WORKING PAPERS

Union-Formation and Processes of Values Selection and Values Adaptation

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1. Introduction: Of Motivated Choices and Chosen Motivations

The central question of this paper concerns the function of values orientations in young adults' decisions with regard to their family and relationship formation. Opinions differ regarding the role of values in this decision making process. We assume--and we will proceed to illustrate-- that values are not a trivial matter, but have a role to play in making choices. The relation between values and choices is a dual one. On the one hand, values function as "leitmotifs" in making choices; on the other hand, values can also adapt to changing circumstances. This process of adaptation can go in either of two directions. It can correspond entirely to the original values orientation, giving rise to affirmation effects: the "new" situation reinforces the original values orientations. Conversely, the adaptation can consists of an inversion of, or deviation from, previous values. Such processes give rise to negation effects: the "new" situation weakens the original values orientations. The distinction between values selection and values adaptation and their respective significance for making choices will be the central question of our research. It has never been dealt with explicitly, at least not in the literature which we consulted. In part, this is due to the fact that most studies do not dispose of the necessary data in order to provide adequate answers to this research question. The number of panel studies which register values during each of the interviews and for which we receive unequivocal information regarding demographic transitions is in fact very limited and they usually originate in America. This paper will present the results of the "Familienentwicklung in Nordrein-Westfalen" study which

comprises a panel of young women between 18 and 32 years old. This panel survey distinguishes itself by the fact that the series of values clearly pertain to those domains which are assumed to be at issue in the process of union formation. In that sense, we can clearly indicate processes of values adaptation in function of changing circumstances. Given the nature of the values orientations, the test of the expected selection procedures is a demanding one. Before turning our attention to these results, we discuss some findings from the literature.

2. Processes of Values Formation: An Exploration

There exist diverging positions on the role of values in sociology, not in the least because the concept of values itself can lead to confusion and discussion (Becker, J.W. et al 1983). The discussion on the concept of values is highly philosophical and not at issue here. In talking about values in this article, we will use Rokeach's definition of values as "preferable end-states of existence." More substantial is the classification of values depending on whether they are fundamental characteristics of individuals, or more general and often depersonalised categories. The latter approach considers values as characteristics attendant upon roles, general cultures, etc. The simple fact that people cannot be divorced from the roles they play means that values can also be observed in the role-playing individual. The former approach, on the other hand, posits a close relationship between values and needs. As a consequence, values can be considered the underlying motivations of actions.

What we consider to be the two most significant theoretical "traditions" in processes of values formation are articulated in terms of this classification of values: on the one hand, Inglehart's socialisation theory (1977, 1990), and on the other, Kohn and his colleagues' approach that relates to role theory (1977). If we asked them to what extent choices are determined by values orientations, or if changing circumstances imply processes of values adaptation, Inglehart would undoubtedly consider those choices the logical result of socialised values, whereas Kohn would stress the fact that the normative requirements and expectations associated with each form of or role in life will explain to a considerable degree why people think in certain ways and adopt certain values. Of course, this is a highly simplified representation of their respective approaches. Inglehart does really pay little attention to the possible impact of role positions, or at least makes them dependent on processes of socialisation. Kohn and his colleagues, on the other hand, (Kohn, 1977; Kohn and Schooler, 1982; Kohn et al, 1986, Lindsey and Know, 1984; and Miller et al, 1985) display considerably more nuanced thinking than this paper may have suggested until now. They articulate explicitly reciprocal relations, in which values both precede and derive from social positions. This simple representation of things is intended to render explicit what we consider to be the most crucial research question within empirical values analysis: "To what extent do values determine the choices people make and to what extent are values themselves determined by the situation in which people find themselves?" A satisfactory answer to this inquiry regarding selection effects and processes of adaptation of values

orientations (which can comprise both affirmation and negation effects) depends on a number of methodological requirements that are related to the need for the longitudinal panel design. Our research question implies that we need to measure values *prior* to the decision regarding living arrangements and that these values should once again be subject of questioning once the decision has been taken. We have rarely come across such a design in the existing literature, but it does make a beginning with possible answers. Apart from the methodologically "superior" design which panel data provide us with, there are roughly two approaches which try to render explicit the impact of selection versus affirmation effects of values orientations, namely, the retrospective analysis and the research in which respondents have gone through a certain transition fairly recently, as compared with respondents who went through this transition earlier. We will list a number of significant findings in the following.

We start with the retrospective approach. Within one survey questions are asked which predominantly pertain to the respondents' experiences during so-called "formative" years, in order to achieve some insight into possible selection mechanisms. Of course, this does not allow for any insight in the (personal) values orientations which precede certain decisions, but it does give an idea of the values milieu within which the selection procedure occurred. Some of the typical indications of this values milieu are: information regarding the parental family structure (the quality of the parental relationship, experiences of divorce, single-parent families, etc.), the parents' religious convictions and the extent to which the respondent was brought up religiously. These sources show that the possibility of "new" living arrangements (being single, living together, divorce) increases with the atypicality of the parental family structures (i.e. the "non-harmonious marriage form") and with the respondent's descent from a non-conservative religious environment (Thornton, 1989; Liefbroer, 1991; Villeneuve-Gokalp, 1990; and Miller, 1992). This approach could be criticised on the grounds that "it is assumed" and "never tested" whether parents have a socialising impact on their children. Socially stratified processes of societal mentality might be the logical explanation for the perceived connections, rather than experiences within the parental family structure. There is something to this hypothesis, but the direct test of the degree of correlation between parents' values and children's values (Kohn et all, 1986 and Jennings, 1984) indicates that there is in fact a direct relation between the two. Jennings leaves no doubt and convincingly illustrates the fact that direct effects (of socialisation) are more important than the indirect effects (of social and cultural stratification). Kohn and his colleagues complete the picture by demonstrating that the correlations between the parents' values and their children's values are in fact far more considerable than one had previously suspected them to be. The influence of the mother, in particular, would be extremely significant and quite constant across national cultures. The father's role, on the other hand, does vary according to the national context and appears to be more significant in the western context than it is in the (former) communist countries of Eastern Europe.

The second approach, which can be used as an alternative to the panel design, has the researchers select individuals with different degrees of "exposure time" to the event that is expected to influence ideas and values orientations of the respondents. In this design, the research question is focused on exploring the processes of adaptation, but it also allows for selection effects to be illustrated. A typical example of this approach (Mazur, 1986; Rosseel, 1985) is research done on the basis of interviewing incoming and graduating students from the same department or with the major. Differences in mentality between students of different departments or majors will already surface in the group of incoming students (and for those who have not yet been influenced by their choice of department or major); these differences are slightly more outspoken in the group of graduating students (the supposed influence of the choice of department or major which appears to be cumulative). It is easy to read these differences as the selection and affirmation effects respectively, of values orientations. Closer to the topic of this paper is the second example: interviewing couples (Weiner, 1978; Mirowsky and Ross, 1987; and Brannon, 1979). The research question in this type of work focuses on the distinction between processes of "assortive mating" (i.e. the selection of partners on the basis of similarity in features such as social position and convictions) versus "resocialization" after the marriage. Resocialization refers to the mutual values adaptation by the couple after the family unit has been formed. There is a striking conceptual similarity of "resocialization" with what we have described as adaptation processes (affirmation or negation). "Assortive mating," on the other hand, strongly reminds us of selection effects: people choose their partner on the basis of specific features, including the shared opinions. By comparing the correlation in values orientations between spouses for different categories of marriage "duration," the difference between the two processes can be analysed. Both seem present. Interestingly enough, resocialization appears to be differentiated along gender lines. Weiner establishes this connection in terms of the partners' political orientation and concludes that women are more likely to adapt their convictions to their partners' than vice versa. However, Brannon observes that the values orientations concerning union formation and family have a distinct influence--for all women--on the type of family and the number of children, while this connection is less applicable to men. In this study, men seem to be more susceptible to resocialization effects. These findings draw our attention to the possible differentiation not only of affirmation effects but also of selection effects according to the nature of the values orientations and the sex of the respondent.

We have already indicated the paucity of large-scale panel research dedicated to the relation between values and choices with regard to union and family formation (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1994 a, b). The two sets of panel data to which most sources refer both originated in America (US): the Detroit Metropolitan Area Panel (analysed especially by Thornton and his colleagues) and the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 (Clarkberg et al, 1993). In both cases the panel was interviewed six times. Summarised in their essence, the articles that are based on these panel data convincingly illustrate the autonomous effect of values on the choice of living arrangement. Mothers with strict religious morals and a fairly traditional view of

gender roles, effectively pass on these views to their children. As a consequence, the latter are more likely to opt for marriage instead of living together (Axinn and Thornton, 1993 and Thornton and Camburn, 1987). These relationships are quite resistant to control for the effect of social position of the individuals involved. Apart from secularisation and egalitarian gender roles, high consumption and career goals appear to increase the probability of living together (Clarkberg et all, 1993). The latter is especially notable with women but not with men. These studies treated the affirmation effect of values in a less explicit manner. But Thornton and his colleagues do report the recursive effect of values on religious convictions, in the sense that marriage will reinforce them, while individuals living together will be subject to increasing secularisation. The Detroit panel, which contains data from mothers and their children, revealed an unusual form of resocialization. Gecas and Seff (1990) observed that children's decisions to live together and the related experiences to some extent influenced the values orientations of their mothers with regard to living together.

All of this is complemented by a number of findings from small-scale panel research. Almquist et al (1980) conclude that, in organising their new way of life, women develop a contingency strategy. This means that they try to make choices that are consistent with a priori opinions and convictions. This involves the selection hypothesis. This contingency strategy seems to apply particularly to women's plans concerning education, marriage, and family, but far less to their plans concerning employment. As far as the latter is concerned, women are more likely to modify their desires and opinions in function of the changing circumstances. Entwistle and Doering (1988) especially analyse the changes in opinions regarding the role of the father. Both with men and women, the judgement of the effectiveness of the role of the father diminishes after the birth of the first child. How the effectiveness is judged, depends on the social class to which the family belongs. This research, therefore, focuses especially on modifications of opinions. We remember that especially significant events in the lives of people (such as parenthood) possibly determine this modification of values. Finally, Bloom and Clement (1984) concluded that "positive" reactions to the experiences within a divorce is a function of the extent to which women are less strongly oriented towards family, but more strongly towards the self. Once again, this correlation did not appear in the data of male interviewees.

This review of the literature suggests that there can be a complex pattern of selection and adaptation effects of values on choices with regard to living arrangements. Depending on the nature of the values orientations, the nature of the events and the sex of the respondent, different scenarios can be traced. Most examples also revealed some implicit theory formation. The fact that this is implicit can often be detected from the fact that usually one form of effects is explicitly defined as the subject of the research question: be it selection effects or affirmation effects. Whenever the distinction is in fact made, the relative significance of both is not always equally clear.

The review of the literature has brought us to our central research question. We have already demonstrated (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1994 a, b) that the selection procedure with regard to alternative living arrangements--namely, between marriage, living together or living alone--correlates to a large extent with specific values orientations. We have demonstrated that Easterlin's theory of relative economic deprivation (1976) and Becker's neo-classical approach (1981) needed to be complemented with value-theoretical insights. As a consequence, this question is no longer explicitly at issue in this paper. However, the research question of this paper takes its cue from that earlier paper. First, we would like to investigate if and how values orientations which have been registered *prior* to the decision on the three alternative living arrangements (marriage, living together, living alone) determines this decision. In other words, the *selection hypothesis* is our first concern. Second, we investigate the degree to which a change in living arrangements also implies an adaptation of the respondents' original values orientation. Therefore, the *adaptation hypothesis* is our second concern. In our paper, selection and adaptation are the two sides of the same coin. The metaphorical coin is the association of specific values orientations with the choices of young adult women with regard to the living arrangement which they prefer. We also want to take into account some important findings from the literature review we presented. But the distinction man-woman cannot be considered in the following analysis, since the sample exclusively involved women. However, we will consider the differentiation according to the nature of the values orientations. But the data at our disposal limits the choice of values orientations. The following section treats the data, the design and the methodology we have chosen.

3. Data, design, and methodology.

The research results, which we have discussed so far, usually originate in America (US). We are not familiar with any comparable panel research in the European context. The decomposition of the relationship between values orientations and living arrangements in terms of selection and affirmation (or negation) effects requires a panel design which measures values orientations both prior to and after the decision on a living arrangement has been taken. The research on "Familienentwicklung in Nordrhein-Westfalen" which was done at the "Institut für Bevölkerungsforschung und Sozialpolitik" of Bielefeld University meets these requirements. During the first interview sessions (between December 1981 and March 1982) 2620 randomly selected women between 18 and 30 years old were contacted. After two-year intervals, a second and third series of interview sessions were held resulting in 1698 and 1054 cases respectively (1). This paper only discusses the results of the first and second waves of the research.

This set of data is not an ideal one for the purposes of our research for the following reasons. First, the range in the women's ages is too wide, despite the limitation. A considerable number of women has already taken a decision on a certain type of union: two out of three women no longer live with their parents at the time of the first interview session. Second, the interval between the

two interview sessions is a relatively short one, thus considerably reducing the chances of a transition to another type of union. What is more, only the family situation at the time of the interview was probed. For instance, we cannot tell of those living at home during t1 (the first wave) and married during t2 (second wave) whether they have possibly gone through a short period of living together or living alone. A third problem concerns the content, namely, how to operationalize the values orientations. These most definitely do not cover the range of possible values orientations which usually feature in instances of classical values research (the EVS studies). The "Familienentwicklung" research accentuates those themes which can be expected to be the subject of discussion with the age category of young adults, namely, opinions regarding the family, housekeeping and the professional lives of women. These are typically values domains which are expected to be articulated to a large extent in the process of relationship and union formation (and, therefore, the topic of this paper). In that sense they appear distorted with regard to the affirmation effects and one can already suspect selection effects to be less visible. But this "bias" is not necessarily detrimental to the research question of our work. We want to demonstrate that both processes of values formation are present. If affirmation effects are usually considered self-evident, not everybody agrees on the possible selection effects. Given the nature of the values orientations, this analysis can be read as a highly critical probing of the selection hypothesis.

The following analyses are the result of a twofold selection. First, all the women were selected who were still living at home at t1 and were part of one of the following four living arrangements at t2: living at home (i.e. with their parents), living alone, living together, or married (N=422). In a wider selection all the women were added who were already at t1 a part of one of the three alternative living arrangements beside living at home (N=1247).

The values dimensions were operationalized as a result of several gradually implemented principal component analyses of the data from the first wave. First, five separate principal component analyses were performed per series of values indications (items). Those items which prevailed in a specific dimension were then summed to an index scale. The principal component analyses of these indexes produced three dimensions (eigen value > 1) the third of which was defined by means of one subscale only (i.e. conflict avoidance in relation with partner). The two dimensions which are the subject of the remainder of the analysis have been designated as follows: (a) the traditional family orientation (a 28.1 % variance) and (b) autonomy and independence (a 15.1 % variance). This second dimension in fact refers to the unattachedness within the relationship with the partner. The fact that the importance of the relationship with the parents correlates with this dimension is in congruence with this interpretation.

Table 1 provides a more precise description of the subdimensions (summated scales) and their corresponding loading on the factor dimensions.

Table 1 : Principle Component Analyses - loading of the summated rating scales on the
      first two dimensions.   (orthogonal design : varimax rotation)

P.C. ' traditional family orientation' (28.1% variance)

.75	summated scale 'child gives meaning to life'
.73	summated scale 'woman's role : household and being a mother'
.73	summated scale 'reasing children is difficult but satisfying'
.71	summated scale 'traditional opinion about marriage'
.65	summated scale 'the household is a woman's job'
.60	summated scale 'a woman has to obey her husband'

P.C. ' autonomy' (15.1% variance)

.75	summated scale 'important for me to have a job'
.60	summated scale 'having good prospects is important'
.58	summated scale 'independence and identity through job'
.57	summated scale 'personal freedom is important'
.42	summated scale 'close relationship with parents is important'

Factor scores were calculated for all respondents with complete information for each of the subdimensions. The factor structure and the factor score coefficients from this analysis were also imposed on the data from the second wave in order to operationalize comparable dimensions (in time). The different factors were then recoded into four categories on the basis of the median and the quartiles that had been calculated on the basis of the total sample survey of the first wave.

Other variables which were incorporated as control variables include: (a) year of birth, (b) change in employment between t1 and t2, (c) change in the number of children within the family, and (d) religious denomination in combination with involvement (i.e. the degree to which one feels involved with one's religion). As this final variable provided little explanation for the correlations registered between living arrangement and values orientation, these analyses will not be taken into consideration in what follows.

The methods that were used are logistic regression and multiple classification analysis. In fact, this choice is determined by the unravelling (in the course of the research process) of the real nature of the relation of values orientations with living arrangements. Ideally, we should have applied a mutinominal logit regression technique with time-varying covariates in order to estimate hazard models (Liefbroer, 1991). But the data were not sufficient: the observation period is fairly limited, information is lacking on the first living arrangement after leaving the parental home and the sample survey is fairly limited. As a consequence, the logistic regression model (Allison, 1982) seemed most relevant for those models in which we wanted to explain the transition to a specific living arrangement (over a period of two years). The selection hypothesis is at the heart of these analyses. The multiple classification analysis was used in those cases where we wanted to relate the correlation between all possible combinations of living arrangements at t1 and t2 to the values dimensions registered at both points in time. The results

of these analyses nuance the findings of the logistic regression and also pertain to the processes of adaptation.

4. Analyses and discussion

We have already explored the relation between living arrangements and values orientations on the basis of the European Values Research (EVS) in our earlier research projects (Lesthaeghe and Moors, 1994 a, b). However, these analyses did not permit us to render explicit the distinction between selection and adaptation effects since the EVS data only contained cross-sectional information.

Table 2 below represents similar analyses of the data from the first wave (N=1247). The chart groups four separate logistic analyses (2) which can be compared between themselves because the set of independents is always the same. First, the relative risk of "living independently" (code 1, i.e. the combination of living alone, living together, or married) versus "living at home" (code 0, i.e. with parents) was related to the independent variables, i.e. both values dimensions and the year of birth, in terms of "odds ratios" relative to the category of reference (exp. B=1.OO). The analysis was then repeated for the comparison of "living alone" with "the rest," "living together" with "the rest" and "married" with "the rest." Significant relations (< .05) were marked with an "x". We have decided to operationalize the year of birth and the values dimensions as categorical variables because we did not per definition presuppose a linear correlation. The classification of the years of birth in cohorts was based on the analysis risk of transition (table 3). The oldest cohort is quite extensive in the analysis below, but this is not the case in the analysis of the transition from living at home to a new living arrangement (table 3) since the majority from this cohort already experienced a transition before the first interview session. In other words, the fact that the two charts can be compared prompted us to classify the years of birth in disproportionate categories.

Table 2 : about here

The results of this analysis confirm the findings on the basis of the EVS data. Of course, the possibility of living independent from one's parents increases with age. But we are more interested in the association of living arrangements with the values orientations, irrespective of the phase of life (cohort) in which one finds oneself. The least traditional category in terms of family and role opinions (dimension 1) has 6 times more chances of living alone and more than 7 times more chances of living together than the most conservative (reference) group. This category is most prominently represented amongst married people. Regardless of this, we observe that those women who desire a high degree of autonomy also have a higher chance of living either alone or living together (± 2.5 times as much as those who belong to the lowest category of this dimension).

9

Table 2. Logistic regression : alternative living arrangements at 11.

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independent (1)=lives alone, together with a partner, or is married
            (0)=lives at home (i.e. parental home)
      alone (1)=lives alone
            (0)=lives at home, together with a partner, or is married
   together (1)=lives together with a partner, but not married
            (0)=lives at home, lives alone, or is married
    married (1)=lives together with and is married to partner
            (0)=lives at home, lives alone or lives together with partner
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dependent variables :

covariates :	N=	independent		alone		together		married	
N=	1247	825		148		91		586	
	N=	**Exp (B)**		**Exp (B)**		**Exp (B)**		**Exp (B)**	
Cohort : year of birth			x						x
50-58	686	46,41	x	1,68		1,63		138,86	x
59-61	323	4,06	x	1,98	x	1,77		11,05	x
62-64	238	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	
Dim1 : traditional family values			x		x		x		x
first quartile	263	0,49	x	6,24	x	7,53	x	0,04	x
second quartile	303	0,55	x	2,43	x	4,30	x	0,20	x
third quartile	329	0,80		1,60	x	2,82	x	0,47	x
fourth quartile	352	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	
Dim2 : independence			x		x		x		x
first quartile	323	4,56	x	0,39	x	0,36	x	16,60	x
second quartile	327	4,61	x	0,52	x	0,95		9,50	x
third quartile	324	2,09	x	0,61	x	0,97		3,96	x
fourth quartile	273	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	

note : x = significant < ,05

Selection and affirmation (or negation) effects have been brought together in this analysis. In order to get a clear view of the selection effects, we have repeated these analyses, but this time with living arrangement at t2 as the independent indicator. We selected the 422 respondents for this second analysis (chart 3) who were still living at home at t1. This selection in fact allows us to analyse the risk of transition. The living arrangement at t2 was operationalized in an analogous manner to the preceding analysis, so that we analysed each time the relative risk of a transition to a "new" living arrangement, in relation with the independent variables, i.e. both values dimensions and the year of birth. As the values dimensions were measured at t1 and have therefore been formulated *prior* to the decision on a new way of life, these analyses give us a clear view of the possible selection effects of values on the choices of living arrangements. "Odds ratios" relative to the reference category are mentioned here as well (exp. B=1.00)

Table 3 : about here

If the selection hypothesis is confirmed, one would expect the nature of the relation between values orientations and living arrangements at t2 to be less pronounced, but still confirm the results of table 2 in which selection and affirmation effects were taken together. In that sense, the results of table 3 come as quite a surprise. Only those who make a transition to living alone at t2 respond to the expectations as far as the first dimension is concerned. The less traditional in terms of family values, the higher the chance of deciding to live alone at t2. The other correlations of values orientations with transitions are not significant and the direction of the correlation is even opposite to what one would expect. For instance, traditional family values would be conducive to the decision to live together. This inversion of the correlation (though not significant) leads us to suspect that the selection hypothesis ought not to be rejected lock, stock and barrel. Other mechanisms are at work. After all, the transitions model (table 3) is fairly static, in the sense that it does not take into account the history, the life story of the woman. This applies both to the timing and the sequence of events between the two points in time, as well as to the events which only the future can tell. Also other authors (Liefbroer, 1991) refer to the issue of censoring. In fact, the analysis above leads us to conclude that the values orientations as they exist prior to the decision on alternative living arrangements on a short term, i.e. in a time span of 2 years maximum, fail to provide a decisive answer regarding the distinction between living together and marriage. This is reflected in table 3 as follows: when we divide the odds rations of those who are living together by the odds ratios of those who are married for each category of the values dimensions (that is, we divide the data of the penultimate column by the data of the final column), we obtain ratios which are close to 1. However, this virtually constant ratio--in each category of the values dimensions--between those who are living together and those who are married does not necessarily mean that values are irrelevant. One could assume, for instance, that young people who are oriented towards marriage will live together with their future spouses for a relatively short period of time. Values orientations may have less of an impact on short-term decisions than they do on long-term decisions. The logical consequence of this

10

Table 3. Logistic regression : transition to alternative living arrangements at t2.

living arrangement at t1 = still at home (with parents)

living arrangements at t2 (transitions) :

        independent (1)=lives alone, together with a partner, or is married
        (0)=lives at home (i.e. parental home)
        alone (1)=lives alone
        (0)=lives at home, together with a partner, or is married
        together (1)=lives together with a partner, but not married
        (0)=lives at home, lives alone, or is married
        married (1)=lives together with and is married to partner
        (0)=lives at home, lives alone or lives together with partner

dependent variables :

covariates :	N=	independent 146 Exp (B)		alone 63 Exp (B)		together 40 Exp (B)		married 43 Exp (B)	
N=	422								
Cohort : year of birth			x						x
50-58	59	1,17		0,48		0,91		3,14	x
59-61	168	2,34	x	1,56		1,98		2,39	x
62-64	195	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	
Dim1 : traditional family values					x				
first quartile	105	1,38		3,52	x	0,67		0,61	
second quartile	120	1,51		2,62	x	0,91		1,00	
third quartile	106	1,14		1,85		0,52		1,30	
fourth quartile	91	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	
Dim2 : independence									
first quartile	66	0,64		0,55		1,31		0,47	
second quartile	80	1,23		0,93		1,05		1,71	
third quartile	129	0,75		0,62		0,81		1,14	
fourth quartile	147	1,00		1,00		1,00		1,00	

note : x = significant < ,05

scenario is that we should ask ourselves to what extent short-term versus long-term forms of living together are a priori inspired by certain values orientations.

Part of the answer can be formulated by taking a closer look at the transitions of the category of people living together at t1. Comparing the relation between values orientations with the combination of all possible living arrangements at the two points in time will provide us with a more complete and more complementary picture. We have, therefore, changed research strategies and considered the values orientations at t1 and t2 as dependent variables, and the combination of living arrangements as independent variables in a multiple classification analysis with, in the first place, the year of birth (figure 1) as control variable and only in the second place (figure 2) the changes in employment and the number of children as additional control variables. The figures below summarise the results of these analyses; how to read them is explained below.

Figures 1 and 2 : about here

The different living arrangements at t1 in combination with t2 are registered on the axis X. The first four categories consist of the breakdown of those living at home at t1 into (a) those living at home at t2 (i.e. the "home-home" category), (b) those living alone at t2 (the "home-alone" category), (c) those living together at t2 (the "home-together" category), and (d) those who are married at t2 (the "home-married" category). The following four categories can be distinguished analogously at t2, but they were already living alone at t1 (the "alone-home", "alone-alone," "alone-together," and "alone-married" categories). As far as those living together at t1 are concerned, we have merged those living at home and those living alone at t2 into one category in view of the relatively small number of instances of those situations (the "together-home/alone," "together-together," and "together-married" categories). Most of those married at t1 are still in this situation at t2 so that no other categories have been listed except for the "married-married" category.

The black columns indicate the (controlled) factor scores for the values dimensions measured at t1, in other words, *prior* to the decision on possible transitions in living arrangement. The grey columns reflect the corresponding values, measured at t2, in other words, *after* the decision on living arrangements between t1 and t2. The comparison between the two can provide us with some information regarding selection versus affirmation effects. But this comparison ought to be a cautious one, since it cannot be ruled out that changes in values orientations occur independently of changes in living arrangements. Anyone familiar with values research will be aware of the period effects which complicate the distinction between life cycle versus cohort effects in APC analyses. The occurrence of such period effects is clearly illustrated when we compare the four categories which feature no transition in living arrangements between t1 and t2 (i.e. the "home-home, alone-alone, together-together, and married-married" categories). For each of these categories one can say that they are less traditional at t2 than they were two years before.

11

Figure 1 : Mean factor scores *'traditionalism'* (first dimension measured at t1 and t2) for different categories
of living arrangements (combinations t1 and t2).   (after control for birth cohort)
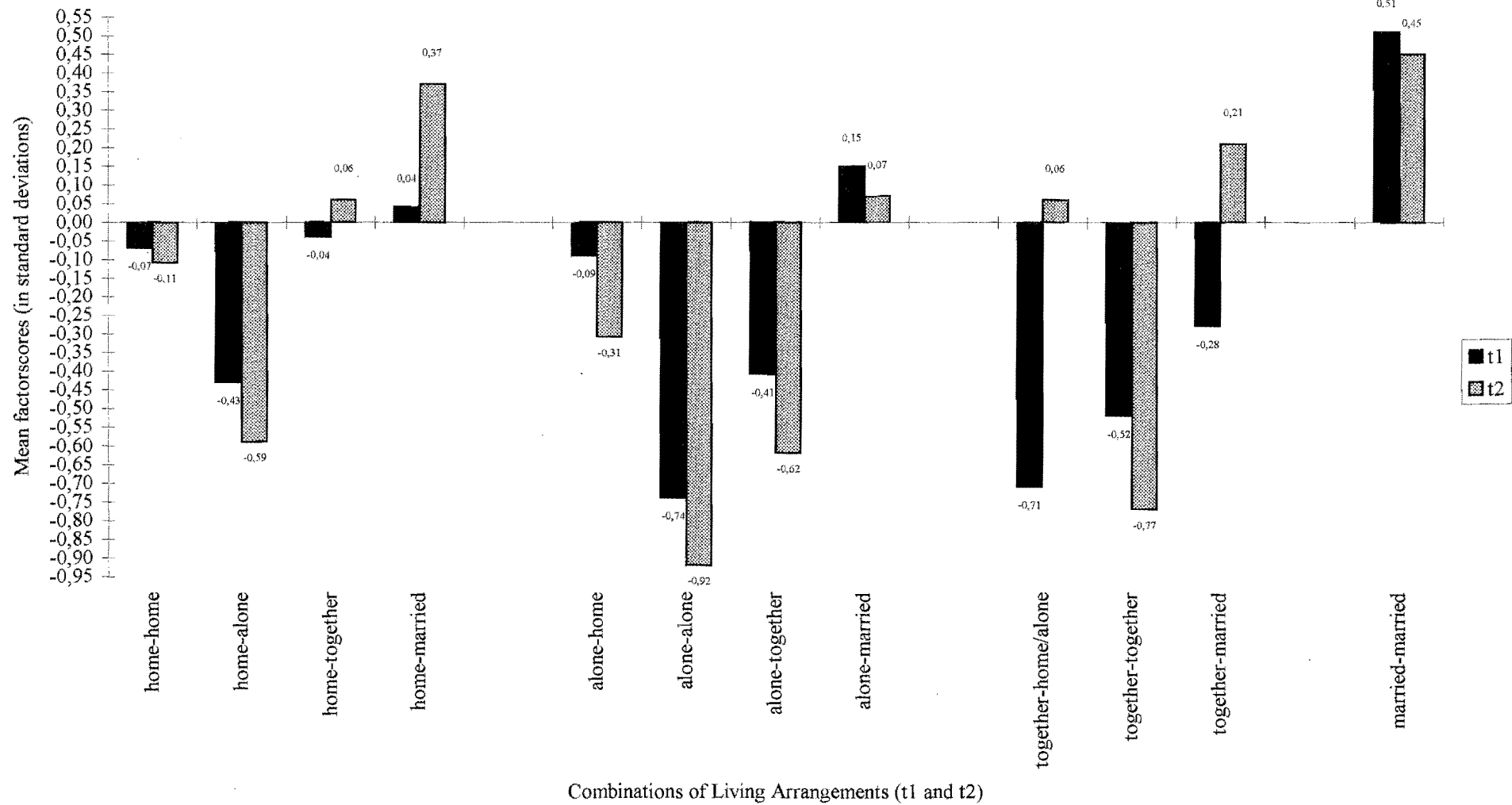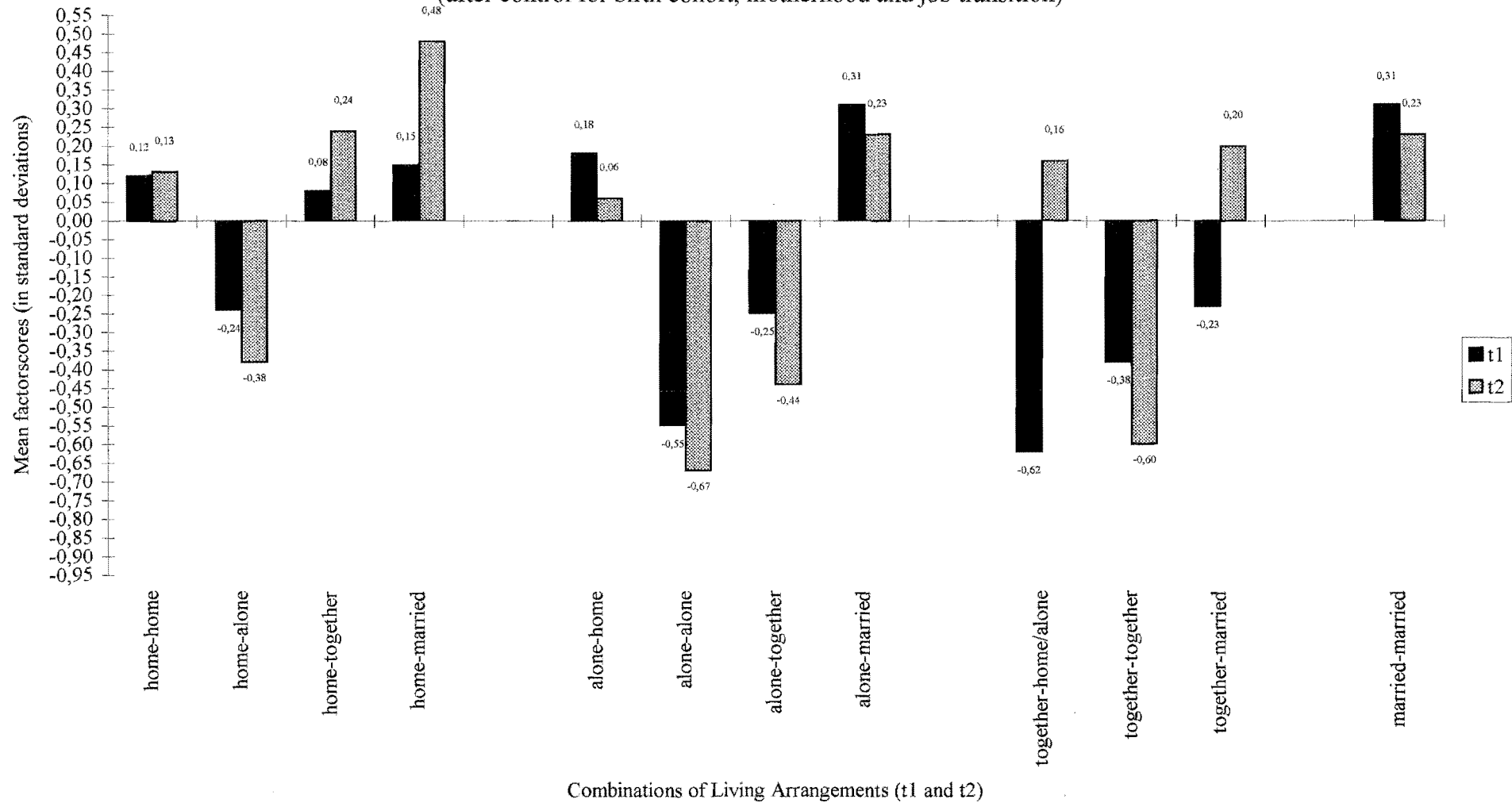
Figure 2 : Mean factor scores 'traditionalism' (first dimension measured at t1 and t2) for different categories of living arrangements (combinations t1 and t2).
(after control for birth cohort, motherhood and job transition)

As far as those living alone or together is concerned, this evolution is even more pronounced, so that it seems justified to consider the categories of those who are married and those who live at home as an indication of what the period effect may possibly be, whereas those living alone or together combine this period effect with the affirmation effect.

The fact that the affirmation effect is unquestionably present is illustrated by the category of those living at home at t1 who are married at t2: they clearly become more conservative with regard to their family values, even to such an extent that they no longer distinguish themselves from those who were already married at t1. An identical evolution is equally manifested in the group of those living together who get married between the two interview sessions. One thing at least seems clear: marriage reinforces the more traditional views on family values.

However, the category of those living together demands special attention, for it throws light on the jigsaw puzzle made up by the results of the logistic regression (tables 2 and 3). We expected then that--if selection effects of values orientations have a role to play in the process of union formation--the distinction between long-term living together and living together as a short-term transition period to marriage is a priori present in those values orientations. And in fact we observe now that those who have decided to get married within the two years after the first interview session were already more traditional than those who are still living together. Of course, this conclusion does not rule out that the relation between values orientations and changes in the life situation results from a dialogue between the partners, but this is also the case for those living at home who decide to either live together or to get married. This last instance did not reflect such differences.

So far we have not referred to one figure in particular, because the findings clearly apply to both cases. The essential difference between the first model (figure 1) which only controls for the year of birth and the second model (figure 2) which also controls for "employment situation" and "number of children" variables, is that the difference between the category of those who were married (at t1 and t2) from the other categories is reduced considerably. What is more, when we compare the different categories of those who were married at t2, there are hardly any differences in attitudes. The pronounced conservative attitude of those who were already married at t1 is due to the fact that they have already undergone additional influence from life cycle transitions, i.e. having children and comparing a paid job with the role of homemaker. This actually means that having children and achieving the role of homemaker imply an additional affirmative effect with regard to the more traditional view on family values, which had already come to the forefront prior to and was stimulated by the marriage.

Clearly, figures 3 and 4 below, which incorporate the second dimension "autonomy" as dependent variable, offer a different picture altogether.

Figure 3 : Mean factor scores *'autonomy'* (second dimension measured at t1 and t2) for different categories of living arrangements (combinations t1 and t2). (after control for birth cohort)
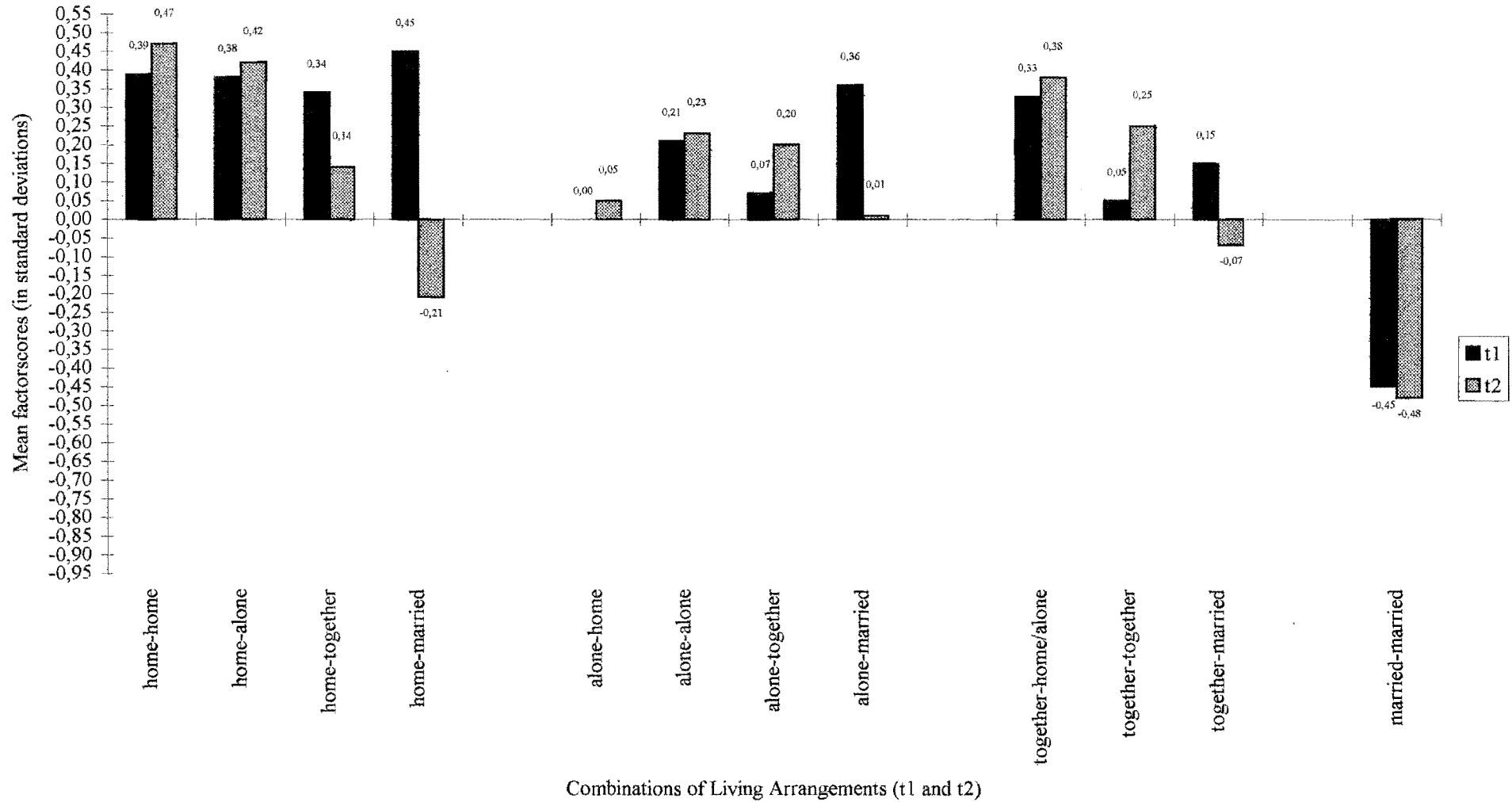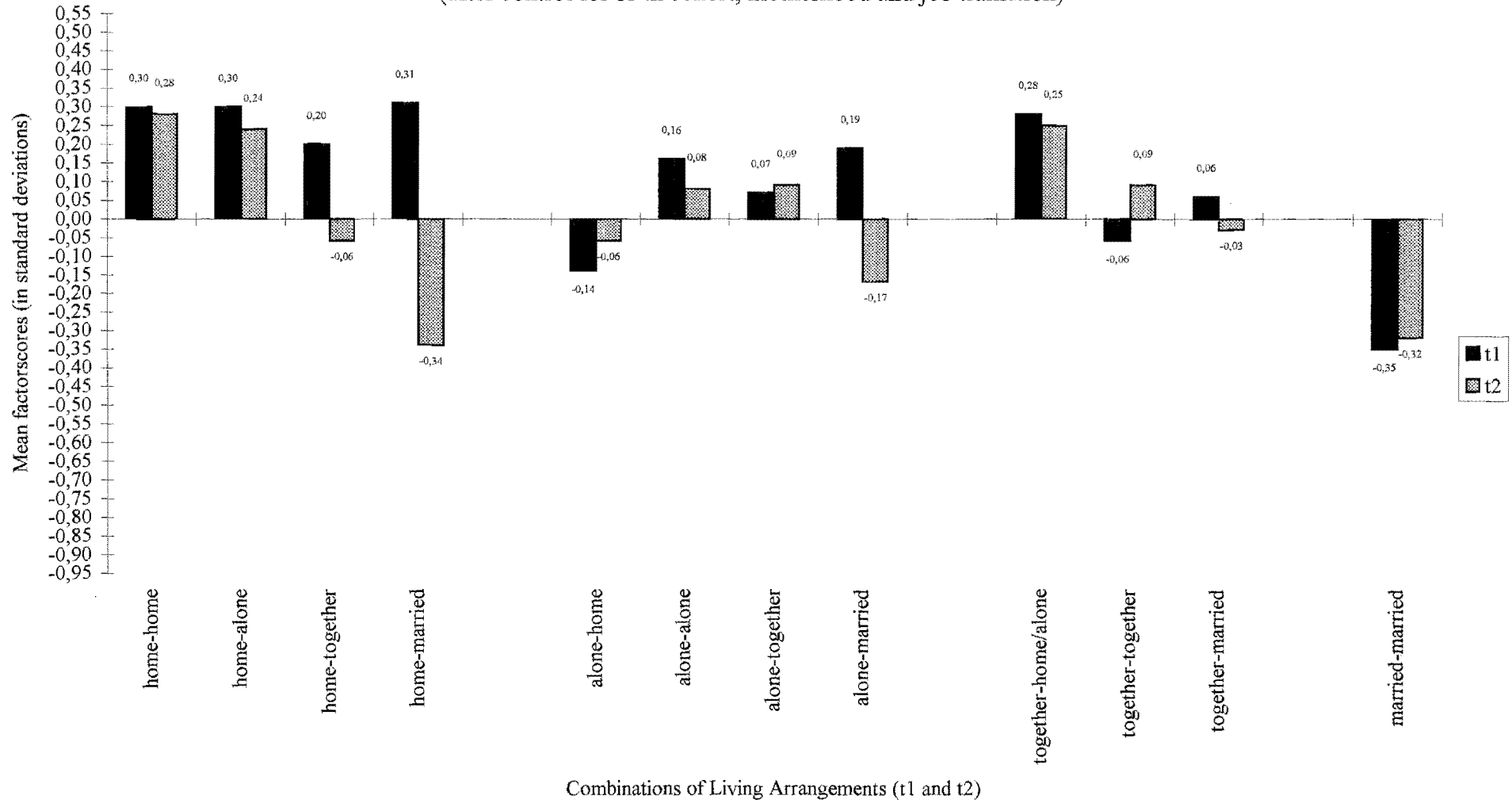
Figure 4 : Mean factor scores 'autonomy' (second dimension measured at t1 and t2) for different categories of living arrangements (combinations t1 and t2).
(after control for birth cohort, motherhood and job transition)

Figures 3 and 4 : about here

The interpretation of these figures can be summarised succinctly as follows: women's urge for autonomy and independence (by means of their own job, their own income, etc.) diminishes substantially after they have acquired security in their relationship by means of marriage. How does this reveal itself? First, the group of those who were married at t1 and t2 distinguishes itself very clearly from all other categories. Second, those who experience the transition to marriage between t1 and t2 (and this applies equally to those living at home, to those living alone or together at t1) clearly favour "autonomy" less at t2 than at t1. Those living at home who live together at t2 reflect a similar, yet less outspoken, evolution. Hardly any change is registered in any of the other categories. Third, clear selection effects cannot be deduced from these analyses. The four categories of people living at home at t1 do not differ markedly in attitudes at t1. Those living together at t1 do exhibit a difference depending on whether they have made the transition to marital status or not, but it must be pointed out that those who get married are even slightly more oriented towards autonomy. An analogous observation can be made for the category of those living alone at t1. In other words, marriage increases the chances of women settling into the situation of material security and dependence.

The picture that is drawn in the analyses above is clearly one of a combination of the selection and affirmation effects of values orientations on living arrangements. Nevertheless, certain objections can be raised. The comparisons which we presented are only aggregate comparisons in the sense that the model did not register individual changes. It goes without saying that we have not neglected this approach.

We first operationalized an index of change in which each individual's score on the values dimension as it was measured at t1 was subtracted from the corresponding score at t2. Stability in values orientations implies a score which is close to nil. A negative score means that the respondent went down between t1 and t2, a positive score implies the mirror image, namely a rise. When we apply this modus operandi to both values dimensions and we repeat the MCA's listed above with these indices as dependent variables, we obtain figures which are quasi-identical to the ones we would arrive at on the basis of the aggregate differences, i.e. the differences which we observe between the two points in time (the black versus grey columns) in figures 1 through 4. The conclusions at this level remain the same.

The only question left unanswered is to what degree the stability is different for each category of combinations in living arrangements. Are those who have known no transition more stable in values orientations than those whose living arrangements have in fact changed? The average score on the change index does not resolve the issue, since we cannot simply assume that an average score of '0' for a specific category implies that nobody in this category has undergone any changes in terms of their values orientations. It is equally possible that such an average '0' score

is the result of individual and opposite changes which even out. The comparison of the standard deviations of each of the categories tackles this problem. There are no considerable differences in standard deviations; in other words, each category is equally stable or unstable. This is confirmed by the correlations between the corresponding values dimensions measured at t1 and t2 when they are itemised in terms of the different categories of the combination variable "way of life." In each case, they are of a virtually similar order of magnitude. That of the first dimension varies around .55, the second dimension is at a slightly lower .47 . Given the fact that errors in measurement always tend to reduce the correlations (Inglehart, 1985) these correlations are quite considerable indeed. But the observation that the degree of stability in values does not vary according to the category of the variable "life situation" also implies that the differences in factor scores according to the moment of measurement (figures 1 through 4) reflect a systematic change in a specific direction and therefore clearly signal affirmation effects. By consequence, these additional analyses confirm the interpretations offered earlier.

5. Conclusion

The inquiry into the relative importance of values selection versus values adaptation (affirmation and/or negation) has proven to be quite complex in many ways, even if we dispose of panel data. Period effects, which complicate the distinction between cohort versus life cycle interpretations in values orientations, also arise in the context of the research question of this article.

The explorative research on the basis of the existing literature has certainly proven to be useful. Our analyses confirmed the need, that was suggested in a number of references, to differentiate the process of values selection and affirmation in terms of the type of values orientations involved. Opinions concerning family and gender roles indeed operate as selection mechanisms, and marriage clearly reaffirms these traditional values orientations. As far as the autonomy of the woman was concerned, as it is expressed in the desire to have a job and be financially independent, it was impossible to distinguish unequivocal selection mechanisms. As a result, the affirmation effects were all the more pronounced. Women seem to put aside their urge for autonomy after marriage; their family role increasingly moves to centre stage. Whether this is a lasting evolution, is an entirely different matter. Of course, there is always the chance that, at a more advanced age, when their role as homemaker is less precarious (e.g. when children have grown up) women will look to employment for new roles in life. However, this evolution should also be read as an affirmation/negation effect.

We have also observed that the traditional profile of the category of those who are married is tied to the fact that additional transitions in the family relations have already taken place, i.e. the role of children and the choice of a homemaking or professional role. Those who married in the interval between the two interview sessions evolved towards a more traditional outlook on the part of the woman concerning family values. Even when we do not take into consideration the

additional transitions (the role of children and the change in employment), those who married recently adopt a profile by t2 which is close to that of those who were already married at t1. This suggests that the decision to marry is not an isolated decision, but goes together with decisions regarding family formation (children) and the division of tasks (employment). The timing of the events may very well be spread out (logically speaking), but the process of decision making itself will be much more synchronic.

One final remark about the essential difference between living together and marriage is in order. The results presented on these accounts warn against a direct comparison of both categories without sufficient information regarding the past history as well as future developments. The category of those who decided to live together in the interval between the two sessions is still very heterogeneous. We do not know if the decision to live together was a motivated, and more or less long-term decision, or if it was a temporary choice in function of a desired marriage. The essential difference between marriage and living together only surfaces in those cases where the decision to live together is also a matter of principle and as such functions as an equivalent to marriage. People living together who (in our panel) have a greater chance of continuing this domestic arrangement in the long run (i.e. the category who is not yet married at t2) were initially already less oriented towards tradition and continued to evolve in that progressive direction. A similar argument applies to other forms of intermediary and alternative living arrangements such as living alone.

These findings indicate that ideally we ought to dispose of detailed information regarding the chronology and the duration of every way of life that an individual opts for. However, such data is hard to find. Despite the restrictions on the source of data and despite the fact that the values orientations which were operationalized can be described a priori as susceptible to transitions-- and therefore clearly illustrate adaptation effects--we have clearly been able to demonstrate selection effects of values on life situations. That must be the most valuable conclusion of this paper.

Footnotes:

(0) I wish to thank professors F. X. Kaufman and K. P. Strohmeier (Universität Bielefeld), as well as the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung (Cologne) for putting at my disposal the data files on "Familienentwicklung in Nordrhein-Westfalen" (ZA-N° 1736-38). The research council of the V.U.B. funded the project and Ron Lesthaeghe offered critical remarks on the first version. The original paper was written in Dutch. Thanks to William for its translation.

(1) It is quite a reasonable result that in the second wave more than 68% of the original respondents were interviewed, given the fact that only those people could be interviewed who had given formal permission at the end of the first interview to have their address filed with the interview in order to organise a second (and third) interview session. Possible effects of a selective dropout on the relation "values-life situation" were checked, but no visible influence could be established.

(2) We chose logistic regression because the formulation of the problem is founded on an explanation of the choice for a specific living arrangement at the expense of other arrangements in terms of the values orientations of the women and taking into consideration the phase of life (cohort) in which they find themselves. The coding scheme of the four dependent dummy variables is as follows:

Dummy variables

Life situation	independent	alone	together	married
Living at home	0	0	0	0
Living alone	1	1	0	0
Living together	1	0	1	0
Married	1	0	0	1

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