

A Multi-Actor Study of Adult Children and Their Parents in Complex Families: Design and Content of the OKiN Survey

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Abstract

This data brief gives an overview of the background, design, and content of the multi-actor OKiN survey (*Ouders en Kinderen in Nederland*; Parents and Children in The Netherlands). The purpose of OKiN is to examine the individual consequences of family complexity for intergenerational relations, intergenerational reproduction, and individual health and well-being. Another goal of OKiN is to generate detailed and nationally representative descriptive information on the types and degrees of family complexity that contemporary adult generations in The Netherlands (adults born between 1971 and 1991) have experienced when they were growing up. Unique features of the OKiN data are (i) the oversample of persons who grew up with separated and/or widowed parents, and persons who grew up with a step-parent; (ii) the double multi-actor design (i.e. primary respondents (*anchors*) report about multiple parent figures and parent figures (*alters*) report about multiple children); and (iii) the systematic probing of relations to and characteristics of all parent figures in the respondent's life. The brief provides the first descriptive findings about the OKiN respondents.

Theoretical Background

This brief gives an overview of the background, design, and content of the multi-actor OKiN survey (*Ouders en Kinderen in Nederland*; Parents and Children in The Netherlands). The purpose of OKiN is to examine the individual consequences of family complexity for a wide range of outcomes, including intergenerational relations, intergenerational reproduction, and health and well-being.

A second goal of the OKiN is to generate detailed and nationally representative descriptive information on the types and degrees of family complexity that contemporary adult generations in The Netherlands experienced while growing up. With these goals in mind, one of OKiN's unique features is the large oversample of persons who grew up with separated and widowed parents, as well as, an oversample of persons who grew up with a step-parent.

This makes it possible to analyse various types of family complexity in detail with sufficient statistical power, something hardly achievable using other nationally representative surveys. Furthermore, using register-based weights, it is possible to give accurate descriptive information on family complexity in the population as a whole (as is done in this brief).

The motivation for conducting the OKiN survey lies in the demographic changes that have occurred in most Western societies in the past four to five decades. Fertility rates have decreased, motherhood has become increasingly postponed, intimate partnerships have become more unstable, and repartnering has become more common (Thomson, 2014). These changes began in the 1960s and have been described as the second demographic transition (SDT; Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa, 1986; van de Kaa, 1987), a term that distinguishes the changes from the long-term decline in fertility before World War II. The SDT has been caused by both structural and cultural changes in the Western world. Structural explanations focus on the increase in female labour force participation, the expansion of higher education, and declines in labour market security. Cultural explanations focus on trends like secularization, individualization, and the revolution in gender roles. Much research has also been devoted to the consequences of the SDT: What are the risks that the new demographic regime has brought about, what are the advantages and disadvantages of the new regime, and ultimately, what are the consequences for individual well-being?

A less often recognized consequence of the SDT is the increasing complexity of family relationships (Kalmijn, 2013; Thomson, 2014). Due to the increase in divorce and remarriage, ties between parents and adult children have become increasingly diverse. After divorce, for a short or long period, depending on the age at divorce, minor children have one resident parent, usually the mother, and one non-resident parent. Children may have been raised by a separated parent or have experienced co-parenting; they may have been raised by a single parent all of the time (usually a mother) and never have known their other parent. When a resident parent repartners, children also have a step-parent with whom they share a household. When a non-resident parent repartners, children gain a step-parent 'at a distance'. As second unions are more unstable, step-parents may also disappear from the child's life. Some step-parents enter early in the child's life, while others come later, when the child is adult and living independently. From the perspective of parents, diversity has likewise increased. Parents who separate can have biological children from a dissolved union and stepchildren in a new union. They may also experience what is called multi-

partner fertility: having children with a new partner while already having children with an ex-partner (Ivanova *et al.*, 2014). Partnership instability and repartnering add complexity in the wider family system as well, with a larger set of grandparents and a heterogeneous set of siblings.

Rather than analysing family complexity solely in terms of the traditional opposition between step-parents and biological parents, or in terms of the more recently studied dichotomy of married and divorced fathers, we conceptualize family complexity along *four dimensions*: (i) differences in the length, nature, and timing of exposure to a parental figure; (ii) differences in biological relatedness to a parental figure; (iii) differences in the connections that pairs of parents have with each other and that may affect parent-child ties (triadic effects); and (iv) differences in the configuration of the entire family system (network effects). Examples of the first dimension are the age at divorce, the age at which the step-parent enters the child's life, and variation in visiting arrangements and co-parenting. For the second dimension, the main question is about the impact of biological relatedness while controlling for exposure differences. Comparisons between biological parents and step-parents are biased by such differences, and we thus need to consider these dimensions simultaneously. An example of the third dimension—triadic effects—lies in the notion of kin-keeping: when gender roles are traditional, fathers who divorce lose not only a partner but also someone who connects them to their children, the female kin-keeper. In a more general sense, parents may be connected to their children via each other. An example of network effects—the fourth dimension—lies in the number of parents that children have: these parents can substitute each other, but they can also 'work together'. The degree of harmony and balance in the parent-parent network may also have an effect on child outcomes or on children's ties to each parent.

There are three basic 'outcome variables' considered in the project. First, we study effects on the *well-being* of the children. Of course, there is much research on effects of divorce on child well-being in particular (Fomby and Cherlin, 2007; Amato and Anthony, 2014) and also an increasing number of studies on effects of stepfamilies and other kinds of family structures on well-being (Sweeney, 2007; Sun and Li, 2014). However, these studies primarily focus on children, whereas we address the question of long-term effects, namely, when children are adult, living independently, and shaping their own lives. Are they still affected by how they grew up or are those effects temporary, as crisis theories seem to suggest? (Johnson and Wu, 2002).

Second, we study *intergenerational reproduction*, which is defined as the transmission of individual characteristics and behaviours across generations (Modin, Koupil, and Vagero, 2009; Kraaykamp and van Eijck, 2010; Liefbroer and Elzinga, 2012; Kalmijn, 2015; Szydlik, 2016). We study reproduction in a socio-economic and a sociocultural domain. Examples of the socio-economic domain are the influence of parental educational and occupational attainment on children's educational and occupational attainment. Examples of the sociocultural domain are the transmission of cultural participation, voting behaviour, health behaviour, and demographic behaviour.

Third, we study *intergenerational solidarity* which has been defined as the degree to which parents and their adult children provide each other with support, combined with feelings of obligation and affection which foster this support (Kalmijn, 2014; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997; Dykstra *et al.*, 2006). We study several aspects of solidarity: how often there is contact, how far away parents and children live from each other, how much practical and financial support parents and children give each other, how much socio-emotional support is exchanged, and feelings of affection and ambivalence towards parents. The aim is to not only study upward transfers (most often studied in ageing research) but also downward transfers (less often studied).

The causal diagram shown in Figure 1 illustrates the set-up of the arguments. Parents' demographic behaviours change the configuration of parental figures for children in four major ways, and through these changes, they have a long-term impact on the resemblance of parents and adult children (reproduction) and the support that they exchange with each other as adults (solidarity). Finally, we also examine the long-term effects on health and well-being.

The OKiN survey is based on a stratified random sample of independently living persons of age 25–45 years who were born in The Netherlands. This generation—born between 1971 and 1991—was growing up during the divorce revolution and was therefore the first group of children in The Netherlands to experience parental divorce on a substantial scale. In terms of age, this is a group of respondents who are settling their own adult lives. The youngest ones are often just starting their labour market career and the search for a partner, whereas the oldest could be in the midst of raising children and could already have experienced instability in their own unions. The respondents will have parents who vary in age: some will be old and potentially, in need of support, others will be in their 'midlife' stage. Therefore, one can expect that intergenerational support flows will go not

only in an upward direction (from adult children to parents) but also in a downward direction (from parents to adult children).

In terms of a national context, The Netherlands is not a forerunner in the trend towards increasing family complexity, like Sweden, the United Kingdom, or the United States (Thomson, 2014). Nonetheless, the theoretical mechanisms discussed are general enough, and hence would apply to more than one national context. In terms of divorce rates, The Netherlands takes a middle position in Europe (Kalmijn, 2007). The amount of intergenerational contact and support for older adults in The Netherlands is lower than in Southern Europe but similar to other Western European societies (Börsch-Supan *et al.*, 2005; Hank, 2007). Cross-national research on reproduction is limited to the socio-economic domain but shows that in recent generations, effects of parental status on children's schooling are similar to what they are in other Western European countries (Breen *et al.*, 2009).

Design and Content

A Double Multi-Actor Design

OKiN is based on a *combined multiple parent and multiple child* design. In Figure 2, we give an example of the design for a single case. The (male) child in Figure 2a is our *anchor* (the main respondent). His parents are separated, have both repartnered, and are currently together with these parental figures. He reports about two biological parents and two step-parents, and all four of these parents are approached in the *alter* fieldwork. There could also be other, previous step-parents who are separated from the biological parent; these are documented in the anchor data but not approached in the alter data. With this design, we can compare multiple parents within an anchor (i.e. *multiple parent design*).

The parents in Figure 2b are the *alters* (the current parent figures). The biological mother reports on the anchor but also on the new child she had with her new partner. The biological father reports on the anchor but also on two other children: the new child he has with his new partner and the child his new partner had previously (his stepchild). The stepmother reports on the anchor too—her stepchild—and on her own children. All these other children are documented in the alter questionnaires but not present in the anchor data. In the alter data, we can compare different types of children within each parent (i.e. *multiple child design*).

The anchor and alter data were collected independently from each other. This means that (i) we did not ask explicit permission from anchors beforehand to contact

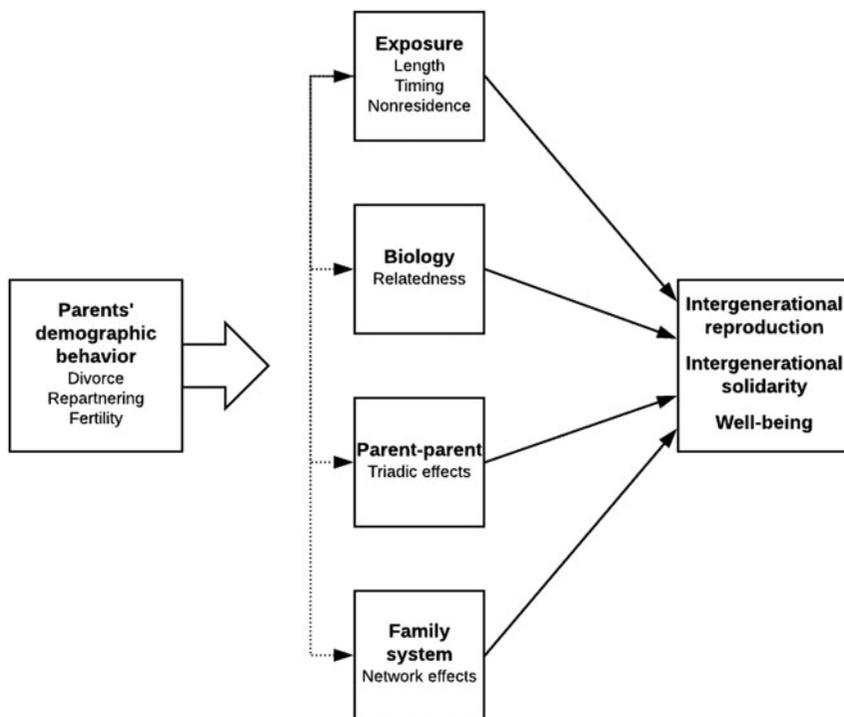


Figure 1. The dimensions of family complexity and adult child outcomes

alters, and (ii) we approached all alters, also when anchors did not participate. This direct approach has two important advantages. First, it potentially reduces selective nonresponse of alters which has been documented in previous multi-actor family surveys where anchors were asked for permission to contact their parents (Kalmijn and Liefbroer, 2011). Second, the direct approach leads to a larger sample and response of alters and implies that the alter data can be used as a stand-alone data set. Note that for the survey, we only selected anchors who had at least one living biological parent, so that for each respondent, there is at least one parent–child relationship that could be studied. About 4 per cent of people of age 25–45 years have no living biological parent, based on estimates from the Dutch NELS data in 2009 (De Graaf *et al.*, 2010).

Register-based Oversampling of Nonintact Families

The OKiN sampling frame is based on the Dutch population register (Basisregistratie Personen (BRP), until recently known as the Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie (Bakker *et al.*, 2014; Prins, 2016). The BRP started in October 1994 and combined the population registers of all Dutch municipalities in one internal consistent

database. For this study, we had to be able to (i) link children (our anchors) to their biological parents and (ii) know who lived at the anchor's address of residence at age 15 (age 15 was chosen to obtain a range of ages at which family disruption took place during the anchor's youth). Using the BRP, Statistics Netherlands (CBS) built the so-called *child–parent file* (Kind-ouderbestand), based on the legal bond between parents and children.

Based on the registered residence address of the anchor at age 15 and the biological parent(s) and possible new partners, three *sampling strata* were defined:

- intact family (both biological parents were present in the household);
- nonintact family without a new partner (only one biological parent was present in the household, and this parent has no partner registered in the household); and
- nonintact family with a new partner (only one biological parent was present in the household, and this parent has a partner registered as living in the household).

To draw an oversample, respondents were divided among the strata as follows: 25 per cent for intact and 75 per cent for nonintact. Within the nonintact stratum, we used a somewhat larger sample for new partner-families to maximize the number of step-parents in our

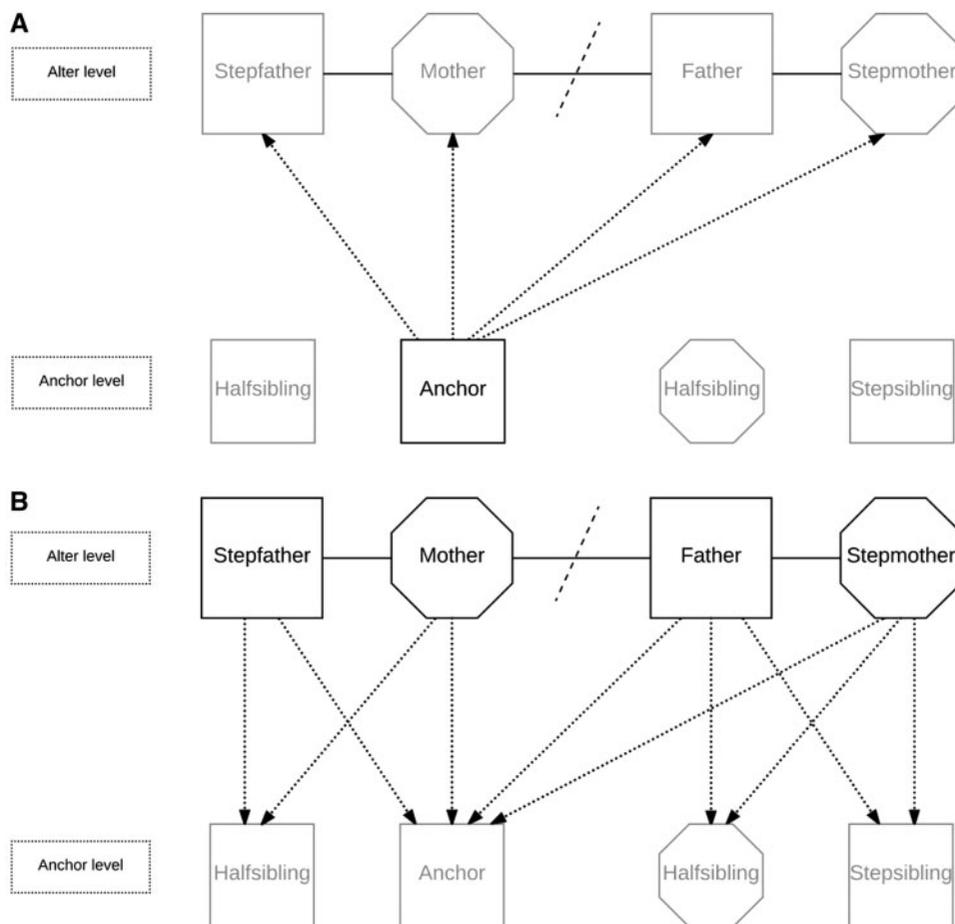


Figure 2. (A) Multiple parent design. (B) Multiple child design

data (33 per cent for (b) and 42 per cent for (c)). Note that the strata are based on who is officially registered at an address. This may not always match the actual household situation, but using the strata is a highly effective way to oversample children from nonintact families with and without a step-parent. Additionally, for 510 *responding* and randomly chosen anchors, we selected siblings (full siblings, same age range (25–45 years)) via the register and added them to the sample of anchors. The siblings received the same questions as the anchors. The purpose of this extra sample is to examine family variance: the siblings will have the same set of parents, so that we can examine if they have different or similar relationships with their parents. Siblings also differ in the length of their exposure to different parental figures, which can be used to estimate divorce effects, for example (Sigle-Rushton *et al.*, 2014).

The alter sample was derived from the anchor sample. Based on the anchor sample, we selected both biological parents and their *current* partners (i.e. partners registered in the household at the time of drawing the sample). Hence, in the case of divorced biological parents, there can be up to four parental figures for each anchor. Moreover, the sample contains partners of deceased biological parents, provided that they were living with the biological parent when he or she died. The relative sizes of the sampling strata in the alter sample are a product of the sampling strata in the anchor sample.

Main Concepts and Questionnaire Themes

The main goal of this project is to examine the implications of family structure during youth for adult lives. This requires a retrospective approach in which

questions are asked about the present, as well as, about the past. The questions about the past refer to a person's youth, defined as the period from birth to age 18 or to the age at which the anchor left the parental home if that happened earlier. Although the sample frame already defines three types of families, we used our own definition of family structures in the study (and the questionnaires). We distinguished intact family structure from nonintact family structures. With the term family structure, we do not refer to the formal marital status of parents but to their living arrangements. Hence, we treated unmarried cohabitation of parents and marriage as equivalent (although we did enquire about the type of union). An intact family structure was defined as a situation where the biological parents lived and stayed together during youth (as defined above). Three nonintact family structures were defined:

- a. Children whose biological parents separated during youth (children of separated parents);
- b. Children whose biological parent died during youth (children of widowed parents); and
- c. Children who lived with only one biological parent after birth (children of an originally single parent).

Divorce and separation are the most common routes into a nonintact family structure, but historically, widowhood was the more prevalent source of instability, which is why we included this category as well (Van Poppel *et al.*, 2013). Parents who are single right after childbirth are not common in The Netherlands, but they are an interesting group both theoretically and policy-wise. For practical reasons, we only considered the most common nonintact family structures. We did not include respondents in the sample who grew up with foster parents, who lived only in institutions, or respondents who were raised only by other family members. An additional data collection among children raised by adoptive parents is currently under way (target net sample of 330 anchors), and the data will be appended to the presently available OKiN data.

It needs to be acknowledged that circumstances and parental behaviours can change during youth. However, measuring these dynamics in detail was not feasible in a retrospective design. We therefore had to make a number of simplifications. For intact families, most questions were asked about the period when the anchor was between the ages 12–18 years, the typical ages about which individuals remember relevant matters. This also applied to anchors from nonintact families with an originally single parent. For separated and widowed nonintact families, the questions generally referred to the

period after the transition to a nonintact family. Some key questions were also asked about the time before the transition (e.g. marital conflict, couple division of labour, financial position/situation).

For each biological parent, we assessed at what ages the anchor lived with that parent during youth (i.e. residential history). When the child did not live with the parent, we assessed the frequency of face-to-face contact. By combining information on the length of residence and contact during nonresidence periods, we can obtain a detailed measure of the degree to which the child was 'exposed' to his or her biological parent. The child's residential history with each biological parent did not include information about potentially coresident 'stepparents'. In other words, we did not define 'stepparents' by coresidence with our anchors but by their link to the biological parent. For this reason, an extra module was developed to measure the parental partnership history. In this history, it was also assessed if and when the child coresided with the new partners of the biological father and mother.

In assessing the influence of and ties to the parents' new partners during youth, the question arises about which new partners we ought to ask questions. Parents may have had multiple new partners and may or may not have lived with these partners. To simplify things, we decided to limit our questions to new partners of each biological parent with whom the parent had a relationship during the anchor's youth for at least 2 years. If there were two or more partners with whom the parent had such a relationship during youth, we selected the partner with the longest relationship. This choice increased the chance that the partner was the most important non-biological parental figure for the anchor. To take into account the role of instability during youth, we also asked how many new partners each biological parent had during the anchor's youth.

To measure the role of parental figures (including new partners of parents), as assessed by the anchors, we made a distinction between several concepts: (i) resources that parents have (measured by cultural capital, education, occupation, employment, financial resources, and health); (ii) investments that parents make in children (measured by activities with the child, parental involvement, and the degree of influence in important life decisions); and (iii) relationship strength (measured, among others, by closeness and conflict). These dimensions were measured in identical ways for all parental figures during youth. Note that most of these traits are individual-level traits but some were measured at the household-level (i.e. financial resources). Because our approach is retrospective, we tried to use objective and

behavioural measures as much as possible, since these are less affected by memory biases (Hardt and Rutter, 2004).

We asked a number of questions about *current* parent–child relations. Topics covered were contact, closeness, conflict, and exchange of support. An important question was for which parental figures we should document these topics. Conceptually, we wanted to link current relations with parental figures to youth circumstances. Therefore, the parents' new partners who were present during youth also needed to be addressed in the measurement of adult parent–child relations. For that reason, we measured current relations to the new partner from youth, regardless of whether this new partner was still living with the biological parent (i.e. current new partners or ex-new partners). At the same time, we needed to recognize that the present-day partners of biological parents may also play a role in the adult child's life, even if they came in later in the anchor's life. Hence, we also measured anchor's relationships to such 'later new partners'. Later new partners could be present in both the nonintact and the intact groups (due to a parental divorce after the anchor's youth). Things were more complex in case the biological parent was no longer alive. The partner of the deceased parent may still be an important figure in the anchor's life which is why we treated this person as a current new (widowed) partner.

When taking the perspective of parents, as was done in the alter data, a somewhat different set-up was developed. In the alter data, we used a union-based approach to define categories of children. Specifically, we distinguished:

- a. biological children with a current partner: biological children born in the current union of the parent;
- b. stepchildren: biological children of the current partner of the parent and his/her ex-partner;
- c. biological children with an ex-partner: biological children from a previous union (dissolved through separation or death); and
- d. other biological children: biological children born outside a union.

For each category, we asked about the basic traits of all children (i.e. birthdate and gender) and then zoomed in on two children within each set. The instructions to the alters were such that we tried to maximize the chances of receiving a report on the corresponding anchor. The additional child for each subset (if such was present) was a randomly selected child 18 years or older from that set (or alternatively, the oldest child from that set).

Ideally, one would ask anchors and alters the same questions about resources, investments, and

relationships. For example, questions the anchor answered about the school involvement of the biological mother would need to be 'echoed' in the questionnaire for the biological mother. However, if we were to follow this route, we would not have had enough room to ask questions about the mother's other children. The alter data would lose their stand-alone power if we had asked the parents only about the anchor. For this reason, we asked a more limited set of questions about the anchor and the same set of questions about the other children of that alter. In this way, the multiple child design is preserved.

The final anchor questionnaire consisted of nine modules. Background variables were partly provided by the registers, so elaborate background questions were not necessary. Not all respondents had to answer all questions and, in some cases, entire modules could be skipped. The median duration of the interview was 37 minutes. The alter questionnaire also consisted of nine modules. Similar to the anchor data set, the alter data set contained an extensive set of variables obtained from the registers. The median duration necessary to fill out the alter questionnaire was 27 minutes. In Table 1, we list the themes that were covered in the questionnaires.

Fieldwork and Response

The fieldwork was done by Statistics Netherlands in close collaboration with the University of Amsterdam (UvA) team. The fieldwork was carried out between January 2017 and June 2017. Anchor respondents received an introduction letter (including a brochure about the study) inviting them to participate in the study using an internet link. The link led to a CAWI questionnaire (Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing). Starting with a CAWI option is the standard way in which CBS approaches respondents for their surveys. The letter contained an informed consent clause in which it was stated that answers of parents could be combined with respondents' answers for statistical purposes. The letter stated that further participation was voluntary, so respondents could opt out in case they did not approve of this possibility. It also mentioned that family members (parents in the anchor letter and children in the alter letter) could be participating in the study. All anchors received an incentive beforehand, regardless of participation (a cheque which can be used in most shops in The Netherlands). Prior studies have shown that giving an incentive, and especially giving an incentive unconditional of participation, is an effective way to

Table 1. Themes in anchor and alter questionnaires

	Anchor data	Alter data	
Respondent and his/her children (anchor data) or parents (alter data)	Work and occupation	Work and occupation	
	Poverty	Education and school problems	
	Cultural capital	Gender roles	
	Gender roles	Health behaviour and sports	
	School and school problems	Mental health and well-being	
	Health behaviour and sports	Politics and participation	
	Mental health and well-being	Family attitudes	
	Politics and participation	Trust and loneliness	
	Family attitudes	Life events (child)	
	Trust and loneliness	Success in life (child)	
	Register variables: Background traits	Register variables: Background traits	
	Relationship between anchor and alter	Residence history	Residence history
		Contact and conflict	Contact and conflict
		Closeness and meaning	Closeness and meaning
Involvement activities		Involvement activities	
Support exchange		Support exchange	
Grandparenting		Perceived balance	
Financial transfers		Grandparenting	
Perceived influence		Financial transfers	
Relations between others		Relations between others	
Geographic distances (based on register data)		Geographic distances (based on register data)	
Evaluations of family forms		Evaluations of family forms	

obtain a good response rate (Ryu *et al.*, 2006; Scherpenzeel and Toepoel, 2012).

Nonrespondents received reminders 1 and 2 weeks later. When they did not respond after a month following the last letter, they were approached for a face-to-face interview. Interviewers contacted respondents at home and either interviewed them directly or made an appointment. Interviews were conducted in the respondents' home using CAPI (Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing).

The fieldwork for alters started in the same way: a letter with an invitation to participate in the CAWI survey. No prepaid incentive was provided, given the alter sample size. Instead, respondents who participated could automatically be part of a lottery (for iPads). A brochure was also included in the letter. The letter mentioned the possibility of linking information from children to respondents for statistical purposes and emphasized the voluntary nature of the survey. By design, both partners in a partner household received a letter (e.g. the two biological parents of an anchor or one biological parent and the new partner). The partners then received individual letters with their own codes.

One week later, nonrespondents received a reminder to participate in the CAWI survey. Two weeks later, nonrespondents received another reminder, this time with a

paper-version of the CAWI questionnaire included (paper-and-pencil interview (PAPI)). Respondents were offered the choice of modes in this letter (CAWI or PAPI). Three weeks after the initial approach, nonrespondents again received the reminder and a PAPI version of the questionnaire. As the sample was very large, a face-to-face follow-up was not an option, but it was believed that a paper questionnaire would yield additional response.

For the anchor survey, 11,072 respondents were approached. Of these, 4,074 responded via CAWI (37 per cent). Of the nonresponding persons, 6,406 were approached by an interviewer at home for a CAPI interview. Not all nonresponding persons were approached due to budget limitations. Of the 6,406 nonresponding persons, 2,414 were interviewed (38 per cent). In total, $N = 6,485$ persons responded (including a total of 335 sibling pairs). When correcting for people who moved and whose sample address was invalid for other reasons, *the overall response rate was 62 per cent (Table 2)*. This is considerably higher than what is common for large-scale surveys in The Netherlands (De Leeuw and De Heer, 2002). Note also that the initial CAWI approach was quite successful. Given that this stage is relatively cheap, the mixed-mode approach is an enormous cost-saving strategy, especially for large surveys.

Table 2. Anchor response overall and per family type

	Sample per cent	Sample number	Data number	Data per cent	Response rate (per cent)
Intact family	25	2,765	1,822	28.1	65.9
Nonintact without new partner	33	3,691	2,053	31.2	55.6
Nonintact with new partner	42	4,616	2,610	40.2	56.5
Total number	100	11,072	6,485	100.0	58.6
Effective number	100	10,416	6,485	100.0	62.3 ^a

^aResponse rate corrected after deleting unusable addresses from the sample frame.

Of the 24,630 alters approached for participation, 6,232 responded via CAWI (25 per cent). All of the non-responding persons were approached by PAPI and of these, 3,107 responded (17 per cent). The overall response after excluding double respondents was 9,325, with a *corrected response rate of 38 per cent*. This is lower than what was achieved for the anchors, but that is without prepaid incentives or CAPI follow-up. We present response rates of alters by sampling stratum, in particular to see how well parent figures from nonintact families responded (Table 3). We see that parents respond better when the anchors came from an intact family. Even though this gap is substantial, the response rate for parents from nonintact families is still good (35.0–37.0 per cent).

How did the oversampling strategy work in the field? To evaluate this, we present the target proportions and the realized proportions by type of family. Note that these are based on the official register-based assessment of the family at age 15. Table 2 shows that we have an excellent distribution over the three sample categories, although the response rate is clearly somewhat higher for children from intact families than for children from nonintact families.

As register information may not be correct, it is useful to compare the register-based assessment with the survey-based assessment. Table 4 presents this information and shows that the oversampling strategy was very effective. The row percentages show that there are few ‘false negatives’: those who are considered intact overwhelmingly are intact according to the respondent him or herself. There are more ‘false positives’, although only in the nonintact register groups without new partners. Of these respondents, 9 per cent reported that they grew up in an intact family. Detailed analyses suggest that this is more common in older cohorts where the registers are less complete.

Matching Alters and Anchors

In this section, we describe to what extent the alters and anchors can be linked. The link was made via the

register beforehand, but the fieldworks were independent and the data can be used as stand-alone data sets. However, one can also analyse the combined data and for that reason it is important to see how successful the link has been in practice. After all, not all participating anchors will have a participating alter and vice versa. For 60.7 per cent of the anchors, there is at least one responding alter in the alter data. Table 5 shows for each type of parent, whether such a parent exists in the population and if so, whether that parent is part of the alter data (also conditional on anchor response). Response rates are higher for mothers than for fathers and higher for biological parents than for new partners (for whom there is no gender difference in response). We end up with over 1,700 new partners in the alter data who have a responding anchor, which provides much potential for a combined anchor–alter analysis of ‘stepparents’.

In previous multi-actor research in The Netherlands (i.e. The *Netherlands Kinship Panel Study*, NKPS) parents were also approached but via the anchor which resulted in an overall response rate of 41 per cent (Dykstra *et al.*, 2005). Our decision to approach the alters directly was driven by concerns about potential selective response. For example, Kalmijn and Liefbroer (2011) have shown that in the NKPS, alter response is very selective with respect to the quality of the relationship and the frequency of contact (Kalmijn and Liefbroer, 2011). While this is not *per se* problematic in terms of bias in regression effects, it is generally perceived as a problem if the aim is to obtain a representative view from both sides of a relationship. To evaluate this assumption, we compare response rates of parents in the NKPS and the OKiN in Figure 3, broken down by the frequency of contact between the primary respondent and the alter in the past 12 months (as reported by the primary respondent).

Figure 3 shows strongly selective patterns for mother and father alter responses in NKPS. When there was no contact between the anchor and the mother/father, the alter response rate in NKPS was extremely low, whereas

Table 3. Response rates of parent alters by sampling stratum

	Sample number	Data number	Data per cent	Response rate (per cent) ^a
Intact family	4,988	2,299	24.7	46.1
Nonintact without new partner	7,483	2,767	29.7	37.0
Nonintact with new partner	12,159	4,259	45.7	35.0
Total number	24,630	9,325	100.0	37.9

^aResponse rate corrected after deleting unusable addresses from the sample frame.

Table 4. Comparison of family type based on register and anchor self-report (per cent)

	Self-report		
	Intact	Nonintact	Total anchors
Register: Intact family	96.7	3.3	100.0
Register: Nonintact without new partner	9.0	91.0	100.0
Register: Nonintact with new partner	3.9	96.1	100.0

Table 5. Presence and response of alters conditional on anchor response

Type of alter	Not in population (per cent)	Present, not in alter data (per cent)	Present, in alter data (per cent)	Row total (per cent)	Alter response rate (per cent) ^a	Number of alters
Biological father	25.5	42.5	31.9	100.0	42.9	2,070
Biological mother	9.3	48.5	42.2	100.0	46.5	2,734
New partner father	67.0	20.1	12.9	100.0	39.1	838
New partner mother	65.0	21.3	13.7	100.0	39.0	886

^aConditional on anchor response.

it was about 40 per cent when there was weekly contact. The degree to which the response depends on the inter-generational bond is clearly reduced when the direct approach—as applied in OKiN—is used. For example, we can see that even when there was no contact between OKiN anchor and alter, we still had a response rate of about 30 per cent for father and mother alters. Interestingly, however, the effect of quality is not eliminated: there is still some degree of dependence on the frequency of contact, even in OKiN. This may be due to the fact that people who do not have close family ties in general are less likely to participate in a survey on family issues. In sum, OKiN will suffer less from selective non-response of alters than previous multi-actor data.

Finally note that it is also possible to perform a matching operation the other way around, since the alters were approached regardless of the response of the anchor. There are 9,325 alters, and for 6,106 or 65.5 per cent of the alters, there is a responding anchor in the anchor

data. Another issue is to identify who the anchor is in the set of children about whom alter responds. This can be done by matching the children about whom the alter reports to the anchors' reports based on the month and year of birth and gender of anchor. Since we limited the questionnaire to a subset of alter's children (i.e. biological children with current partner, biological children with an ex-partner, stepchildren, and other biological children), it is possible that the anchor child cannot be identified. However, for each subset of children, we requested that up to two reports be provided (if the alter had more than one child that fits that category). Therefore, the chances of being unable to identify the anchor are small.

Basic Descriptives

At this point, we would like to provide the readers with some descriptive information about the experience of family complexity in The Netherlands. All descriptives

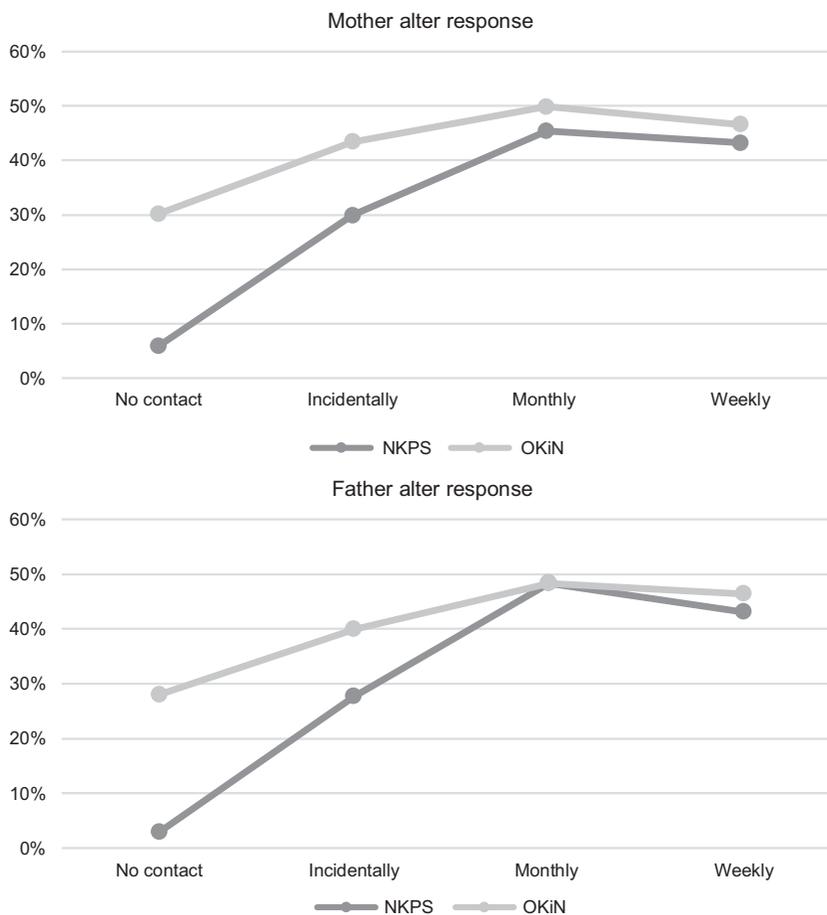


Figure 3. Alter response rates of OKiN compared to NKPS based on contact of anchor and alter

presented in the subsequent tables are based on the weighted sample. The weights corrected for (i) the oversampling of anchors from nonintact families and for the oversampling of stepfamilies in youth among the nonintact households; as well as, (ii) the selectivity in response probability for the different strata (based on factors available in the registers, e.g. gender, current marital status, migration history, income, and place of residence). For more detailed information about the construction of the weights, please, see the detailed technical report on the project's website (familycomplexity.eu). Important to note here is that the responding siblings of our anchors were not assigned a weight and are thus not included in the analyses presented here.

We would like to begin with [Table 6](#), where we display the weighted (thus, nationally representative) estimates of experienced family complexity in youth. As can

be seen, 80.6 per cent of the contemporary adult generations in The Netherlands lived with their two biological parents in youth. What is noteworthy is that, just as shown for other European countries ([Thomson, 2014](#)), family complexity is increasing across cohorts. The prevalence of 'intact' families declines from 85.3 per cent in the 1971–1979 Dutch Cohort to 78.1 per cent in the 1980–1991 Cohort. As previously mentioned in this report, when looking only at the nonintact households in youth, the main pathway into this type of family structure is clearly parental separation, but widowhood is not entirely uncommon. The share of children born in a single-parent family is small (2.0 per cent of the total Dutch population), though it has slightly increased across cohorts.

Another important descriptive to consider is what kind of living arrangements Dutch adults from nonintact households experienced in youth. As can be seen in

Table 6. Family structure in youth by anchor's cohort

	Birth cohort		
	1971–1979 per cent	1980–1991 per cent	Total per cent
Type of family in youth			
Intact	85.3	78.1	80.6
Separated	10.8	16.8	14.6
Widowed	2.6	2.9	2.8
Never together	1.3	2.3	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,875	4,275	6,150
Type of family if nonintact			
Separated	73.3	76.5	75.6
Widowed	17.5	13.0	14.2
Never together	9.2	10.5	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,124	3,104	4,228
Which parent died in youth			
Father died	69.7	58.0	61.9
Mother died	30.3	42.0	38.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	199	295	494
Living arrangement after breakup			
Divorced, lived only with mother	55.4	48.0	50.0
Divorced, lived only with father	5.2	5.8	5.6
Divorced, other parenting arrangements	12.6	22.5	19.9
Father died, lived only with mother	12.2	7.3	8.6
Father died, other parenting arrangements	0.0	0.2	0.2
Mother died, lived only with father	5.0	5.1	5.1
Mother died, other parenting arrangements	0.3	0.3	0.3
Not together at birth, lived with mother	5.7	7.6	7.1
Not together at birth, lived with father	0.1	0.5	0.4
Not together at birth, other parenting structures	3.5	2.6	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,124	3,104	4,228

Note. Weighted results.

Table 6, 50.0 per cent of Dutch adults from nonintact families lived only with their mothers. What is noteworthy is that for the other half of the nonintact population, there is significant heterogeneity in living arrangements. The 'other arrangements' option (not living *only* with father or *only* with mother) is also common, especially after separation. Moreover, this more complex option has become more common across cohorts (i.e. from 12.6 to 22.5 per cent). Note that 'other arrangements' also included shared custody.

We continue with a short discussion of the association between the family structure in which the anchors spent their youth and their educational attainment at the time of data collection. As can be seen in Figure 4,

lower-educated anchors are overrepresented in the group of participants who did not live together with their two biological parents during youth (i.e. 22.9 per cent of the nonintact group are lower educated, whereas that proportion is 13.2 per cent of the intact group). Another way to look at the same association is to examine what proportion of the anchors with different educational attainment experienced a nonintact family structure in youth. Again, Figure 4 demonstrates that this share is largest for the anchors with primary and lower secondary education (i.e. 29.3 per cent of them experienced a nonintact family structure). Still, a non-negligible group of the anchors with professional or academic bachelor and master degrees also lived either only

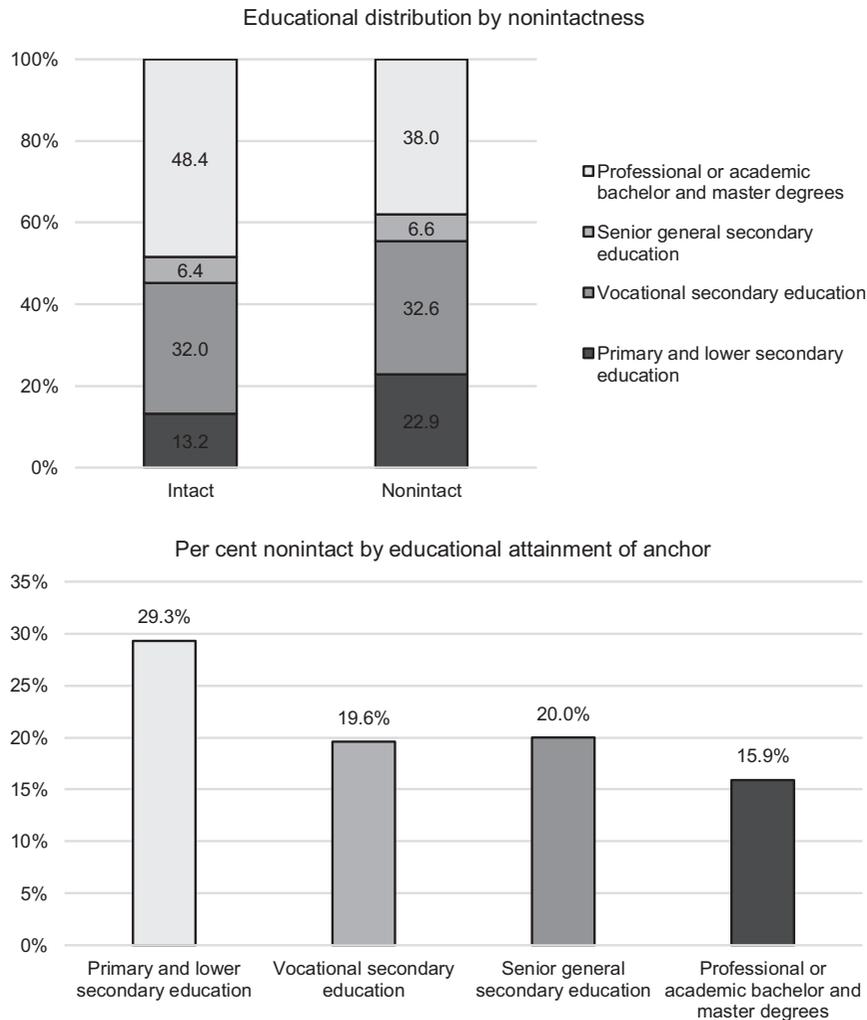


Figure 4. The association between anchor's education and his/her family of origin

Note. Primary and lower secondary education: this includes primary education and pre-vocational programmes with a vocational (VMBO-b/k, LBO) or general and mixed content (VMBO-g/t, MAVO); Vocational secondary education: this includes vocational training to the vocational assistant level (MBO1), basic level (MBO2), professional level (MBO3), and middle-management level (MBO4); Senior general secondary education (HAVO, VWO); Professional or academic bachelor and master degrees (HBO or university). Weighted results. Education is current highest education of anchor, and family structure applies to anchor's youth.

with a biological parent or a biological parent and his/her partner during youth (i.e. 15.9 per cent).

Table 7 provides information about repartnering of the biological parents during the anchor's youth (provided that there was a nonintact structure experienced). As can be seen, 68.8 per cent of fathers and 59.7 per cent of mothers had a new partner during the anchor's youth, with a substantial proportion of these higher-order unions being non-marital cohabitations (i.e. about

46 per cent of both paternal and maternal partnerships). The lack of a substantial difference between fathers' and mothers' repartnering is especially interesting here. However, when we examine whether the anchor lived with a specific step-parent, there is a very pronounced gender difference: whereas 21.7 per cent lived with the new partner of their father during youth (i.e. a coresident stepmother), 41.7 per cent lived with the new partner of their mother (i.e. a coresident stepfather). Also

Table 7. Parent's new partners in youth by anchor's cohort

	Birth cohort		
	1971–1979 per cent	1980–1991 per cent	Total per cent
Number of new partners father			
None	30.8	31.4	31.2
At least one	69.2	68.6	68.8
One	51.6	51.6	51.6
Two	11.9	10.7	11.0
Three+	5.7	6.3	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	884	2,669	3,553
Number of new partners mother			
None	42.2	39.6	40.3
At least one	57.8	60.4	59.7
One	40.1	43.3	42.4
Two	11.1	9.6	10.0
Three+	6.6	7.5	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,052	2,961	4,013
New partner status father youth (nonintact)			
No new partner	30.8	31.4	31.2
LAT partner	8.2	10.3	9.8
Lived with parent	41.5	35.8	37.2
Lived with parent + child	19.5	22.5	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	884	2,669	3,553
New partner status mother youth (nonintact)			
No new partner	42.2	39.6	40.3
LAT partner	12.2	11.1	11.4
Lived with parent	7.3	6.3	6.6
Lived with parent + child	38.3	43.0	41.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,052	2,961	4,013
Marital status repartnered father			
Cohabiting	43.8	47.2	46.3
Married	56.2	52.8	53.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	631	1,806	2,437
Marital status repartnered mother			
Cohabiting	41.7	47.7	46.2
Married	58.3	52.3	53.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	660	2,049	2,709

Note. Weighted results.

note here, the large proportion of young adults who had a 'stepmother at a distance' (37.2 per cent) compared to the few who had such a stepfather (6.6 per cent).

An important issue in the study of stepfamilies in particular has been the fact that higher-order unions are generally less stable than intact families (Lyngstad and

Jalovaara, 2010). Table 8 provides some descriptive information on the stability of reconstructed families in The Netherlands. What can be seen is that when the biological parent repartnered during his/her child's youth, about 38.4–42.7 per cent of these partnerships subsequently ended through separation. Note that the

Table 8. Stability of parents' new partnerships by anchor's cohort

	Birth cohort		Total per cent
	1971–1979 per cent	1980–1991 per cent	
Stability of father's new partner status			
Partner father youth, together	49.9	57.8	55.9
Partner father youth, separated	40.0	37.9	38.4
Partner father youth, partner died	10.0	4.3	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	634	1,965	2,599
Stability of mother's new partner status			
Partner mother youth, together	44.9	48.5	47.6
Partner mother youth, separated	40.2	43.5	42.7
Partner mother youth, partner died	14.9	7.9	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	722	2,252	2,974
Current partner status father (nonintact)			
No current partner father	59.7	53.3	55.0
Partner father is partner youth	26.2	33.5	31.6
Partner father, not partner youth	14.1	13.2	13.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,046	3,013	4,059
Current partner status mother (nonintact)			
No current partner mother	65.6	58.6	60.4
Partner mother is partner youth	23.0	27.5	26.3
Partner mother, not partner youth	11.4	13.9	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,095	3,073	4,168

Note. Only for anchors whose parent is alive. Weighted results.

identification of new partners in anchor's youth is already limited to relationships that lasted 2 years or more. Hence, the instability measures would be even higher if short-term relations were included. In terms of the current partnership status of the older generation, we can see that about the same proportion of fathers and mothers have a partner when their children are between the ages of 25 and 45 years (45 per cent of fathers and 39.6 per cent of mothers). When there is a parental partner, that person has often been there since the anchor's youth; there are later new partners—partners who entered the child's life when he or she was adult—but this is a minority experience (11–14 per cent).

We would now like to move on to two tables which give an impression of the (step)parent–adult child bonds. Table 9 focuses on whether contemporary Dutch adults consider the new partners of their biological parents as 'real' parents. In our survey, all participants whose biological parents had a partner other than the other biological parent at the time of the interview were asked to what extent they agree with the statement, 'I perceive

him/her as a real father/mother' on a scale from 1 = *strongly agree* to 5 = *strongly disagree*. Table 9 shows the proportion of adults who (strongly) agree with those statements, split by pathway into nonintact family structure (separation or widowhood), the time when he or she entered the adult child's life, and history of coresidence between non-biological parent and child. The clearest and most striking finding concerns a gender difference. Whereas 44.2 per cent of individuals whose parents separated in youth perceive the stepfather with whom they shared a residence as a 'real father', that proportion is 17.3 per cent for a coresident stepmother. Note however that the length of coresidence may be higher for stepfathers. What is interesting to note here is that this gender difference is not as pronounced when the stepfamily was formed following widowhood; in that case, 32 per cent perceive the stepfather as a 'real' father and 32.8 per cent would describe the stepmother as a 'real' mother. In general, one can say that there is much heterogeneity in the degree to which children regard their parents' new partners as real parents. Table 9

Table 9. Percentages of Dutch adults (25–45 years old) who describe the new partner of their biological parent as a ‘real parent’

	‘Stepfather’	‘Stepmother’
Step-parent from youth, after divorce with coresidence	44.2	17.3
Step-parent from youth, after divorce without coresidence	9.3	5.8
Step-parent from youth, after widowhood with coresidence	32.0	32.8
Later step-parent (intact and nonintact)	12.2	11.3

Note. Per cent ‘agree’ and ‘fully agree’. Weighted results.

also shows a clear association between a history of coresidence and perceiving a non-biological parent as a ‘real’ parent—agreeing with that statement is substantially less common when the child and the non-biological parent did not live in the same household.

Finally, [Table 10](#) gives the reader an impression of the frequency of face-to-face contact between our anchors and the different parental figures in their lives (only for anchors who do not live with that parent figure). Not surprisingly, the most frequent face-to-face contact was reported with biological parents who were together throughout the anchor’s youth. What is particularly interesting to observe, when it comes to contact with biological parents, is the gender difference in contact with a separated biological mother and a separated biological father. Whereas 56.0 per cent of the anchors reported weekly face-to-face contact with their separated mothers, that proportion was 25.5 per cent for separated fathers. The gender gap is still present, yet not nearly as pronounced, when we consider widowed biological parents: 65.8 per cent of anchors had weekly face-to-face contact with their widowed mothers and 57.1 per cent with their widowed fathers. These descriptive findings are very much in line with the presentation of women as the traditional ‘kin-keepers’ within families: there is less contact between the biological father and his adult child when the biological mother does not facilitate that link. What is also interesting to point out here is that gender differences are reversed for step-parents. Weekly face-to-face contact is a lot less common with stepmothers from youth who are still with the biological father (11.4 per cent) than for stepfathers from youth who are still with the biological mother (42.8 per cent). An interesting question to consider here is whether this is the consequence of shared residence between anchor and step-parent (more frequent with stepfathers than stepmothers as shown before) or whether the more frequent contact with stepfathers is due to the more frequent contact with the separated biological mothers who are living with them.

Conclusion

The OKiN survey was conceived as a way to enable the exploration of questions related to intergenerational reproduction and long-term intergenerational solidarity at a time of increasing family complexity. Though the proliferation of diverse family forms has been a prominent research theme in the past decades, the availability of high-quality, representative data on adults raised in non-intact families and households has been a significant challenge, both in the European context and in the United States. The multi-actor nature of the survey, with an oversample of adults who grew up in nonintact households, makes it possible to test a larger and more interesting set of theoretical mechanisms, going beyond the traditional opposition between biological and non-biological parenting. The OKiN survey was also designed to cover a wide range of topics which can appeal not only to family researchers but also to inequality and health researchers.

Although this data collection focused on children raised by biological parents and/or their partners, a currently ongoing ‘spin-off’ data collection will expand the OKiN survey with an additional 330 cases of adult children raised by adoptive parents. These individuals will be added to the core OKiN sample in a subsequent release of the data. Furthermore, though OKiN did not purposefully target non-heterosexual parents, an associated data collection, UNICON (Unions in Context; [Fischer et al., 2016](#)), has been carried out among same-sex and mixed-sex couples in The Netherlands, using a sampling frame based on the population registers.

The OKiN data are meant to be utilized exclusively for scientific purposes and precautions have been taken to comply with and enforce Dutch privacy laws, especially with regard to the participants’ anonymity. The OKiN survey is enriched with an extensive list of register-based variables (e.g. income in quintiles, distances between places of residence of adult children and (step)parents). Therefore, though available to the wider

Table 10. Per cent face-to-face contact of Dutch adults (25–45 years old) with various types of parents

	Weekly+	Monthly	Less	Never	Total	N
Face-to-face contact mother figure						
Biological mother, intact family	70.6	21.3	7.0	1.2	100.0	1,730
Biological mother, separated family	56.0	24.8	13.5	5.7	100.0	3,113
Stepmother from youth, still there	11.4	25.1	37.6	25.9	100.0	894
Stepmother from youth, not with father	2.9	2.0	14.3	80.8	100.0	308
Later stepmother, still there	26.2	25.5	30.4	17.9	100.0	303
Biological mother, widowed family	65.8	17.0	16.9	0.4	100.0	297
Biological mother, original single-parent family	57.1	19.6	13.1	10.2	100.0	310
Face-to-face contact father figure						
Biological father, intact family	66.6	22.9	8.7	1.7	100.0	1,600
Biological father, separated family	25.5	23.9	29.8	20.8	100.0	2,731
Stepfather from youth, still there	42.8	32.0	18.3	6.9	100.0	1,632
Stepfather from youth, not with mother	4.0	3.5	13.0	79.5	100.0	1,025
Later stepfather, still there	31.0	28.6	25.7	14.7	100.0	576
Biological father, widowed family	57.1	22.4	12.4	8.2	100.0	166
Biological father, original single-parent family	14.5	25.6	34.0	25.9	100.0	184

Note. Family type defined in youth. Only for anchors who do not live with the parent.

scientific community, access to the complete data can only take place via the remote-access option provided by CBS. CBS offers access to its register and survey microdata to the research community through the Microdata Services department. Both domestic and foreign research institutes and universities can apply for an authorization to access the data which can be granted after consultation with CBS and the OKiN team, based on a brief research description. Linkable microdata from the full range of statistical subjects can be analysed within a secure network environment from which results can be exported after they have been checked by CBS for non-disclosure of information that could possibly be traced back to individual persons or institutions. Being a service additional to CBS mandatory statistical programme and therefore necessarily self-supporting, Microdata Services has to charge all operational costs to their users. Further information, including the catalogue of available microdata, application procedures, costs, overviews of authorized institutions and their projects currently running, and contact information, can be found at www.cbs.nl/en-gb/microdata. Additionally, a free version of the OKiN data, without the *full* set of register variables, will be made available via the Dutch Data Archiving and Network Services (DANS; dans.knaw.nl).

The OKiN survey was carried out through the collaborative effort of the UvA and CBS. This data collection is part of the ongoing research project, ‘Family complexity: Intergenerational reproduction and solidarity in an era of family complexity’, financed by an ERC Advanced Grant

and headed by Matthijs Kalmijn. The research team is embedded in the Institutions, Inequalities, and Life Courses (ILL) group of the Sociology Department of University of Amsterdam. Further information about the UvA-based team which spearheaded this project, as well as a more detailed technical report, can be found on the project’s website (familycomplexity.eu).

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