I wrote, I zoomed into non-co-ethnic migrant marriage partners of the second generation to disentangle the variety of partner options 'hidden' behind this overarching category (Wachter & de Valk, 2019). Although not included as an empirical chapter in this thesis, I will reflect on those previous findings and how they relate to this thesis in the conclusions (Chapter 6).

1.5. Data: comparative survey and population registers

As outlined above, I aim to provide a detailed study of union formation and dissolution among different second-generation origin groups in the Netherlands in this thesis. I do so by comparing birth cohorts, the ethnic composition of childhood neighbourhoods, including different union types and a variety of partner choice options. Providing a more comprehensive overview of diversity in the union formation of the second generation and testing underlying mechanisms is possible because I use both comparative European survey data and full population, individual level, longitudinal, register data from the Netherlands. Using 'The Integration of the Second Generation in Europe Survey' (TIES) in this thesis makes it possible to examine the dating relationships of the Turkish second generation in Europe; something that is not possible using population register data. TIES was the first large-scale comparative survey that studied the integration and life courses of the second generation across eight European countries (Crul et al., 2012).

The population register data, on the other hand, provides detailed information about unmarried cohabiting unions, marriage and union dissolution. More specifically, I make use of the System of Social Statistical Dataset (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands (Bakker et al., 2014). The SSD combines several registers and captures a wide range of background characteristics for every official resident in the country such as educational level, income, household composition, moving behaviour, date and place of birth, and ethnic origin based

on country of birth and parents' country of birth. Moreover, this information is known for all partners, as both unmarried cohabiting as well as married partners can be identified and linked in the SSD. Some information, such as date of birth, is time invariant. Yet other information, such as place of residence, can change and is added to an individual's record accordingly making the data longitudinal.

Within the Dutch population register data I focus on the Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean second generation born between 1980 and 1995. These are the birth cohorts that have already entered young adulthood and are therefore suitable to examine with regard to their union formation and dissolution behaviour. Because the population register data is longitudinal it is possible to apply the life course principle of life-span development and follow specific origin groups over a long time period. The detailed information about both the second generation and their partners provides a unique opportunity to examine diversity in union formation and dissolution within the second generation and to test hypotheses that have so far been difficult to address empirically.

1.6. Outline of the thesis

The empirical part of this thesis consists of four chapters and overarching conclusions. The focus in chapter 2 is the dating relationships of the Turkish second generation in five European countries. The aim of this chapter is to expand knowledge on union formation and partner choice of the second generation to other types of unions besides marriage. This is crucial as dating relationships lay the foundation for more committed types of relationships. Patterns, partner choice and the role of parents in dating relationships are examined to this end using comparative European survey data (TIES).

Chapter 3 focusses on cohort change with regard to the timing of marriage. It examines how age at first marriage differs across 11 successive birth years (1980-1990) of Turkish and Moroccan second-generation individuals. Discrete-time event-history models are analysed separately for men and women to test the hypothesis that marriage is postponed in younger cohorts. Moreover, the timing of first marriage is compared to the majority-group population born in the same years. This detailed analysis is possible due to the use of population register data from Statistics Netherlands.

In chapter 4, diversity in union formation among the second generation is examined from a spatial angle. The general expectation is that the union formation of the second generation in young adulthood will resemble that of the majority population more if they grew up in neighbourhoods with larger proportions of majority-group residents. Childhood neighbourhoods are measured at different levels of scale in an innovative way. Both the timing and type of union are examined in multinomial event-history models for the Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese second generation. The general expectation is tailored to each origin group by taking group-specific union formation norms into account.

Chapter 5 broadens existing research on the relationship between partner choice and union dissolution by focusing on the dissolution of unmarried cohabiting unions rather than marital divorce. It challenges and tests the dominant hypothesis that exogamous migrant

couples are more likely to separate than endogamous ones among the children of Caribbean immigrants. A distinction is thereby made between first- and second-generation endogamous partners.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of all empirical chapters followed by an overarching discussion of the main findings in this thesis. It concludes with suggestions for future research and highlights several broader implications.

