

Ethnicity & Gender Role Preferences

A quantitative research on the gender role preferences of the second generation Turks and native Dutch young adults

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Acknowledgement

After several months of work, I hereby present my master thesis 'Ethnicity and Gender Role Preferences' for my master Population Studies. In September 2015, the first words for this thesis were written, during the course Research Process. Little did I know then, how much I would learn and the challenges I was going to face in order to transform my research proposal to a coherent master thesis. Looking back, the whole process has been very informative and a lot of fun.

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Abstract

The degree of modernity regarding gender role preferences of the majority of Dutch inhabitants are well researched, but this is not the case for the preferences of young adults of immigrant origin, referred to as “the second generation” in this thesis. When gender role preferences are more equal, this may lead to more well-being, equal opportunities and fair division of labour. This research examines differences and similarities regarding gender role preferences between the second generation and native Dutch young adults in the Netherlands. Because gender roles are a more specific type of social role, social role theory is used as conceptual framework for the analysis. In this research, the hypotheses that are tested are: (1) the Turkish second generation have more traditional gender role preferences than native Dutch, and, (2) gender role preferences of the Turkish second generation are more modern when the level of education is higher, (3) more traditional when religiosity is higher, and (4) that second generation women hold more egalitarian views about gender roles than men. Survey data of the TIES (The Integration of the European Second generation) project are used, in which young adults of immigrant origin and of native origin were interviewed in 2006-07 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. To analyse the research questions, multiple regression analysis is used. The results show that second generation Turks have less egalitarian gender roles than native Dutch young adults. Furthermore, educational attainment and sex significantly influence the modernity of gender role preferences. Religiosity only has a significant influence for second generation Turks.

Keywords: gender, gender roles, gender role preferences, gender equality, social roles, ethnicity, second generation Turks, TIES project, integration

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1. Introduction

There is more and more being said about equality among men and women in the Netherlands (Inglehart & Norris, 2003) as traditional gender roles are still noticeable in present day life. For instance, men work more hours in a week and women do more housework and take care of the children (Poortman & Lippe, 2009). The gender role preferences of the majority of Dutch inhabitants are well researched, but this is not the case for young adults of immigrant origin, which we shall refer to below as 'the second generation'. The second generation is partly socialized in Dutch schools, however at home one may expect them to maintain the norms and values of the Turkish culture (de Valk, 2004; Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel, 2009; Gerhards, 2007). Since integration is one of the major challenges to Europe's increasingly heterogeneous cities, research on the integration of this particular group is relevant due to its growing share of metropolitan youth nowadays (Crul & Heering, 2008; Crul, Schneider & Lelie, 2012).

Since education contributes to the socialization of Dutch norms and values and to more independent thinking (Bryant, 2003; de Valk, 2004; Meyer, 1977; Phaet & Schönplflug, 2001), it is beneficial for the equality between men and women that the educational level in the Netherlands is increasing. 1 out of 4 people graduated from vocational college or university, this was in 1996 1 out of 5 people. Persons who graduated from lower education declined with 10% (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2005). Although educational attainment level in the Netherlands has been increasing, there is still a gap between the educational attainment level of the Turkish second generation and the native Dutch. On average, educational attainment of Native Dutch graduates is almost twice as high compared to attainment of the Turkish second generation (CBS, 2005; Ouarasse & van de Vijver, 2005, Demant & Pels, 2006).

The degree in which religion is found important can affect the norms and values of a person as well (Demant & Pels, 2006; Mason & Lu, 1988). In the Netherlands 95% of the Muslims are non-westerns and 45% of the non-western immigrants are Muslim (van Hertem, 2009). The average age of Muslims is 25 years, this is young in comparison to the other religious groups in the Netherlands, in which the average age is 38 years (van Hertem, 2009). The number of Muslim increased over the past few years, especially in the younger age groups, while the number of non-religious people decreased (Schmeets & van Mensvoort, 2015). The number of visits to religious services in the Netherlands decreased as well, while for the Islam the visits stayed the same (Schmeets & van Mensvoort, 2015). Another surprising fact here is that normally men are in the minority in religious groups, but in the Islam women are in the minority (van Hertem, 2009).

This last fact and the fact that women have more to gain with more egalitarian views on gender role preferences (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000) suggest that the sex of one person influence the preferences regarding gender roles as well.

When conducting research about gender roles, oftentimes the gendered division regarding childcare, division of housework labour, and labour force participation are mentioned (e.g., Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992; Bianchi et al., 2000; Cooke, 2007; de Valk, 2004; Poortman & van der Lippe, 2009). Therefore, these three examples will be used as guidance in this research as well.

Second generation Turks and native Dutch young adults determine the future of our country. Therefore, it is important to understand the gender role preferences in these groups. In the Netherlands, it is stated by law that men and women are equal. However, what is stated by law does not have to be in line with preferences held by the inhabitants. For instance, women still have fewer economic and political opportunities than men (Hermans, 2009). It is in the best interest of our

country that these preferences are aligned, so that the inequality between women and men gets smaller. Because, when gender role preferences between men and women and between different ethnic groups become more egalitarian, the well-being, opportunities and division in labour in social behaviour does too (Xu & Lai, 2004). More equality among men and women is also a goal in the 2030 UN Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNDP, 2015). Before adjustments can be made to Dutch policies for more gender equality, we will have to look at existing differences and similarities and also at how these differences and similarities have arisen.

The research in this thesis will thus analyse gender role preferences and differences of young adults of Turkish and native Dutch origin in the Netherlands in the age range 18-35 years. More specifically, the main research questions are:

1. What are the differences in gender role preferences regarding childcare, division of housework labour, and labour force participation between these two ethnic groups?
2. To what extent can variation in gender role preferences be explained by differences in educational attainment, religiosity, and sex?

2. Theoretical framework

Gender role preferences refer to the expectations one has regarding the behaviour of men and women and the division of labour between them (Archer & Lloyd, 2002; Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood & Diekmann, 2000; Lindsey, 2015). There are several prominent theories regarding gender roles. First, there are the evolutionary theories, which are grounded in genetics. According to this theory gender role differences are believed to originate from an 'optimal' division of labour in light of survival (e.g., Shields, 1975) or as a function of reproduction (e.g., Buss, 1995). Second, there is the object-relations theory, which focuses on socialisation effects. For example, both boys and girls are affected in different ways by the early connection with their mother. Men undergo a process to separate themselves from the female role, in order to define their identity as a man (Chodorow, 1989). In this process, the role of the woman gets devalued, which leads to specific gender roles. A third theory is the gender schema theory, which focuses on both socialisations as cognitive organisation. Children learn at an early age how the roles of men and women are defined in their culture or society (Bem, 1981). They internalise these definitions as a gender schema, which is used to organise next experiences. A fourth and last theory is the social role theory, which focuses on socialization as well and link gender roles with gender stereotypes.

The social role theory is one of the most influential theories to explain differences in gender role preferences (van den Vijver, 2007). This theory is in accordance with overall sex differences, which are established in meta analyses, and tend to be in harmony with the shared expectations about the social behaviour of men and women (Eagly & Wood, 1991). Social roles are viewed as the proximal predictors for sex differences (Eagly, 1987). The focus of the social role theory is on the behaviour of men and women and how this can be explained through their situation (Biddle, 1986). Social roles are shared *expectations* about people's social *behaviour* based on their ascribed position in the society (Bibbe, 1979). Gender roles are derived from these social roles. They are formed through shared expectations about social behaviour based on sex (Eagly, 1987). A specific social role that is mainly ascribed to one sex is for example childcare. For instance, in the traditional Western and Turkish context there is a shared belief that women should take care of the children (Eagly, 1987).

Within the social role theory there are two approaches, the structural approach and the cultural approach (Eagly, 1987). The structural approach is about members of social groups having similar social positions within organisations and other structures, like within the family. Therefore, they experience similar constraints in different contexts (Eagly, 1987). The cultural approach is about that members of social groups have similar norms and values, because through socialization, confirmation and internalization such guidelines are passed on to next generation. By that means, the well-known gender role patterns in a culture are maintained (Eagly, 1987; Peplau, 1983). In studies focusing on gender role differences, the cultural approach is more dominant (Eagly, 1987). Also in the context of this research the cultural approach is more appropriate, because the second generation Turks and native Dutch experience different socialization processes in different social contexts and one does not have the same social position within organisations and other structures. Therefore, the focus will be on the cultural approach within the social role theory.

According to Social Role theory, corresponding preferences about social and gender roles are present in the minds of people belonging to the same group. Because of this correspondence, such kind of preferences form gender role ideologies at the level of the society (Eagly, Wood & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2004). Many previous studies have shown that among different cultures and ethnic groups differences exist regarding these shared expectations (Harris, 1994). The traditional western gender role ideology states that men have paid jobs and are expected to sustain the family. Men are also viewed as the main link between the family and the rest of the society (Haller & Hoellinger, 1994; Padavic & Reskin, 1994). Women take care of the children and do the housekeeping, they are viewed as being the heart of the family (Haller & Hoellinger, 1994; Padavic & Reskin, 1994). Nowadays, in Western societies, these traditional gender roles are not as clear as they were before. Women increasingly complete higher levels of education, triggering change in attitudes towards traditional gender roles (Hakim, 1991; Haller & Hoellinger, 1994). Women have now the same job qualifications as men (Haller & Hoellinger, 1994). Partly because of that, more and more jobs, that usually only were done by men, are now done by women as well (Padavic & Reskin, 1994). Furthermore, the higher labour force participation of women is found to have positive effects on more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Alwin, Braun & Scott, 1992). Also, men are doing more in housekeeping than they did in the past (Shelton & John, 1996). Although these developments may change people's gender role preferences, traditional and conservative attitudes are still prevalent in today's Western societies. The gender stereotypes are still in place when looking at the fact that women are still doing most of the housekeeping and men are often still the main provider of the family (Poortman & Lippe, 2009; Shelton & John, 1996).

Turkey has always been considered as a cultural bridge between East and West, as it is both geographically and culturally a blend of both. This combination of Western and Eastern norms and values are manifested in the gender role ideology (Aycan, 2004; Özkan & Lajunen, 2005). Gender egalitarianism has always been absent in the Turkish culture (Aycan, 2004; Fikret-Pasa, Kabasakal & Bodur, 2001; Kagitcibasi, 1986). The traditional Turkish gender role ideology states that men have to be independent and are raised to become more aggressive. They are also expected to take care of the family and carry on the family name and preserve its reputation. Women are expected to be dependent and obey. In the rural context they are perceived as property of strangers, meaning that the future groom will pay the bride's father a price in exchange for the marital right of his daughter (Arın, 1996; Otnes & Lowrey, 2004; Özkan & Lajunen, 2005; Sev'er, 2012). This bride price was seen as a compensation for the father for the costs of raising his daughter and for his loss for her services (Arın, 1996). In 1926 bride price was legally banned, but in rural south-east it was still common. Until

2002, it was legally stated that charges against the rapist were dropped if the he would marry his victim (Sev'er, 2012). Because of this law, it was no exception that a man would rape a woman, so that he would get her for free when her value diminished. This Turkish tradition reproduces gender inequalities. Not only because women were priced and men were not (Otnes & Lowrey, 2004), but also because women were commodified (Sev'er, 2012). Therefore, her whole life was guarded and suppressed. The main tasks of women are housekeeping, gardening, taking care of the children and taking care of the domestic animals. They are considered as the heart of the family. The men do the more physically heavy jobs and maintain the relationships with the rest of the society (Aycan, 2004; Özkan & Lajunen, 2005). This division between men and women is comparable to the Western ideology discussed above, although it is not precisely the same. Nowadays these traditional distinctions between men and women in Turkish society are still noticeable. However, changes in the demographic, legal and economic environment have had impact on this ideology and this is especially exhibited in the bigger cities of Turkey (Uray & Burnaz, 2003). On the whole, women in today 's Turkey are still discriminated within the family in both rural and urban areas. They are still stereotyped as housewives and mothers and less often seen as working, independent women (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Uray & Burnaz, 2003). It is only accepted for women to participate in the labour market if the family life does not suffer from it (Aycan, 2004). Yet, especially in the urban areas the social role of women is changing and women get more responsibilities. Due to the changing social role of women, the social role of men is changing as well (Uray & Burnaz, 2003).

Gender roles are linked to gender stereotypes and stereotyped characteristics. There can be made a distinction between communal and agentic characteristics (Eagly, Wood & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2004). Communal characteristics entail empathy, kindness, sensitivity and care giving. These characteristics are related to the feminine gender role, which is considered by most people to be fulfilled by women. Agentic characteristics entail dominance and confidence. These characteristics are related to the masculine gender role, which is considered by most people to be fulfilled by men (Harrison & Lynch, 2005). The feminine and masculine traits are found to be universal (Özkan & Lajunen, 2005; Pitariu, 1981).

Besides the descriptive value of the gender roles, they have a prescriptive value as well (Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). This prescriptive value provides certain norms or guidelines on what is acceptable social behaviour for men or women. So, gender roles not only ascribe certain typical behaviour to men and women, but they also force men and women to behave in certain ways (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). For instance, the gender role perception of women is that they are kind and that they care for others, this is linked to the prescription that women should be kind and should care. For men it works in the same way. The gender role perception of men is that they are strong and proactive, this is linked to the prescription that men should be strong and proactive. The prescriptive value is linked to the feminine and masculine traits and therefore are universal. Cultures only differ in the degree and rigidity of the different gender roles (Basow, 1984; Özkan & Lajunen, 2005; Pitariu, 1981).

The actual role division between men and women is both a cause as well as an outcome of gender role preferences (Eagly & Wood, 1991). The division between men and women as it is perceived, influences preferences on how this division is supposed to be. But also, these preferences influence in their turn the way men and women behave and how the role division is put in practice.

At the end of the twentieth century, debates increased about the equality between men and women (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). In the Netherlands it is stated since 1980 by law that men and women are equal (Government of the Netherlands, 2015), however in everyday life the gender role

ideology is still noticeable that suggest clear divisions between men and women (Diekman & Eagly, 2000; Poortman & Lippe, 2009; Shelton & John, 1996). In Turkey, equal rights for both men and women was established in an update of article 10 of the Turkish Constitution in 2004 (Müftüler-Baç, 2012). When looking at the Gender Gap Index (0 = inequality; 1 = equality) of the Netherlands and Turkey, a clear difference is noticeable. The Netherlands is ranked 13th out of 145 countries with a score of 0.776, whereas Turkey is ranked 130th with a score of 0.624 (World Economic Forum, 2015). Although Turkey's overall score is improving with a steady pace since 2010, it is still the lowest ranked country of the region Europe and central Asia (World Economic Forum, 2015).

Looking at the division of child care, traditional values are still visible (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993). Women take on more responsibilities regarding child care than men do. This is partly because of the traditional gender stereotyping, in which it is expected that women take care of the children (Poortman & Lippe, 2009). Also, women tend to enjoy taking care of the children more and therefore do it more than men (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Poortman & Lippe, 2009). Although the time spent on child care by men has increased, it is not yet the same as time spent by women (Shelton & John, 1996).

The same can be said about the division of housework. Women still do most of the housework, even when they are employed (Shelton & John, 1996). Men are on average not absent regarding the housework, but their involvement is not that great as that of women (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993). However, over the past years the hours spent on housework by men increased and the hours spent by women decreased, making the gap smaller (Bianchi et al., 2000).

And again, the traditional gender roles are noticeable concerning the participation of women on the labour market (Hermans, 2009; Shelton & John, 1996). Although, nowadays women are doing jobs that were usually only done by men, women are still less represented at influential jobs than men (Hermans, 2009; Padavic & Reskin, 1994). And when married, women are more likely to lower in time spent on working, making men the main provider of the family (Becker, 1985).

As gender ideologies of ethnic groups around the world tend to vary, gender role preferences can be expected to vary between immigrant groups of different ethnic origin in a country (Kane, 2000; Tang & Dion, 1999). Ethnicity in this research is based on the oldest approach in sociological and anthropological literature, namely the primordialist approach. This approach argues that ethnicity is an enduring characteristic, given at birth. Ethnic group members share the same culture (Isajiw, 1993). In the context of this study, members of the Turkish second generation belong to the Turkish community in the Netherlands. They are not immigrants themselves, as they have been born in the Netherlands, but at least one parent was born in Turkey. One belongs to the comparison group when he or she is born in the Netherlands and both parents are born in the Netherlands as well. The comparison group is referred to as native Dutch in this research.

Differences in gender role preferences between these two ethnic groups stem from differences in culture and identity of these ethnic group (Kane, 2000; Tang & Dion, 1999). On the basis of differences in gender ideologies of the Turkish and Dutch cultures, and despite the fact that the Turkish second generation is partly socialized in Dutch schools, at work and outside the home on the street, one may expect them to maintain somewhat more traditional gender role perceptions than native Dutch of the same age (Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel, 2009; Gerhards, 2007). Based on a previous research by Huschek, de Valk & Liefbroer (2011), Turkish second generation who are married to native Dutch young adults are expected to have more equal gender role preferences than native Dutch young adults themselves. On the one hand, the Turkish second generation adapt to some extent to the values of the host culture, but on the other hand they also hold on to the

traditional Turkish gender roles (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Nauck, 2001). According to Verkuyten & Thijs (2001), children of Turkish origin are expected to have more traditional views regarding gender roles than Dutch children. An explanation for this might be that the Turkish second generation hold on stronger to the values of their culture than the first generation did, due to cultural tensions between Dutch natives and people of Turkish origin (Idema & Phalet, 2007).

The Netherlands is seen as a country who highly values equality between men and women. Therefore, the majority of the Dutch inhabitants disagrees with traditional gender roles (Scot, Alwin & Braun, 1996). Furthermore, the Netherlands is generally perceived as a more individualistic, feminine and less hierarchical country, so that the Dutch culture comprises more modern values regarding gender roles (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2009).

A first influential factor on gender role preferences is whether a person is male or female. The sex-attribute is of course biologically driven. In various research it is found that women tend to have a more egalitarian view on gender role preferences than men do (Berkel, 2004; de Valk, 2004; Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000; Larsen & Long, 1988; Locke & Richman, 1999; Tang & Dion, 1999; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2001). Men prefer to be acknowledged as the main provider of the family. Furthermore, they think that the housework should be done by women (de Valk, 2004). A reason for the more egalitarian views on gender role preferences of women could be that women have more to gain with such a view. When the division between men and women would become more equal and women would participate more on the labour market, they would become more financially independent thereby increasing their status in the society (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000). Another gain would be that increase of gender equality reduces stress on women, because the division of the housework becomes more equally divided and therefore the workload of women would decline (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000).

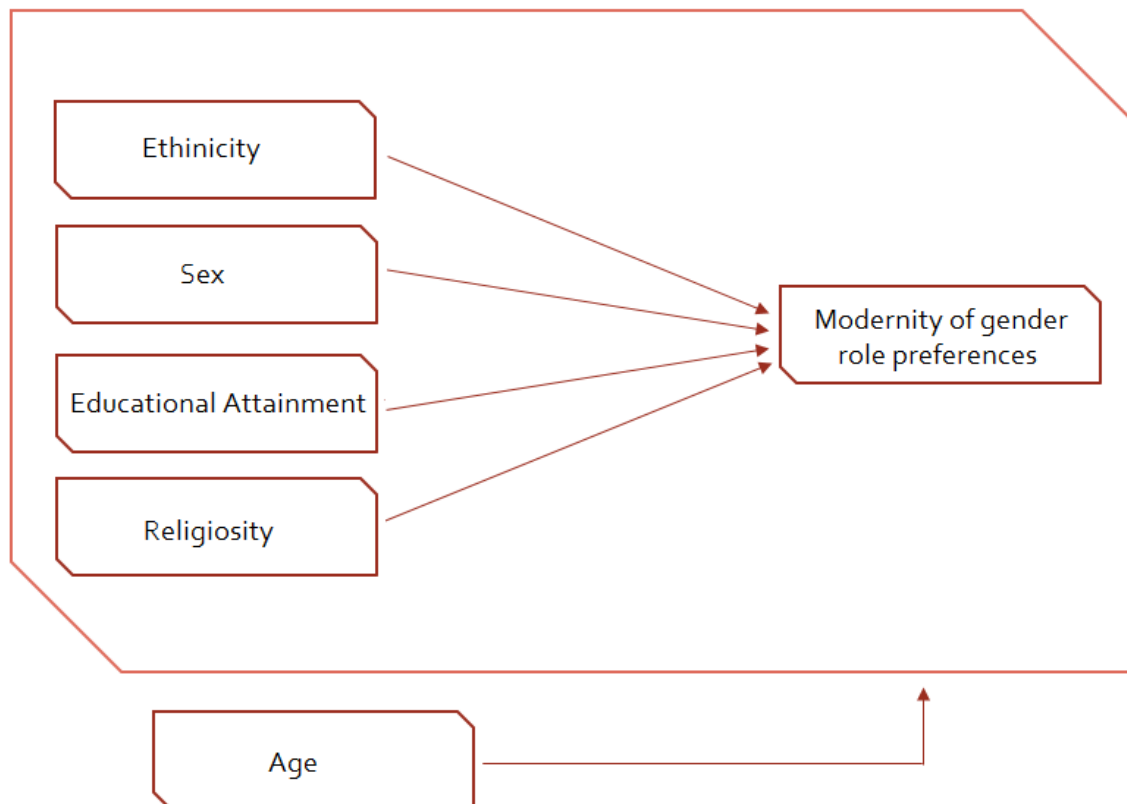
A second influential factor, besides ethnicity, that is expected to have an influence as well on gender role preferences is educational attainment. In this research, educational attainment refers to the highest completed educational level. Based on previous research (Berardo, Shehan & Leslie, 1987; Bryant, 2003; Haddad, 1994; Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000; Mason, Czajka & Arber, 1976; Meyer, 1977; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001; Wilkie, 1993; Yount, 2005) it can be expected that higher educational attainment in the Dutch context is associated with more modern and egalitarian gender role preferences. Because children and young adults are socialized to adopt Dutch gender role norms and preferences (Meyer, 1977; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Also, higher education contributes to more independent thinking and non-conformism when it comes to traditions about gender roles (Bryant, 2003; de Valk, 2004).

A third influential factor in explaining ethnic differences in gender role preferences is religiosity. Research indicates that it is not religion itself that matters in explaining differences in gender role preferences, but religiosity (de Valk, 2004). Regardless of the type of religion, those who found religion more important and attend more often religious activities, tend to have less egalitarian gender role preferences than those who found religion less important and attend less often religious activities (Demant & Pels, 2006; de Valk, 2004; Meier, 1972; Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983; Mason & Lu, 1988). According to Phalet, van Lotringen & Entzinger (2000), the Turkish second generation identify themselves a little bit less with their ethnic nationality and the Islam as compared to the first generation. Ouarasse & van de Vijver (2005) argue that Islam is still very important to the Turkish second generation, however their interpretations are a less strict.

A, in this research, last influential factor that will be taken into account is age. When people of different birth cohorts are compared with each other at the same age, then those born in the younger birth cohorts tend to have more egalitarian gender role preferences than those born in the older birth cohorts (Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983; Mason & Lu, 1988). Also, older people are well socialized and are more acceptable to the traditional gender roles. They have made investments in these roles and are less motivated to review their preferences. While younger people are less socialized and therefore more amenable to accept the new roles and attitudes (Thornton & Freedman, 1979). Furthermore, when growing older people tend to change in an egalitarian direction regarding to gender role preferences (Fan & Marini, 2000). Since in this research the age range is limited (18-35 years), it is not expected that the effect of age will have a major influence.

Based on the above review of the literature the following analytical model (figure 1) and four hypotheses (H1-H4) guide the analysis in the chapters that follow.

Figure 1: Analytical model and hypotheses for studying selected determinants of gender role preferences



H1: Second generation Turks prefer more traditional gender roles than native Dutch young adults.

H2: Women have more egalitarian gender role preferences than men.

H3: The higher the educational attainment, the more modern gender role preferences are

H4: The stronger the religiosity, the more traditional gender role preferences are.

3. Research methodology

3a. Data

For this quantitative research the data of the TIES project (The Integration of the European Second generation) are used. This project is a comprehensive international research project and started in 2005 because hardly data on the behaviour of second generation exists. This project in eight European countries was designed and coordinated by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies of the University of Amsterdam and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute in The Hague (Crul & Heering, 2008). Data collection in each country was organised by national research institutes. In the Netherlands, descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco were surveyed in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In this study I focus on the Turkish second generation. Also a comparison group has been included, consisting of native-born Dutch peers, whose parents were both born in the Netherlands. The criterion for ethnic group membership is thus only place of birth of parents and place of birth of respondent. It does not look at citizenship or national belonging (Crul & Heering, 2008). Respondents are between 18 and 35 years old. These two cities were chosen, because a large part of the immigrants who came to the Netherlands in the sixties and seventies live there (Crul & Heering, 2008). Respondents (i.e. the Turkish second generation and native comparison group) were sampled in the same spatial context in each city, i.e. neighbourhood, to ensure that their contextual background characteristics were about the same (Crul & Heering, 2008; Hornstra, Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2011). For a detailed technical description of the surveys carried out in these two cities, see (Hornstra, Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2011 and Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2012).

A few words are warranted regarding response rates (for details see: Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2012). The response rate in Amsterdam was 34.5%, with a sample size of N=1438. The response rate of Rotterdam was 32.5%, with a sample size of N=1590. In total 500 respondents of Turkish origin and 512 respondents of Dutch origin were interviewed in the end (Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2012; Hornstra, Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2011).

The age, sex, place of residence and marital status of respondents and non-respondents were compared to examine whether non-response bias could be attributed to certain person characteristics. Information available in population registers of both non-respondents and respondents were available with respect to the aforementioned characteristics. The age differences between the two groups appeared to be small, though women are slightly overrepresented. Furthermore, there is a small overrepresentation of married respondents, especially in the second generation Turkish group. Overall, these differences are small, so that bias in the data for this study is only slight in terms of these four characteristics. For a more detailed examination of selection and measuring bias, see (Hornstra, Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips, 2011).

3b. Methods

I use multiple hierarchical linear regression analysis to test my research hypotheses (Cohen et al., 2013). More specifically, I want to know what the effects of ethnicity, educational attainment, religiosity, sex and age are on gender role preferences. Before performing this analysis method, the variable gender role preferences and religiosity will be constructed, each based on a number of Likert-item questions, using Principle Component analysis, a special type of factor analysis. With use of the factor analysis procedure of SPSS factor loadings of the first principle component are used as weights for the scores on each Likert-item. The index score is then derived by summing the

weighted Likert-item scores. Likert-items scores generally take on a value between 1 (e.g. completely agree) and 5 (e.g. completely disagree). For ease of interpretation, index scores of respondents were standardized to fit a scale running from 0-10.

After constructing the variables, multiple hierarchical regression analysis is used. First, a pooled multiple hierarchical regression is performed, meaning one multiple regression is performed for the whole sample. The variable gender role preferences is the dependent variable and the independent variables are ethnicity, sex, educational attainment and religiosity. Age is the covariate. These independent variables will be included in separate blocks. This means that we will have a look at the effect of each independent variable, given that the other variables are kept constant. By looking at the R-square value, we can see how much of the variance (i.e. percentage) that is explained by the model and we can see, in a step-wise application, whether an added independent variable adds additional explained variance to the model in comparison to the previous model.

After performing a pooled regression analysis, which includes the variable ethnicity, two multiple regression analyses are performed for each of the two ethnic groups separately, i.e. for second generation Turks and for native Dutch young adults. This is done in the same way as the pooled multiple regression analysis, thus in separate blocks. By doing two separate multiple regressions as well, beside the pooled multiple regression with ethnicity as an explicit variable, we are able to see whether there are differences between the two groups regarding the effects of sex educational attainment and religiosity.

In the model a few categorical variables are included, namely ethnicity and sex. This requires some special attention, since regression analysis treat such variables as numerical, although these variables cannot be treated as such. This is because it cannot be said that women have twice as much value as men, if the variable sex was coded with 1 for men and 2 for women. To be able to use these variables in regression analysis, they must be entered as a dummy variable (i.e. variable sex (1=female, 0=male)). The interpretation of the beta-coefficient changes a bit due to the redefinition of the variable sex. The interpretation of a beta-coefficient of an independent dummy variable therefore is it shows what the average change in the dependent variable is when the independent dummy variable changes with one-unit (from non-female (i.e. male) to female). Thus, the one-unit change in an independent variable coded as a dummy variable refers to the switch from one category to the other. In the model, an ordinal categorical variable is included as well, namely educational attainment. The beta-coefficient of this variable can be interpret in a similar way as the beta-coefficient of an independent variable coded as dummy. The beta-coefficient of an ordinal independent variable shows the change in the dependent variable, when the independent variable changes with one-unit (i.e. a different educational attainment category).

3c. Variables

The variable *modernity of gender roles preferences* in this study is based on the response of respondents about their views about women combining work outside the house with child-care, about women in leading positions, and about the importance of higher education for women. More specifically, a respondent was asked: "to what extent do you agree with the following statements: a) women should not work outside the house when there are small children in the family; b) it is against nature when women in leading positions are given authority over men and c) study and higher education are less important for women than for men". The respondent could give an answer on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means they completely agreed with the statement and 5 means they

completely disagreed with the statement. The factor analysis gives a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.69, suggesting that these Likert-items could be used to derive a modernity index based on the three items.

The variable *ethnicity* is based on the response of three different questions. Firstly, *"In which country were you born?"*. Secondly, *"In which country was your father born?"*. Thirdly, *"In which country was your mother born?"*. If the respondent does not belong to the second generation group or the comparison group, the interview was ended. In the data set, these questions are combined and the variable "target group" is derived, and this one is used in this study.

The variable *sex* is measured by stating if the respondent is a man or a woman.

The variable *educational attainment* is measured with the question *"What is the highest school level you have completed with a diploma?"* The respondent could name the school type or school level and this is coded in an increasing order. So "0" is the lowest school level, referring to primary school level, and "19" the highest, referring to PhD-level. As educational systems differ across (European) countries, these country specific educational attainment levels were converted to international standard educational attainment levels (i.e. ISCED, see UNESCO Institute for Statistics [UIS], (2006)) and these were eventually recoded into three main educational attainment groups, ranking from primary to tertiary education.

The variable *religiosity* is measured with three questions. The first question consists of five statements. The respondent is asked: *"to what extent do you agree with the following statements: a) being a [Muslim/ Christian] is an important part of myself, b) the fact that I am [Muslim/ Christian] is something I often think about, c) I see myself a real [Muslim/ Christian], d) in many aspects I am like other [Muslim/ Christian] and e) when somebody says something bad about [Muslim/ Christian] I feel personally hurt"*. The second question consists of three statements. The respondent is asked *"People have different opinions about the role of religion in society. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: a) religion should be a private matter between a religious person and God; b) religion should be represented in politics and society, along with other religious or political viewpoints and c) religion should be the only and ultimate political authority"*. The third and last question consist of two statements. The respondent is asked: *"To what extent do you agree with the following statements: a) all religious symbols or signs should be banned from Dutch schools and b) Islamic women should not wear headscarves or cover their heads outside the house"*. For each statement the respondent could give an answer on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means they totally agreed with the statement and 5 means they totally disagreed with the statement. The factor analysis gives a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.88, suggesting that these Likert-items could be used to derive a religiosity index.

The variable *age* is measured by asking the respondent on which day, in which month and in which year he/she was born. If the respondent was born between 1-4-1971 and 31-3-1988, the interview was continued. If not, the interview was ended. The age of the respondent is recoded to complete years. In the analysis, age features as control variable.

4. Results

4a. Descriptive analysis

In table 1 an overview is given of the characteristics of the respondents of each ethnic group. The mean of modernity of gender role preferences for the second generation Turks and native Dutch young adults is respectively 5.8 and 7.1. The mean age of the second generation Turks is 25.6

and of native Dutch 24.8. This shows that the second generation Turks are slightly older than the native Dutch. Regarding religiosity is great differences is visible. The mean of religiosity for the second generation Turks is 5.8. For the native Dutch this is 1.8. It appears that the native Dutch are higher educated, 83.8% of this group has a high educational attainment against 60% of the second generation Turks. Only 2% of the native Dutch young adults have a low educational level. This is a bit higher for the second generation Turks, here 8.4% have a low educational level. For both the second generation Turks as native Dutch it applies that women are slightly overrepresented, respectively 51.6% and 51.2%. The total respondents is N=1012. There are no missing values in each of these variables.

Table 1: Overview of characteristics of respondents for each ethnic group

	Turks		Native Dutch	
	Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Modernity of gender role preferences	5.8	0.1	7.1	0.1
Age	25.6	0.2	24.8	0.2
Religiosity	5.8	0.1	1.8	0.1
Educational attainment ^a				
Low	8.4%		2%	
Middle	31.6%		14.3%	
High	60%		83.8%	
Sex ^a				
Men	48.4%		48.8%	
Women	51.6%		51.2%	
n=	500		512	

^a For all nominal/ordinal scale variables the figures are presented as percentages

In table 2 the mean of modernity of gender role preferences of both ethnic groups is compared to each other. The mean of the Turkish group is 5.8 with a standard error of 0.14, and the mean of the native Dutch group is 7.1 with a standard error of 0.13. The 95% confidence interval of each group can be found with use of the mean and standard error of the mean. First, the standard error has to be multiplied by 1.96, then this outcome has to be subtracted and added to the mean in order to get the interval. If the intervals would overlap, there would not be a significant difference between the two ethnic groups regarding the modernity of gender role preferences. However, in this case, the intervals do not overlap. The interval of the second generation Turks ends, before the interval of the native Dutch young adults begins. Therefore, we can conclude that there is indeed a significance difference between the two ethnic groups.

Table 2: Mean comparison of modernity gender role preferences by ethnicity.

Ethnicity	Mean (standard error)	N Total
Turks	5.8 (0.14)	500
Native Dutch	7.1 (0.13)	512

4b. Multivariate analysis

In table 3 the results of the pooled hierarchical linear regression are shown. In the first model the dependent variable modernity of gender role preferences and the covariate age is included. Age does not have a significant effect on the modernity of gender role preferences ($b=0$; $p>0.05$). This was already expected due to the limited age range in this research. No variance is explained by this model and thus this model is not better than the model with only the dependent variable included.

In the second model the first independent variable ethnicity is added. Age still does not have a significant effect on the modernity of gender role preferences ($b=0$; $p>0.05$). The coefficient of ethnicity is significant ($b=0.7$; $p<0.01$). This implies that those of the native Dutch group have a higher score on the modernity of gender role preferences. The first model explains 4.7% of the variance, although this is not much it is better than the previous model with, only the dependent variable and covariate ($F \text{ change}=52.2$; $p<0.01$).

Table 3: Results of the pooled, hierarchical linear regression analysis. The unstandardized regression coefficient, significance level, adjusted R square and F change are presented.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>
Constant (modernity of gender role preferences)	6.7	**	5.0	**	4.6	**	1.2	n.s.	1.8	*
Age	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.
Ethnicity			0.7	**	0.7	**	0.5	**	0.3	*
Sex					1.3	**	1.3	**	1.3	**
Educational attainment							1.4	**	1.4	*
Religiosity									-0.1	*
<i>R</i> ² (Adj.)	0.0%		4.7%		9.0%		15.5%		15.9%	
<i>F</i> change	0.2		52.2**		48.1**		78.5**		5.6*	
<i>N</i>	1012		1012		1012		1012		1012	

** significant at $p<0,01$ * significant at $p<0,05$

In the third model the independent variable sex is added. The coefficient of age is still not significant ($b=0$; $p>0.05$). The coefficient of ethnicity still has a significant effect ($b=0.7$; $p<0.01$). Sex has a significant effect as well on the modernity of gender role preferences ($b=1.3$; $p<0.01$). This implies that women have a higher score on modernity of gender role preferences than men. This model explains 9% of the variance. The model is better than the previous model ($F \text{ change}=48.1$; $p<0.01$).

In the fourth model the independent variable educational attainment is added. Again, age still has no significant effect ($b=0$; $p>0.05$). The coefficient of ethnicity is still significant ($b=0.5$; $p<0.05$). The same goes for the coefficient of sex ($b=1.3$; $p<0.01$). Educational attainment does have a significant effect as well on the modernity of gender role preferences ($b=1.4$; $p<0.01$). This implies that the higher the educational attainment is, the higher the score on the modernity of gender role preferences is. This last model explains 15.5% of the variance. Again, this model is better than the previous model ($F \text{ change}=78.5$; $p<0.01$).

In the fifth and last model the independent variable religiosity is added. Age still does not have a significant effect on the modernity of gender role preferences ($b=0$; $p>0.05$). And ethnicity

still does have a significant effect ($b=0.3$; $p<0.05$). The same goes for sex ($b=1.3$; $p<0.01$) and educational attainment ($b=1.4$; $p<0.01$). Religiosity has a significant effect as well ($b=-0.1$; $p<0.05$). This implies that the higher the score on religiosity, the lower the score on modernity of gender role preferences is. The model explains 15.9% of the variance and again, this model is better than the previous model (F change= 5.6 ; $p<0.05$).

With this last model the hypotheses are tested. Ethnicity has a significant effect, resulting in support for the first hypothesis: *second generation Turks prefer more traditional gender roles than native Dutch young adults*. Sex has a significant effect as well, resulting in support for the second hypothesis as well: *women have more egalitarian gender role preferences than men*. As well for educational attainment, the effect is found significant and thus the third hypothesis is also supported: *the higher the educational attainment, the more modern gender role preferences are*. Lastly, religiosity has a significant effect as well, so the fourth and last hypothesis is supported as well: *the stronger the religiosity, the more traditional gender role preferences are*.

In table 4 the results of another hierarchical linear regression are shown. This table shows whether the variables sex, educational attainment and religiosity still have an effect for each ethnic group separately. In the first model the dependent variable modernity of gender role preferences and the covariate age are included. For both the second generation Turks ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) as native Dutch ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) age does not have a significant effect on the modernity of gender role preferences. This was already expected due to the limited age range in this research. No variance is explained by this model and thus this model is not better than the model with only the dependent variable included.

In the second model the independent variable sex is added. For both the second generation Turks ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) as native Dutch ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) age still has no significant effect. Sex has a significant effect for both the second generation Turks ($b=1.1$; $p<0.01$) as for native Dutch ($b=1.5$; $p<0.01$). This implies that for both second generation Turkish women and native Dutch women the score on modernity of gender role preferences will be higher than of men of their own ethnicity. The second model explains 2.8% of the variance for the second generation Turks and 5.9% for the native Dutch. This model is better than the previous model, with only the dependent and covariate, for both the second generation Turks (F change= 16.5 ; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch (F change= 33.5 ; $p<0.01$).

In the third model the independent variable educational attainment is added. For both the second generation Turks ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) as native Dutch ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) age still has no significant effect. Sex still has a significant effect for both the second generation Turks ($b=1.1$; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch ($b=1.5$; $p<0.01$). Educational attainment does have a significant effect as well for both the second generation Turks ($b=1.2$; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch ($b=2.1$; $p<0.01$). The third model explains 8.6% of the variance for the second generation Turks and 15.1% for the native Dutch. This model is better than the previous model for both the second generation Turks (F change= 32.4 ; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch (F change= 56.1 ; $p<0.01$).

In the fourth and last model, the independent variable religiosity is added. For both the second generation Turks ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) as native Dutch ($b=0$; $p>0.05$) age still has no significant effect. Sex still has a significant effect for both the second generation Turks ($b=1.1$; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch ($b=1.5$; $p<0.01$). Educational attainment still has a significant effect as well for both the second generation Turks ($b=1.1$; $p<0.01$) as for the native Dutch ($b=2.1$; $p<0.01$). Religiosity does have a significant effect on the modernity of gender role preferences for the second generation

Table 4: Results of the hierarchical linear regression analysis by group. The unstandardized regression coefficient, significance level, adjusted R square and F change are presented.

	Model 1		Native Dutch		Model 2		Native Dutch		Model 3		Native Dutch		Model 4		Native Dutch	
	Turks				Turks				Turks				Turks			
	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>sig</i>
Constant (modernity of gender role preferences)	6.0	**	6.7	**	5.6	**	6.2	**	2.8	**	0.2	n.s.	3.5	*	0.2	n.s.
Age	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.	0.0	n.s.
Sex					1.1	**	1.5	**	1.1	**	1.5	**	1.1	**	1.5	**
Educational attainment									1.2	**	2.1	**	1.1	**	2.1	**
Religiosity													-0.1	*	-0.1	n.s.
<i>R</i> ² (Adj.) %	0.0%		0.0%		2.8%		5.9%		8.6%		15.1%		9.4%		15.1%	
<i>F</i> change	0.1		0.3		16.5**		33.5**		32.4**		56.1**		5.4*		1.2	
<i>N</i>	500		512		500		512		500		512		500		512	

** significant at $p < 0,01$ * significant at $p < 0,05$

Turks ($b=-0.1$; $p<0.05$). For the native Dutch religiosity does not have a significant effect ($b=-0.1$; $p>0.05$). This implies that only for the second generation Turks a higher score on religiosity means a lower score on modernity of gender role preferences. The fourth model explains 9.4% of the variance for the second generation Turks and 15.1% for the native Dutch. This model is better than the previous model for the second generation Turks (F change= 5.4; $p<0.05$). However, for the native Dutch this model is not better than the previous model (F change= 1.2; $p>0.05$).

With this last model the second, third and fourth hypothesis are tested again. Sex is found significant for both ethnic groups, resulting in support for the second hypothesis: *women have more egalitarian gender role preferences than men*. Educational attainment has a significant effect for both ethnic groups, resulting in support for the third hypothesis: *the higher the educational attainment, the more modern gender role preferences are*. Lastly, religiosity is found significant for the second generation Turks. For this ethnic group the fourth hypothesis is therefore supported as well: *the stronger the religiosity, the more traditional gender role preferences are*. Religiosity does not have a significant effect for the native Dutch and thus for this ethnic group the fourth hypothesis is not supported.

5. Conclusion and discussion

5a. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to see whether the second generation Turks and native Dutch young adults differ from each regarding their gender role preferences. Furthermore, we wanted to see to what extent the factors educational attainment, religiosity and sex could explain variation in gender role preferences. The first research question was: *what are the differences in gender role preferences regarding childcare, division of housework labour, and labour force participation between these two ethnic groups?* It was tested whether ethnicity has an influence on the modernity of gender role preferences. My analysis of the data supports the first hypothesis: *second generation Turks prefer more traditional gender roles than native Dutch young adults*. From this we can draw the conclusion that the second generation Turks have more traditional gender role preferences than native Dutch young adults. The second generation Turks prefer more often that women take care of the children and do the housekeeping and that men have the paid jobs, less often that women have leading positions and are given authority over men, and they found more often that higher education is less important for women than for men.

The second research question was: *to what extent can variation in gender role preferences be explained by differences in educational attainment, religiosity, and sex?* It was tested whether sex, educational attainment and religiosity have an influence on the modernity of gender role preferences. My analysis of the data supports the second hypothesis: *women have more egalitarian gender role preferences than men*. Also, the data supports the third hypothesis: *the higher the educational attainment, the more modern gender role preferences are*. Lastly, the data only supports the fourth hypothesis for the second generation Turks: *the stronger the religiosity, the more traditional gender role preferences are*. For the native Dutch young adults, religiosity did not seem to have an influence on the gender role preferences. From this we can draw the conclusion that the factors sex and educational attainment indeed can explain some of the variation in gender role preferences for both ethnic groups. The factor religiosity can explain only some of the variation in gender role preferences for the second generation Turks, but cannot for the native Dutch young adults.

5b. Discussion

In line with the academic literature on gender role preferences of the second generation Turks and native Dutch young adults, the results show that the expectations are largely confirmed. The second generation Turks hold more traditional gender role preferences than native Dutch young adults. From the literature it was already expected that the second generation Turks maintained somewhat more traditional gender role perceptions than native Dutch of the same age. This was based on the differences in gender ideologies of the Turkish and Dutch cultures. In the Dutch culture there has been a move towards more egalitarian gender roles (Hakim, 1991; Haller & Hoellinger, 1994). In the Turkish culture, women are still discriminated within the family in both rural and urban areas. They are still stereotyped as housewives and mothers and less often seen as working, independent women (Dominick & Rauch, 1972; Uray & Burnaz, 2003). It was based as well on the fact that although the Turkish second generation is partly socialized in Dutch schools, at work and outside the home on the street, they still hold on to the traditional Turkish gender roles (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel, 2009; Gerhards, 2007; Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Nauck, 2001).

The results seem to imply that sex have the expected effect on the modernity of gender role preferences, women tend to have more egalitarian views than men. Women have more to gain from more egalitarian gender roles (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000). They can succeed in becoming financial independent and it can reduce the workload and therefore the stress of women (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof, 2000). Another explanation is that although women's participation in the labour force is increased, they are still considered as secondary workers, since they work more often part-time (Valentova, 2013). Due to this, the role of the women as housekeeper and care taker for the children is kept in place. Furthermore, the research of Valentova (2013) suggest that the sex differences in Luxembourg regarding gender roles do not significantly diminish over time. This could be explained by the concepts masculine identity and hegemonic masculinity (Connel & Messerschmidt, 2005; Riley, 2003). Men support the more traditional gender roles to protect the production and reproduction of the masculine identity. Furthermore, they want to keep the gender order in place. Whether this constant sex difference is the case as well for the Netherlands, further research has to be conducted. However, it is in the best interest of our country that the gender role preferences become more modern, so that the inequality between women and men gets smaller. Policies should be implemented at targeting men, to accomplish that the sex difference diminishes and men become more modern regarding gender role preferences. Implications for such policies could be to make child care more affordable, so that women could still be working full time while having children. Another related implication could be to lengthen the duration of paternity leave and make it for a part mandatory. Nowadays fathers are entitled to take two days leave. When lengthening this leave, fathers can help more with the newborn. Furthermore, when both men and women are mandatory to take time off, they both are able to get the same opportunities. When only women are mandatory to take time off, they will get behind and men will have more opportunities than women and therefore the gender inequality will be kept in place. Another implication to diminish the sex difference could be to set quotas. An example of a quota is that at least 40% of all board members should be women. These quotas will help to break through the stereotypes that for example women should not have a leading position and that they should not have authority over men. However, such policies would not work without the desire to do the right thing and social justice, according to the Sweden Institute (2015). Therefore, another implication could be to setup a

campaign to encourage people to do the right thing, to let them be aware of the sex differences and how this is not social justified. This can be done with the help of SIRE, an independent foundation which strives for awareness of certain social issues and want to get it on the agenda of the policymakers.

The results further seem to imply that a higher educational attainment lead to more modern views on gender roles seems correct. According to the literature, a higher educational attainment leads to more independent thinking, less conformism and more socialization with the Dutch gender role norms and preferences (Bryant, 2003; de Valk, 2004; Meyer, 1977; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). The second generation Turks appeared to be less educated than the native Dutch. This probably partly explains differences found in the gender role preferences between the two ethnic groups as well. In order to achieve more egalitarian gender role preferences among the second generation Turks, increasing their educational attainment is key. An important factor in achieving higher educational attainment is parental support, which is mostly socio-emotional (Crul, Schneider & Lelie, 2012). Schools should more reach out to parents and should develop effective ways to put the support to use. Another important factor is the social recognition and good professional perspectives of the already highly educated people with a Turkish background. The second generation Turks still experience discrimination in school (Crul, Schneider & Lelie, 2012). The already highly educated people with a Turkish background can be presented as role model. Seeing the opportunities and achievements a higher educational degree can bring, could not only motivate others, but could also benefit how the Turkish group as a whole is viewed by others. Furthermore, schools should be targeted with anti-discrimination policies to encounter this problem.

Also, the results seem to imply that religiosity only has an influence on the modernity of gender role preferences for the second generation Turks. In the literature was found that those who found religion more important and attend more often religious activities, tend to have less egalitarian gender role preferences than those who found religion less important and attend less often religious activities (Demant & Pels, 2006; de Valk, 2004; Meier, 1972; Thornton, Alwin & Camburn, 1983; Mason & Lu, 1988). An explanation for the fact that this effect is only found for the second generation Turks could be that the native Dutch young adults indicate that religiousness is not important in their lives. The mean score was very low in comparison to the mean of the second generation Turks. That native Dutch are not very religious can be, because religion in general is not a very important part of the Dutch culture. In fact, the Netherlands is one of the most secularized countries in the western world (Knippenberg, 1998). The religious inheritance is not really existent for the native Dutch young adults, since the majority is raised without a religion (Crul & Hering, 2008). However, it is existent for the second generation Turks. Turkish immigrants are often very religious. This affect their ascendants, because one's religiosity is determined for a great part by the religiosity of one's parents (Meyers, 1996). Literature suggest that religiosity declines when one is married to a native Dutch partner (Huschek, de Valk & Liefbroer, 2011). Also, it is expected that religiosity declines when the educational attainment increases (Fleischmann, 2011).

Even though the model of the second generation Turks has one more factor than the model of the native Dutch that explains variances in the modernity of gender role preferences. The results show that the total explained variance was higher for the native Dutch than for the second generation Turks, which is unexpected. Other factors may be more important in explanations of the variance in gender role preferences of the second generation Turks. Whether a person is married and to whom or whether a person is employed could be important factors, that are not included in this research (Huschek, de Valk & Liefbroer, 2011; van de Vijver, 2007). Also, the income level of a

person or the employment of the partner could be of importance. Other important factors that could explain variance in gender role preferences of the second generation Turks, but are not included in this research, are the educational level of the parents and the perception of being discriminated (Idema & Phalet, 2007). For future research, it might be useful to include these or even other determinants in order to explain more of the variation in gender role preferences.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the differences in gender role preferences between the second generation Turks of whom one parent is born in Turkey and the second generation Turks of whom both parents are born in Turkey. This, however, could make a difference since those immigrants who are married to a Dutch partner probably have more egalitarian gender role preferences than those immigrants who are married to a partner of their own ethnicity (Huscheck, de Valk & Liefbroer, 2011). Therefore, the ascendants of these two groups are raised with different gender roles norms and preferences. For future research it would be contributory to focus on these differences as well.

6. References

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