The impact of parental income and education on the quality of their children

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Preface

Dear reader,

In front of you is my Master thesis, the result of a process started in 2011. Writing this thesis was interrupted by another thesis, by a job that lasted more than a year and to be honest by quite a lot of fun weekends abroad. There was also the occasional insecurity about whether I would be able to deliver a decent end result. I was very lucky to be amongst people who have supported me all the way, even with all the delays and insecurities. I want to thank my friends for helping me focus on the end result and supporting me when I needed it. My family deserves a word of gratitude for their patience and their support, even though they were not always sure what I was up to in Wageningen. I also want to thank the study advisors Gineke Boven and Loes Maas for helping me with finishing my study and all the support that was needed in order to achieve this. Special thanks go to my thesis supervisor, Johan van Ophem, for all the time he put into guiding me though the process and for all the given feedback. I have learned a lot during the process thanks to him. Gerrit Antonides deserves some thanks too for reading and examining the end result.

Wageningen University, June 2014.

Tom Belzer

Abstract

This research is about how the quality of children is influenced by parental education and income. There are several strains upon Dutch families possibly causing a decline in quality. Furthermore, an integral overview of what the quality of children is does not exist. The main research question was: How do the income and the education level of parents influence the quality of children in The Netherlands? This question was answered by looking at the way quality upbringing is defined in scientific literature and subsequently looking at how parental income and education influence this quality of upbringing. The main hypotheses which were tested stated that there is a positive and significant relation between both parental income and parental education on the one hand and the quality of their children on the other hand.

Quality was conceptualized using five capital types; social, cultural, symbolic, economic and human capital. Social capital is primarily constituted of networks and neighbourhood indicators, cultural capital of educational attainment and cultural activities, symbolic capital of economic indicators, freedom and parental care, economic capital of allowances and possessions and human capital of education, skills and health.

The level of quality for children was measured from the point of view of the parents, by holding a survey among 251 of them. This has lead to a dataset of 87 respondents for education and a dataset of 45 respondents for income. The survey measured an extensive amount of quality indictors per capital type, which were in turn analyzed using a mix of regression analysis, Kendall's Tau correlations and the Phi coefficient.

Evidence has been found for a positive significant relationship between both income and education of the parents on the one hand and the quality of children on the other hand. The amount of evidence differs per type of capital. For parental income the most evidence was found with economic capital of children, for parental education there was no type of capital showing significantly more results than any other type. The positive and significant relationship between the two parental indicators and the quality of children cannot be translated to all determinants for quality, as there were many variables yielding no significant results at all.

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1. Introduction

Chapter one serves as an introduction to the research. It starts by giving some background information about the subject, putting the quality of children in an historical perspective. Subsequently both the relevance of the research and a problem statement will be discussed, before moving on to the goal and research questions. The end of the chapter provides an outline of the rest of the thesis.

The changing world of children

The world of children has been undergoing many changes. Big differences are notable between the 15th century and now. In the middle ages the birth of a child meant uncertainty (De Hoog, 1994). It was only after a couple of weeks that a couple could be a little bit certain about their child's survival. However, the life of both the parents and the child remained one of hazards, where the keyword was not living, but surviving. It was not uncommon for children to start working at a very young age and when parents needed the money, it was not uncommon to sell children as servants meaning that the children would never see the parents again. This predominantly economic valuation of children was culturally acceptable until the 19th century. In the 20th century the emotional and affective asset of having children precedes the economic valuation. Since this way of thinking about children became dominant, the period that children were allowed to "remain a child" has more than doubled (De Hoog, 1994). Several developments contributed to this shift in the way of thinking about children.

Zelizer (1985) describes how the death of a child became something unacceptable during the 19th century and child life became more and more something sacred, something to cherish. This also meant that a child was increasingly allowed to be a child, and started to live in a somewhat separate world from adults. From the 19th century on child labour laws and compulsory education changed the role of the child to being economically useless but emotionally invaluable. Both De Hoog (1994) and Zelizer (1985) describe how this "sacred child" was blessed with more personal space in the years onward from the 18th century. This personal space could be seen in for example car-free spaces outside when the streets became congested and having an own room inside the house. The personal space has been vastly growing in the last couple of years, when computers gave children the possibility to live an individualized life on the internet or with games. Opportunities for creating an individual image of oneself in general have risen (Giddens, 2001). Globalization plays a role in this trend because of enhanced possibilities for communication outside of local communities, meaning that the possibilities for compiling the life one wants to have increased.

From about 1950 onwards, children were established in a secure group of relatives for the first time in history, creating what is called a "prolonged family". This was because the life expectancy of people grew creating more generations in one family than ever. Furthermore child mortality rates declined. Because of this, in combination with higher costs of child rearing, the number of children within a family declined (Janssens, 2003). At the same time, the amount of families living together shrunk. It can thus be concluded that the period from 1950 onwards saw big changes in the world of children and families. Several factors play a key role in this development; the introduction of child labour laws and compulsory education,

changes in the way children were raised, the changing role for families as a whole and the consumer society and welfare states which arose after the Second World War.

The decline of child labour and the rise of compulsory education

The 19th century saw the rise of child labour laws and compulsory education, two very important factors changing the world of children. But before that took place industrialization lead to the increase of child labour in the period around 1800. When real incomes rose though, males were increasingly expected to earn a family living while children became unemployed. They would suppress adult wages if they would keep on working, some said. The decline of child labour became a controversial topic. In the United States it was difficult to get nationwide child labour laws. Economic value was set against emotional value in two opposing views. People supporting the "useful child" had arguments like: "*We don't want to rear up a generation of non-workers*", "*If a child is not trained into useful work before age 18, we shall have a nation of paupers and thieves*", "*Work is a socialiser: it keeps them busy and out of mischief*" and "*It is the free will of families to decide whether their children work or not*". People supporting the "useless child" said: "*A commercialization of child life should not be*" and "*A child is worthy of the parents' sacrifice*". The latter view seems to have won the moral battle (Zelizer, 1985). In the period that this moral battle was fought, ambiguity arose about what should be defined as child labour and what the difference was between child labour and work for children. The consensus became that child labour served the household economy, whereas child work served the child itself. This work often came in the form of household chores, for which children could earn some pocket money (or allowance) for themselves while at the same time learning something about the household and the tasks relating to it (Zelizer, 1985).

In the 20th century education became more and more important as a property to possess; children need it in order to succeed in life (De Singly and Cichelli, 2003). Many parents respond to this need by being active in supporting their children when it comes to education, an attitude contradicting the previous view of children only being useful when generating family income. They think that the task of raising children is not complete until the kid finds a meaningful job, allowing them to earn an own income. Schooling thus is a family matter, and it is presented somewhat as a job replacing work for pay and household chores. Children gradually stayed in school longer, so they were also dependent on the original family for a longer time (De Singly and Cichelli, 2003).

Some changes in the upbringing of children

Throughout the late 19th and the 20th century the focus of raising children was shifted towards the children getting to know themselves. Autonomy and "joie de vivre" are still important traits according to many parents. This autonomy is something children should adopt in the course of their childhood. The trial and error way of achieving this can be difficult to witness for many parents though (De Singly and Cichelli, 2003). This could cause doubts with the parents about the correct way of bringing up the children.

Along with a growing autonomy came the fact that children are more often allowed to negotiate with their parents regarding a lot of issues diminishing the paternal authority. Parents used to define everything, from who their children should marry to what toys they were getting; compliance and discipline used to be important values (De Hoog, 1994). Self-development and independence are nowadays more important goals with raising children. However, because simple raising instruments like rewards and punishment became less

socially accepted with the decline of authority, along with the trend of a growing autonomy, parents became a lot more insecure about how to properly raise children. The most secure parents are still the ones maintaining a quite conservative way of raising children (De Hoog, 1994).

The changing role of households and the relevance of families

Changes in the world of children are set in an environment of changes within the family and in households. One example of this was already discussed in the previous part about the prolonged family. In the family rapport of the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning agency, a family is defined as being a living arrangement in which one or more adults have the responsibility for taking care of the upkeep and upbringing of one or more children. So the function of this family is raising children and bringing them up (SCP, 2011). Dubois (2000) claims that a family is associated with three major roles; facilitate social life, provide psychological support and provide for the wellbeing of its members. A family might be called a "social cell" in which all these roles should be present.

Throughout the last centuries, material conditions for the average household improved. New consumption goals arose in the 18th century due to a broadened choice of consumer technologies, producing goods that consumers had sought for. Substitution arose between those products and time-inputs for the household. In the course of time, specialization within the household took place. The man made a living, the woman did the household and the children learned. De Vries (2008) calls this typology the "breadwinner-homemaker household". In general this type of household is a nuclear family, consisting of father, mother and children living together in a home.

Because income was provided solely by the father, income and goods bought from it were increasingly shared when the nuclear family became the predominant form. After about 1950 though, people started to question the value of shared goods within the household again (De Vries, 2008). Consumption became more a matter of individual persons in the household, which was showed for example in less sharing of meals together. There was less household production, and there were more convenience goods and more commercially provided services bought (De Vries, 2008). These commercial services include professional care for children when parents are working. While a house creates a physical context for daily activities for the family, it went from a place dominated by work and production to a place for leisure and consumption due to the rising wages and improved securities in life (Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003).

Changes in marriage and family are thus characterized by specialization and differentiation (Zwart, 1994). With specialization is meant that the number of functions of the family for its members went down. There are fewer bindings between members. Differentiation means that there are these days more different family types and living forms. Besides this it can be noticed that family and household are not as often the same anymore as it used to be.

The rise of welfare states

The state influenced a lot of developments during the period after the Second World War. It did so by shaping labour force participation, making policy on education, making labour laws and pension policies. Also, through for example subsidies incomes were increasingly redistributed among the population, meaning the beginning of the welfare state was imminent

(Johnson, 1999). After consulting different definitions, the welfare state might be described as a bundle of policies from different institutions, which differs from country to country, and targets socially disadvantaged groups. Living standards of some previously disadvantaged people had gone up, nutritional standards got better, housing got better and more people owned a home. Especially in the working class, big improvements on health were made. Job stability went up and so did the wages (Johnson, 1999). After the 1940's wage levels were high enough to allow most of the children to go to school for a longer period of time.

In The Netherlands there was enormous economic growth at that time. For all social groups the welfare level went up. Due to this rising welfare, a "consumer society" grew. At the same time a greater share of the parental budget was dedicated to their children (Janssens, 2003). There were more possibilities for going on holiday, spending time at an amusement park or zoo and having space for personal expression like discussed earlier in this chapter. More allowances (meant to teach children how to use money) increased the possibilities for children to buy personal possessions (Zelizer, 1985). The consumer society can thus be associated with a further increase in the quality of life for children.

Conclusion

It is clear that childhood has changed considerably during the last two decades. This change seems to have a big influence on the quality of life for children. Child labour was replaced with compulsory education, increasing the knowledge level for children thus increasing the possibilities in life. The economic validation of children was replaced with seeing childhood as something sacred, something that should be cherished. This has lead to a higher level of autonomy with children and a wish to give children "joie de vivre", something which was enhanced by limiting the insecurities of an unstable family composition. Negotiation with the parents became a possibility. At the same time material conditions and health standards became better while parents became richer with the formation of welfare states. All of these developments seem to have one thing in common: They increase the possibility for children to build up a high quality life. The developments do come with a price tag though, as parents became increasingly insecure about the proper way to raise children with the lack of a dominant raising pattern based compliance and discipline.

1.1 Relevance of this research and the problem statement

The previous chapter has demonstrated how some important developments add to the relevance of this research. There have been some changes in the way children are brought up while at the same time parents face uncertainty with regard to what it the best way to raise their children. This chapter continues by looking at possible problems these (and other) changes with families can cause. Furthermore the topic of welfare states will continue with some discourse about how the welfare state is changing in The Netherlands, resulting in significant income effects on families with children (SCP, 2011).

Possible problems with families

In the past few decades the family seemed to lose some of its significance, while people become more individualized. Families are losing cohesion, according to Komter and Vollebergh (2002) due to woman entering the labour market, the liberalization of norms and values and a rising divorce rate.

They add there are several other demographic variables that can cause strain upon the family:

- Families are getting smaller
- Getting children is postponed
- There is a rising number of children born out of wedlock

Besides the demographic developments which cause strain upon families there are also welfare constraints which can do so. Saraceno (2003) describes four problems that have emerged regarding both demographic variables and welfare states in general. All of them enhance the chances of families getting involved into stressful situations.

1. The population is ageing, birth rates are reduced and life expectancy rises
2. Jobs for life and marriages for life are getting ever more rare
3. Values are changed, seen in for example gender expectations and relationships between generations
4. Governmental funds are running low while boundaries between family and state responsibility are not clear anymore

In most Western societies, the family is still of quite great importance, but Komter and Vollebergh (2002) wonder for how long this will last. Several researchers attach value to this question. Some researchers show that the process of individualization coincides with a diminished identification with, and loyalty towards the family.

The problems displayed above coincide with more transitions within families. Each transition in a family is accompanied with a modest increase in behavioural problems for children (Osborne and McLanahan, 2007). This can be seen for example with reconstituted families, which are families where at least one of the adults has got children from a previous marriage or relationship. The original parent of this child will still have influence and power, which might create difficulties when there is a lack of sufficient cooperation between both original parents. When children from different families (and thus different backgrounds) are put together in one family this might cause strains between the children because of cultural differences (Giddens, 2001). The instable factors, such as divorces and new family forms, have however not been rising for the last couple of years (SCP, 2011). Families with lower incomes and low educated parents tend to show the most instability thus creating the most chances for problematic behaviour with children (SCP, 2011). This problematic behaviour can be associated with a lower quality of life.

Problematic behaviour could also be caused by certain ways of bringing up children, for example with allowing children too much and subsequently spoiling them. Children and their parents these days face a lot of non-family specialists who tell them what is the best way to behave. Parents tend to get the idea that it is hard to do the “right” thing. Especially psychoanalysts nowadays request, once again, more authority from parents within boundaries of autonomous development of the kid (De Singly and Cichelli, 2003). This would actually be better for both the parents who are gaining more security and the children growing into a higher quality life.

Welfare state reforms: Shifting financial responsibilities

At the time this research was conducted there was a growing number of disadvantaging circumstances for families in the Netherlands. The last two Dutch governments saw and see the financial responsibility of care for children in the first place with parents themselves. Changes implemented include a lowering of discounts for sole parents and lowering the height of governmental benefits for child day care. Families with a low income are hit relatively hard compared to other socioeconomic groups in the population (SCP, 2011). This could eventually lead to financial problems for some of these families. In 2011, somewhere between 200.000 and 300.000 children in the Netherlands grew up in relative poverty.

A problem might be that while the state holds the family accountable for raising children more than before, the trend is that care within the family is getting less with the increasing individualization and some other developments. Children are for example spending more time in day care than some years ago, though this might be mitigated these days by the governmental cuts. The redistribution of responsibilities goes along with a growing uncertainty about them. An unclear distribution of responsibilities might lead to responsibilities not being taken.

Due to all the changes in society at this moment, income is once again an important variable for the quality of children. Income has always played an important role in this quality, but for two centuries long it used to be a driving force behind increasing the quality of life for children. Especially when the welfare states emerged people could finally afford to give their children a lot more than before. However, with the current economic problems, income might just play a different role in shaping quality children. It could even be the case that declining income diminishes quality for a lot of children, not only because of this declining income, but also because this decline is relatively high compared to children who still get a lot from their "rich" parents. These are therefore interesting times to look at where children's quality stands.

Conclusion

The information thus far displays how the childhood and the role of families have changed considerably during the last two decades. Since the Second World War there have been developments with the role of families in exchange with the rise of welfare states and a consumer society. The recent changes with both families and welfare states could cause problems for the development of the quality in life for children. Rising insecurities on how children should be raised can enhance these problems.

The rising income of families and the effects this has had on the role of children in the family as well as their quality is a central theme in this matter, especially at a time in which there are uncertainties about the distribution of the burden of the costs of children between families and the government. It can also be seen that the level of education has gone up considerably for both the parents and their children. This has lead to more possibilities for building a high quality life. Also with regards to subsidies for the education of children, welfare state reforms were introduced possibly influencing this quality. Add to that the fact, which has been the conclusion of a preliminary search on this topic, that there is limited information available on quality indicators for kinship care and a foundation is laid for researching to contemporary quality position of children, which can be linked to the income and education level of their parents being important indicators for possible differences between groups of children.

1.2 Goal

The lack of information on kinship care for the overall quality of children is what leads to the first goal of this research; to give an overview of relevant literature about the quality of children. This research includes an overall picture of quality instead of focussing on one aspect of it, since this overall view on kinship care is missing from the literature. The conceptual framework in chapter two provides the overview of what constitutes the quality of children.

The second goal is to give an overview about the current quality situation of children in The Netherlands by using the determinants from the literature review in the conceptual framework. This is useful since little is known of the overall quality in the current changing environment for families in The Netherlands. The quality was measured from the parental point of view by using a survey. Income and education were used as independent variables for this research, since both are important indicators for differences in quality.

1.3 Research questions

To reach the goal stated above, some research questions will have to be answered. They are outlined below. The main research question will be answered in the conclusion; the other questions serve to give direction to the research and will be related to different chapters and hypothesis which will be addressed in the conceptual framework.

Main research question:

- How do the income and the education level of parents influence the quality of children in The Netherlands?

The main research question will be answered with the following questions:

- How is quality upbringing in general defined in literature?
- How does income of the parents relate to quality of the children?
- How does education of the parents relate to quality of the children?

1.4 The outline of the thesis

This thesis contains several sections leading up to answering the research questions. The next chapter will provide the reader with a conceptual framework of the key concepts. At first the independent parental indicators of income and education will be introduced. After that a review of literature about the quality of children in general will follow. The largest part of the chapter consists of describing the five different types of capital children can obtain. These types of capital are subsequently used to analyze the quality of children. Chapter three explains the methodology which is used in this research. A literature review and a survey are the main research methods. The operationalization of key concepts follows the methodology chapter and after that the obtained sample of data will be described using key variables from

the dataset. Chapter four outlines the empirical findings from the survey per type of capital and ends with a list of accepted and rejected hypotheses. Chapter five follows up on this by answering the research questions and giving a conclusion on the entire thesis. A discussion follows in chapter six and some recommendations for future research are provided in chapter seven. The end of the thesis outlines the sources used and includes some appendices, with the most important appendix being the survey used to gather data.

2. Conceptual framework

This chapter serves as a framework for this research. By consulting theory regarding the quality of children, a frame is built which was used to process the data in a structured way. The first part of chapter 2 will look into the independent variables; the parental indicators income and education. The second part of the chapter serves as an introduction into the concept of quality (of children) in general. Building on this foundation, the rest of the conceptual framework will look in-depth at several "capital forms" as a conceptual way of measuring the quality of children. At the end of each capital chapter some hypotheses are formulated. Together all hypotheses will serve as structure for answering the research questions.

2.1 Independent variables: Income and education of the parents

It is expected that both income and education of parents are important indictors for the quality of children. Parents with a higher income are able to give their children more (e.g. allowances/ possessions) while parents with a higher education have got more possibilities to give their children a quality life. More on this last notion will be discussed in this chapter.
Both indicators are used as independent variables for this research.

2.1.1 Parental income as an indicator for the quality of children

Magrabi et al. (1991) see it as the ultimate goal of households to take care for the wellbeing of its members, including the children living in the household. This can be achieved through consumption, which is described as the use of commodities by households. Using commodities consists of the acquisition of goods, using them to maintain wellbeing and disposing them. Household demand for goods and services are mainly determined by the price of the product as well as the income and wealth available in the household in combination with preferences of the household. Income, wealth and prices together make up a budget constraint, defining what can be bought. Based on preferences and the budget constraint, households (and thus parents) try to maximize their utility (Case et. al., 1999).

Households derive income from three main sources: Wages, property and the government. The income from labour is the primary income; the secondary income (or the income that can be spent) includes all the extras granted by the government (SCP, 2011). Wages can vary depending on the jobs of household members and the number of members in the household. At the same time, education can have an effect on the type of job resulting in differing wages between different families and subsequently differences in property possession. Governmental welfare benefits most often go to low income households as a way of compensating for the low income, but still the top earning households in The Netherlands have got more available resources than the households with a low income (Case et. al., 1999). Though the government grants benefits to families (partly) in return for the societal (economic) benefit when children have grown up, families themselves remain the first responsible for the upbringing of their children and having enough money to do so.

With the current government in the Netherlands, the costs for the parents only get higher because of the cutting of several child-related subsidies. The budget of households is going down, meaning the utility will generally go down with it. Furthermore, having more children will negatively affect the spendable income. A small rise in spendable income can be seen when children get older, but the only noticeable rise in spendable income for parents will come when children leave the house of their elders (SCP, 2011). The conclusion is thus that children cost their parents money. The quality of children is subsequently dependent on the budget constraint of the household and the effort put into taking care of the wellbeing of all household members.

2.1.2 Parental education as an indicator for the quality of children

Many articles discussing parental influences on quality indicators of children (often on education and health) not only discuss income of the parents as an influential factor but also the education level of the parents. As was seen in chapter 1, the 19th century saw a rise in compulsory education laws in the western world. The result is that all citizens have had some type of formal schooling, subsequently creating a high literacy-rate among citizens (Giddens, 2001). Basic skills like reading, writing and maths have become vital in modern societies and getting a job requires this education as well as a set of qualified skills and knowledge. As education became seen as a necessity for children to succeed in life, parents became supportive towards their children when it comes to education (De Singly and Cichelli, 2003). Schooling became a family matter in which children became at least partly dependent on the education level of the parents. Parents with little knowledge can be less supportive after all; they are less able to help with things children need to learn at school. Furthermore it is apparent that parents with higher education levels spend more time doing interactive activities, like walking and playing, which can be explained by the felt necessity to invest in children for their future benefit (SCP, 2011). These activities can have an influence on the scholastic achievement of their children, but also on other child quality indicators like health.

2.2 The quality of children in general

The quality of children is an important concept in this research. Chapter 2.2 aims at introducing the concept of quality in general, including theory on wellbeing, needs and preferences as well as information about quality in professional childcare. Before moving on to this theory, let's look at a very broad concept, the notion of "quality of life". McCall (1975) defined Quality of life as *"The degree to which an individual or group has obtained the conditions for happiness and thus a measure of well-being"*. So quality of life relates to wellbeing.

To understand the wellbeing of children, looking at the wellbeing of households is important. Families often live in households and children grow up in families. For measuring wellbeing on a macro-level, Magrabi et al. (1991) mentions several ways:

1. Objective indexes of wellbeing, like economic situation, health, employment and environmental factors.
2. Social indicators, like life expectancy and average sick-days.

3. Subjective measures of satisfaction regarding for example health and economic situation.
4. Process benefits; satisfaction derived from performing activities in which inputs are used to produce wellbeing.
5. Social welfare indexes, for example security and pleasure.

Most of these indicators can be translated to the level of households, for example the economic situation of the household, health of its members and the feeling of security. Income is an important concept for wellbeing, but when looking at the level of households, the concept of consumption is generally regarded even more important (Atkinson, 1991). This consumption in turn relates to several of the factors explained above (e.g. getting satisfaction from consumption goods), while income is needed to consume. Consumption is described by Spicker et. al. (2006) as: *"The process of using goods and services in a system of needs and wants"*. Magrabi et. al. (1991) add that the actual consumption of household members should be measured in order to properly measure wellbeing. Wellbeing subsequently becomes a state of health, comfort or happiness as an outcome of consumption.

Because needs and wants are related to consumption, as Spicker et. al. (2006) point out, it is useful to look at what needs are in general and what they are for children. When looking at needs in general, they can be divided into four categories according to Spicker:

1. Normative: According to norms, usually set by experts
2. Comparative: Problems which arise compared to others who are not in need
3. Felt need: From the perspective of the needful person
4. Expressed need: What people say they need

It is clear when looking at these categories that need can be subjective; something can be needful because someone has less than people in their surroundings, or because someone feels a need because of other reasons. More objective needs are those that can be considered as basic needs. Basic needs are said to include two elements (Spicker et. al., 2006):

1. Certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: Adequate food, shelter and clothing as well as certain household furniture and equipment.
2. Essential services provided by and for the community at large: Safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health, education and cultural facilities.

Basic needs are thus needed for survival, whereas other needs are less basic while still felt like needful. When it comes to children, there is a difference between raising children taking into account (basic) needs and raising them up to social standards. Raising up to social standards would (in the Western world) mean higher costs than raising taking only basic needs into account. Physical, social and intellectual needs felt due to social expectations all cost money to obtain. The more the needs of children are met, the higher the quality of those children can be considered.

General determinants of quality of children

Raising high quality children thus requires much more than raising children according to basic needs. It already became apparent that the parental income and education can play a

large role in this (high) quality formation, but what determinants can be found when looking at the concept of quality more in-depth? Looking at scholarly literature it can be seen that most articles are about the quality for children in a professional childcare setting (e.g. day care), while less information can be found on kinship care. In an article by Helburn and Howes (1996), the quality in a day care setting is split into process quality and structural quality. Process quality is about how children experience the care whereas structural quality is about (objective) quality indicators regulated by the government.

Table 2.1: Quality in day care centres according to Helburn and Howes (1996)

Process quality	**Structural quality**
Interaction child-adult: sensitivity, harshness, detachment, involvement	Group size (1)
Attitude towards children	Adult-child ratio
Learning activities with children	Experience with children
Health and safety aspects of the environment	Formal education

(1): When translated to kinship care: Becker (1960) invented a model which suggests that parents make a quantity-quality trade-off when it comes to children. In this Quantity-Quality model it is being argued that the investment per child goes down when more children enter the family.

The determinants in table 2.1 can at least partly be translated into a kinship care environment. Parents should be sensitive and involved, while having a positive attitude towards their children. Learning activities are good for children and there should be a safe and healthy environment at home. At the same time having less children will in general lead to a higher quality per child and higher educated parents can have a positive influence on for example the learning capabilities of children. In a day care environment formal education would of course be related to childcare, which will often not be the case in a domestic environment. Experience with raising children might help parents, but probably not as much as in a day care environment the experience of caregivers will. Whether children will receive the care-determinants from parents or other adults does not seem to matter. The development of children in both short and long term does not seem to be harmed when care is given by other people than the parents (Helburn and Howes, 1996).

Other sources discussing quality care in general discuss similar determinants as those discussed by Helburn and Howes (1996). The Dutch Social and Cultural Planning agency argues that the best way of bringing up children is made up by the following factors (SCP, 2011):

- Show the children you love them
- Support the children
- Rules, structure and discipline when necessary
- Parents have to trust their competences as a parent.

The upbringing of children is meant to guide them to being a full participant in society and can be achieved by providing them with a protecting environment and transferring knowledge, values and norms. Parents differ in the way they want to do this and different children will require different tactics. These tactics parents have when raising children can differ on three levels of strategy; *being supportive* (affection, sensitivity to needs of children), *control* (authoritive: giving information on what behaviour is acceptable, authoritarian: conditioning (reward/ punishment/ ignoring) without giving explanations) and *structure* (rhythm for children and orderly environment as well as consistent behaviour by parents);

Being supportive and authoritive while maintaining some structure works the best (SCP, 2011). Reay (2004) adds that taking care of children involves practical work, educating children and emotional support.

Social, cognitive and linguistic abilities of children are all linked to quality child care (Helburn and Howes, 1996). This is shown for example in confidence, lack of aggressive inclinations and proficient language use of children. Lower quality care can lead to more aggression with children and a lower achievement in school. Furthermore the SCP (2011) says that the upbringing can be negatively affected by one parent families due to emotional difficulties and a possible low income of the sole parent. Composed families can also negatively affect the upbringing as it puts strain on the family and there are possibly different opinions regarding the upbringing among the parents. Low income and a lower education level of the parents can also have a negative influence according to the SCP, which strengthens the evidence found so far for a relationship between parental income and education on the one hand and the quality of children on the other hand.

Part of a good upbringing thus involves transferring norms and values to children, but these norms and values might differ to a large extend from family to family. In the rapport of the SCP (2011) a sequence is published showing what parents in The Netherlands think are important norms and values which should be transferred to their children:

1. Autonomy (feeling responsibility, individual judgement)
2. Assertiveness (stranding up for oneself, pursue own goals)
3. Conformity (good manors, respect for elderly people)
4. Social feeling (considering other people, being tolerant)
5. Performance (school results, being ambitious)

It can be concluded that many parents will teach their children accordingly. This does not mean the “best quality” results will also be achieved in this way.

2.3 Forms of capital

In order to analyze the data from the survey in a more structured way, a framework of determinants is needed. Although the information in chapter 2.2 is useful, no integral framework for quality children can be build with these elements. In this research the quality of children is therefore framed through looking at it from a capital forms point of view. Different forms of capital possessed by both parents and other people can be transferred to children and altogether define the quality of children. The literature review below leads to different hypotheses which will be tested using the dataset obtained. The five forms of capital as will be introduced are social capital, cultural capital, symbolic capital, economic capital and human capital. Before discussing these different forms of capital with their determinants and importance for this case, a general introduction about the “capital point of view” will be given. The authors associated with capital theory will be introduced and other concepts related to the forms of capital (field and habitus being the most important concepts) will be discussed.

2.3.1 An introduction to the forms of capital

According to Lin (2000) the theory on capital can be traced back to the theory of Karl Marx, stemming from the end of the 19th century. Whereas class used to be considered an important divider between groups containing different amounts of capital, the focus has since shifted to an individual (micro) and communities, groups and organizations (macro) based distinction with less focus on social classes. Furthermore, the focus of capital theory used to be on economics, while authors like Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam have since broadened the scope of the term capital to include for example cultural and social aspects. Relevant investments have to be made in order to acquire the different types of capital (Reay, 2004). These investments subsequently increase the chances for desirable outcomes for actors, such as getting a better job, receiving higher earnings and having a better health (Lin, 2000).

In this research the capital theory will primarily be discussed in the light of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002). Bourdieu refers in several books (like "Distinction" (1984) and "Forms of capital" (1986)) to four types of capital; economic, cultural, social and symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu posed his four forms of capital as an alternative to human capital theory. In this research the concept of human capital is discussed on top of the four concepts from Bourdieu. All the types of capital in interaction with each other determine advantages and disadvantages of individual actors in society (Reay, 2004 & Morrow, 2001). Furthermore, through complex interaction, different forms of capital can be transformed into each other (Reay, 2004).

It is the competence of some people which grants them the power to get, maintain and reproduce their advantaged position (Leonard, 2005). People with fewer competences have got little exchange value when it comes to the value they possess compared to the value possessed by "competent people". For it is that children are seen as "naturally incompetent" it might be difficult for them to convert capital through exchange. For capital formation they are thus largely dependent on others. To the extend that children do exchange capital, the way they do it might be different for them than for adults; they might for example be less strategic in what value to pursue for long time gain (Leonard, 2005).

Habitus and field

The theoretical work of Bourdieu encompasses more then just the forms of capital itself. Other concepts related to capital are the concepts of *field* and of *habitus*. Social action is generated trough all three components; through capital, field and habitus (Dumais, 2002). The field is a social space containing actors possessing different amounts of certain types of capital. This is the setting in which actions are generated. In the words of Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 97) the field is *"a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions"*. Groups and individuals are said to struggle for control over resources in the field. Some actors are more dominant than others. The dominant actors have got the largest influence on reproduction of the field (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009). Bourdieu's notion of field is located at the meso level, for example on the level of communities or organizations (Anheier, 1995).

The field is the social space, capital forms are the resources in that space and habitus, the third concept, is the orientation towards the usage of this resource. This habitus is embodied in a person through cognitive and somatic structures (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009). It is a socially

constructed vision of the world, influenced by the external environment throughout one's life. The expectations of the ability to use resources and the ability to gain relevant resources (together forming habitus), together with other factors like aspirations might even be more important than the capital itself (Dumais, 2002). Habitus gives people a head start when one feels like capable of doing something and thus (at least partly) defines what is possible in your life.

Since the concepts of capital, field and habitus are now introduced, the separate forms of capital can be explained more in-depth in the next part. Social capital and cultural capital will be discussed in the first two parts. Both types have gained much interest from scientists and policy makers during the last decades. The third part introduces symbolic capital and the fourth part economic capital. The fifth and last part will discuss human capital in the light of the theory about the other four capital types.

2.3.2 Social Capital

The first form of capital that will be discussed more in-depth is social capital, a concept which has gained much interest in recent decades (Horvat et. al., 2003). In every chapter about a form of capital, at first there will be an introduction in which the concept of the type of capital is explained and defined. Then there will be an outline of several aspects that determine the concept, which eventually formed the basis for the questions in the survey. The importance of the concept will be explained for every type of capital and every chapter ends with a short conclusion, where a link is made to this research and hypotheses are given.

Introduction

The theory about social capital embodies some classic social ideas, like the fact that social involvement by persons in a community has got positive effects on the person itself as well as the community as a whole. Social capital theory is often focused on positive effects and places social phenomena within a wide range of other types of capital, often explaining the benefits of it for gaining these other capital forms (Portes, 1998).

Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam are the authors most often associated with the concept of social capital (Horvat et. al., 2003). Bourdieu was the first author to systematically analyse and describe social capital (Portes, 1998). He defined social capital as *"The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition"* (Bourdieu 1986, p. 248). Portes (1998) calls the description of the concept by Bourdieu the most theoretical refined one. From the definition two elements can be derived that make up social capital; first a social relationship allowing persons to enter resources of other people ("possession of a durable network") and second the amount and quality of these resources ("aggregate of the resources"). Those resources can be made up of all kinds of other capital, like cultural and economic. Social capital becomes effective when reinforced by other types of capital, said Bourdieu. Morrow (2001) describes two key elements of social capital; social networks (the connections with people providing resources through interaction) and sociability (sustaining networks with skill and dispositions. According to Horvat et. al. (2003) both material and immaterial resources which individuals and families can access through social bonds make up social capital.

Another definition of social capital is formulated by Coleman: *"A variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors -whether persons or corporate actors- within the structure"* (Coleman 1988: p. s98). The social capital is thus a part of social structures and people within these structures take certain actions because of this capital. Portes (1998) discusses the main limitation in the literature of Coleman; the apparent lack of differentiation between the person possessing social capital, the sources of this social capital and the resources of social capital itself. It should be acknowledged that there is a *person executing a social strategy*, a *person donating resources* to this person and then there are the *resources that are donated* themselves, which can be –as discussed- for example other forms of capital.

In the concept as discussed by Putnam there are three components: Moral obligations and norms, social values and social networks (Siisiäinen, 2000). The focus is on mutual values (creating trust) in society and consensus. Since ideal situations of consensus and trust will never fully emerge, the concepts of Bourdieu wherein there is rather talk about a constant struggle for power in society must be included in analysis of subjects regarding social capital according to Siisiäinen.

Definitions from other authors add for example that social structures might not only exist of people close to you, but it might even pay off to get new influences of other type of people that you know, containing other information and resources then the people closer to you which often share interests and resources up to a certain amount (Burt, 1992, p.9). Lin (2000, p.786) adds that both the quantity and quality of resources in the network of a person are important.

Bonding, bridging and linking social capital

A distinction between two different forms of social capital has been made by Putnam (Morrow, 2001). These two forms are bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is the type bonding groups; creating solidarity within the group by bonding members with a shared set of norms and values. Bridging capital exists when groups have got connections with members of other groups, set apart for example by gender, social class, ethnicity and generation. Inequality in social capital exists because people tend to cluster in groups with similar socioeconomic characteristics, thus creating certain (limited) possibilities for gaining capital. Socializing outside of your closest group can create opportunities for gaining more and more useful capital (Lin, 2000). New influences from people with other characteristics might bring more information and more resources of all kind (Burt, 1992).

Determinants

There is still a lack of tools for measuring the concept of social capital in empirical research (Ferlander, 2007). Social capital is a multi-dimensional concept and often only one or several dimensions are used for empirical research. This is why large differences in the ways of measurement can be seen (Ferlander, 2007). Examples of determinants can be found with several authors. Morrow (2001) mentions social and community networks, civic participation, community identity, sense of belonging to the community, norms of co-operation, reciprocity and trust in others as elements of social capital. When it comes to social capital for children, parental networks are most commonly mentioned as a central dimension (Horvat et. al., 2003). Coleman (1988) sees the optimal surrounding for children for gaining social capital as

a two parent family with little children in which the mother is a housewife (Leonard, 2005). Social capital can be gained from both family and wider society through social processes (Reay, 2004).

Because there is a large difference in determinants used in empirical research a selection of possible determinants for this case has been made. An explanation is given on why and how these determinants influence social capital. The selection of determinants is: Family stability, number of siblings, communication fluency with the parents, number of friends and neighbourhood safety and indicators.

More siblings can cause increased gaining of social capital, because this extends the family with more people to make social exchange with. Also, siblings might be a source for learning because they might have other friends who provide different resources which can be passed on to their siblings. Communication fluency with the parents is important because miscommunication can slow down the process of learning. More friends provide more possible resources. A safe environment is required for being able to have decent social contacts and thus gain social capital. Neighbourhoods can have influence on the social capital in two ways. When there are not a lot of facilities, there are fewer chances for meeting other people and gaining social capital. Getting friends and meeting people then becomes harder. When it comes to indicators of the neighbourhood, neighbourhoods with social-economic disadvantages are seen as less child and family friendly. In these neighbourhoods there is less support from the informal network, if there is any network at all (SCP, 2011). No network means no social capital and no resources.

The importance of social capital

Portes (1998) explains that a literature review provides three basic functions of social capital; as a source of social control, as a source for family support and as a source of benefits from networks outside of the family. The first function is often seen in communities and sometimes in families and serves to maintain certain norms and values in a group. In families norms and values are taught to children, leading to a certain amount of social reproduction. Leonard (2005) however contradicts the idea that children are mainly a product of their parents. The first function of social capital seems to suggest “one-way traffic” regarding norms and values. Rather there is interaction between children and adults, influencing each others norms, obligations and expectations (Leonard, 2005).

The second function is about family support. Not only is the family supposed to be a strong social community sharing norms and values (function one) but it also consists of members with a natural function to help and care for each other (Komter and Vollebergh, 2002). This in turn can help children gain all types of capital. There are some problems in society however nowadays, jeopardising this second function of social capital. Komter and Vollebergh (2002) wonder how long the family will stay of great importance in Western societies. Families seem to be losing the significance of being a strong social community. Families are losing cohesion and are getting smaller, getting children is postponed and the liberalization of norms and values is partly to blame for a rising divorce rate and a rising number of children born out of wedlock.

The last function, receiving resources outside of the family, is most commonly associated with social capital as it was discussed by Bourdieu. Networks outside of the family help people with getting all kinds of resources. The most common resources that are achieved

outside of the family are related to employment and subsequently to generating economic capital (Flint & Rowlands, 2003). With children this can already be seen, as many children are engaged in paid employment when of a certain age. Neighbours and local relatives are often useful in getting a job and are being used in combination with the friends of those children when looking for job opportunities (Leonard, 2005). Furthermore some social capital gained when being a child can lead to sources for employment when a child is older (Portes, 1998).

A lack of any of the three basic functions can cause problems in a community or for individuals. For example, when networks are limited it can be difficult to find a job and when family support is absent, intellectual development of children might be tampered. If social control is absent, (criminal) problems with youth might appear.

Possible negative effects of social capital

Social capital can also have some negative consequences. The existence of social networks with ties bonding the members of a group can consequently lead to other people being left out of this network, thus restricting them in the possible advantages (resources) they could have had from the network. In networks with norms and values that will, on the other hand, easily let people in, this can work the other way around. New entrants can demand too many resources, leaving a network or community exhausted. Another negative consequence is that strong social control (as a function of social capital) can lead to less personal freedom for members of a community. People may leave the community in search of more personal freedom. The last negative consequence exists when a group is against everything mainstream in society. Whenever someone in such a group has some kind of success (and members could get resources from this person) he or she will be excluded because this is contradicting the norms and values of the group. The "social position" of the group as a whole is kept low because of such processes (Portes, 1998).

Conclusion

Social capital is made up of resources for gaining all other types of capital. In line with the theory of several authors it consists of a person executing a social strategy, a person donating resources and the resources that are donated. It is determined by for example family characteristics, the number of friends and some indicators of the neighbourhood. Social capital serves as a source of social control, family support and benefits from people outside of the family, but can also have negative consequences, like diminishing personal freedom and creating a downward social spiral in groups. A child learns to gain social capital by making friends and should in normal circumstances get social capital from the family. This can lead to some positive outcomes in the form of gained resources through this capital.

Regarding this case it can be noted that social capital is not specifically linked to the education or income of parents and how this affects the quality (in term of social capital) of children. However, there are some determinants of social capital which are indirectly related to the income of parents and can thus indirectly affect social capital accumulation of children, the most prominent being the neighbourhood, since that is where networks can be formed. Some indicators of the neighbourhood are good for accumulating social capital while some are not. Following up on these conclusions, the hypotheses tested are some general hypotheses about the influence of the two parental indicators on the social capital

accumulation of children, but in the analysis a special focus is on the neighbourhood indicators. The two hypotheses are:

1a. Social capital of children is positively related to parental income.

1b. Social capital of children is positively related to parental education.

When these hypotheses are accepted this means that parental income and/ or education have got a positive influence on the quality of children, by means of building a larger amount of social capital.

2.3.3. Cultural capital

The second form of capital that will be discussed is cultural capital. A short introduction about culture in general will be given before moving on with the definition and an explanation of the theory regarding cultural capital. Some determinants will be given and the importance of this type of capital will be explained. In the conclusion a link to the case will be made and hypotheses will be derived from the theory discussed in this chapter.

Introduction

Culture as a general concept has been described a lot by scientists. Many definitions, models and dimensions can be found (Martins & Terblanche, 2003). Detert et. al. (2000) say already in 1952 about 150 different definitions had been bundled. Many authors refer to Edgar Henry Schein when discussing the concept of culture. Schein defines culture along the way of *"a pattern of shared basic assumptions, which are invented, discovered and/ or developed by a group while this group solves their problems with external adaption and internal integration" (derived from Schein, 1996, 1990, 2004).* The basic assumptions are tested in time and seen as valid. In cultural capital theory this transfer is also discussed and described with cultural reproduction theory, as will be discussed later on.

The concept of cultural capital and the theory surrounding the concept is generally associated with Bourdieu (Kingston, 2001) and can be traced back to him (Thorsby, 1999). Having cultural capital means having certain assets that in society can be linked to things we see as culture. Differences in cultural capital have originally been attributed to class-differences, but in "Distinction" (1984) Bourdieu expanded the theory to include differences between all kinds of social groups (Prieur et. al., 2008).

Of all the types of capital described by Bourdieu, cultural capital has become the most thoroughly examined one in the field of sociology regarding education (Dumais, 2002 and Throsby, 1999). Indeed a literature search on cultural capital yields many articles related to education. Upbringing and education leads to the accumulation of credentials, skills and knowledge which together form cultural capital (Flint & Rowlands, 2003).

Central in the theory of Bourdieu (1986) is the concept of cultural reproduction. In short, this is the process in which culture is passed on from generation to generation. Children will learn certain norms, values and beliefs at home from their parents (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009). When some norms, values and beliefs are deemed legitimate in a certain group "symbolic violence" might arise against people involved in the group but having a different set of norms

and values. This symbolic violence in turn leads to social exclusion (Prieur et. al., 2008). In schools this might happen when the culture of a child does not fit the dominant culture in school. It will not only lead to social exclusion, but can also lead to problems with learning. Several researchers have shown that parental cultural capital influences children's educational attainment (De Graaf et. al., 2000). Being unfamiliar with capital expressions like reading and visiting museums could lead to a smaller chance to succeed in higher level education.

Two different kind of conceptual descriptions

There are two kind of conceptual descriptions of cultural capital. The first one is in line with the original theory of Bourdieu, focusing on differences in class and social reproduction determined by it. The second description states that cultural capital encompasses more than the classical "highbrow" symbols associated with high class.

The first kind is what De Graaf et. al. (2000) call the classical operationalization. Parental "highbrow" cultural activities like attendance at theatres, museums, classical music concerts and art-exhibitions are important indicators with this definition. These indicators are reflected in a "dominant" class and are said to be valued and rewarded by the educational system. Schools require certain abilities from children, which are associated with this highbrow culture and children lacking these qualities fall behind. Schools are said not to provide these abilities, so the cultural capital has to be inherited from the family. The higher the social class, the more likely that the family has these certain cultural values and thus the more chance the child will succeed in school (Dumais, 2002). This can help explain why children from lower classes can develop more difficulties with learning, thus ending up –like their parents- in a working-class job.

This social reproduction theory has been questioned by for several authors. According to Reay (2004) most studies on cultural capital focus too much on those capacities that are supposedly valued high in society as well as highbrow activities and the knowledge and competences relating to it, neglecting the full range of dimensions of cultural capital and its implications. Lareau and Weiniger (2003) add that other forms of competence and knowledge, like technical and human skills, are too often completely separated from the concept of cultural capital. Kingston (2001) furthermore says that cultural advantages may come from parents in every social class, thus challenging the link between social privileges and cultural privileges. A second doubt is expressed about cultural privileges being such an important indicator for academic success. Perhaps there are equally or even more important indicators. Lareau and Weiniger (2003) suggest that researchers use an interactional set of diverse skills (not only related to highbrow activities) which can indeed (partly) be inherited from parents like also suggested in dominant discourse.

The evidence against the classical operationalization stems from as early as 1988, when Lamont and Lareau found out that there were differences between the implications of cultural capital in the original French context from the work from Bourdieu and Passeron, and an American context. In 2003 Lareau published an article with Weiniger in which was stated that cultural capital is indeed relative and not as universal as the theory of Bourdieu suggested. For empirical studies this is an important notion (Lareau & Weiniger, 2003).

Prieur et. al. (2008) conclude that class is less important as a cultural capital divider nowadays. Furthermore education is still an important factor in accumulating cultural capital, but it does not measure all the nuances of it. A larger set of determinants is needed. What

properly determines cultural capital will be defined by the setting and period in an empirical research.

Three states of cultural capital

Whether the classical or the more contemporary operationalization is used, one aspect discussed in the theory of Bourdieu (1986) is still relevant within the cultural capital concept; the fact that cultural capital manifests itself in three different states. First there is the embodied state, which is in place when a person has a "cultural disposition of mind and body", showing in for example language, presentation, etiquette and confidence). When a person is in the second, objectified, state this cultural disposition is turned into material goods that society links to culture, for example books or paintings. In the third state, the institutionalised state, the cultural capital is recognised by society with some credentials (academic qualifications being important) (Bourdieu, 1986 and Throsby, 1999 and Dumais, 2002 and Reay, 2004 and De Clercq & Voronov, 2009 and Morrow, 2001). In order to get to the third state, doing something with knowledge and skills, social capital is needed: Networks are needed to get credentials. Cultural and social capital are thus often entwined (Throsby, 1999).

Determinants

Several determinants can be found for cultural capital, partly depending on whether the classical conceptualization is used or the more contemporary one. In a broad sense the classical version states that social class and the relating cultural capital of parents are important indicators for cultural capital of their children, as described by cultural (and social) reproduction theory, while the contemporary conceptualization states that social class plays a limited role allowing for other indicators to play an important role. Determinants that could differ from one social class to another according to Bourdieu include certain habits, skills, attitudes, knowledge, knowhow and taste (Prieur et. al. 2008). Language use is also something that could differ per level of class, as Giddens (2001) acknowledges by discussing theory from Bernstein (1975) about restricted code and elaborated code. Restricted code is being used, in general, by poorer children, living in a strong family and or neighbourhood culture. This culture allows the children to develop a way of using language, in which many norms and values are taken for granted. This way of communicating can be hard to understand by people outside of this culture. Middle class children develop a more elaborated code. This elaborated code, which is learned from parents and the neighbourhood, is a better fit for the academic culture. Underachieving at school has been associated with restricted code speech and this is linked to for example not understanding the (abstract and unemotional) language the teacher uses and not understanding conceptual distinctions within the theory discussed at school.

In each of the two conceptualizations, the family of children is the primary source for accumulating cultural capital. Ways of thinking, certain dispositions and sets of meaning are some examples of what children usually inherit from their parents. Most of the cultural capital is inherited from the mother, since she usually spends more time with the children than the father (Reay, 2004). De Graaf et. al. (2000) show that in the Netherlands, parental reading behaviour is the most important indicator for achievement of their children in school. Linguistic and cognitive skills of parents are passed on and a home full of books provides examples for learning and a stimulating learning environment. This environment provides a cultural link with school, where reading is required and information is provided.

In the end there are quite a lot of determinants which can be attributed to cultural capital. What set of determinants or skills is relevant is dependent on empirical characteristics, because culture differs from one country to the other and even within a country (Prieur et. al., 2008). For example, valued music among the elite might differ from one nation to another. The cultural differences issue is still a subject of debate in academic literature. In empirical research, determinants are often chosen somewhat arbitrary (Kingston, 2001).

The importance of cultural capital

As became apparent in this chapter, cultural capital is important for influencing the chances of educational success of children and it subsequently increases chances in life for people. Since this relationship is very important for the concept of cultural capital is has been discussed extensively. But cultural capital is also very important when looking at the relationship between this kind of capital and all other types of capital. This is for example because language is considered a part of cultural capital and language has got a universal utilitarian function, meaning it supports acquiring other types of capital. Cultural capital can also be turned into economic capital, not only through the path of education and getting an (academic) job, but also by delivering paid services related to culture, like painting (Throsby, 1999 and Flint & Rowlands, 2003). There is an indirect relationship between cultural capital and economic capital, since education is an important condition for economic success (Kingston, 2001). A concluding remark has to be made about the importance; what cultural capital determinants are considered important at the moment might not be important in the future, since culture is always developing and standards on what is considered to have a cultural value change because of this (Prieur et. al. 2008).

Conclusion

Cultural reproduction theory helps us understand how cultural capital can be transferred from parents to children, although there has yet to be an agreement about whether this primarily relates to highbrow culture, or to a broader set of (cultural) competences. Cultural capital is often linked to education, stating that cultural capital transfers from parents to children could help children achieve a high educational attainment. The cultural capital of parents is subsequently in part determined by their education level, which is an independent variable for this research. Cultural capital is an important form of capital, since it encompasses language. Language has got a universal utilitarian function in life. Through education and language cultural capital can be transformed into primarily economic capital.

The theory of cultural reproduction with cultural capital transfers from parents to children is a reason to test the following hypothesis:

2b. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental education.

In order to get an adequate picture of the influence of both independent variables, the following hypothesis is added:

2a. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental income.

In the theory it was seen that culture encompasses more then education alone, primarily activities that groups perceive as culture. For children this might be seen with cultural

activities, which subsequently can lead to cultural capital formation. The following hypotheses cover the cultural activities part of this concept:

3b.The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental education.

3a. The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental income.

In order to measure cultural capital in its entirety, the following hypotheses will also be tested:

4a. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental income.

4b. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental education.

2.3.4 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is a concept added to the theory about forms of capital by Bourdieu in his book "Distinction". It relates to values which are in society addressed to certain people and behavioural tendencies. It is related to status and status symbols in a certain environment or field.

Introduction

In order to understand symbolic capital, understanding lifestyles and distinction among different lifestyles is important. Lifestyles can be defined by classifying practices following distinctive preferences of people within a certain group. Certain attributes and activities are considered valuable, useful, right or good while others are valued in a negative way. People sharing a certain lifestyle share a set of valued practices. Different lifestyles are interacting with each other through a process of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Symbolic capital is subsequently not considered a principal type of capital, but rather what every expression or possession of another form of capital might become when obtaining explicit or practical recognition within a group (Järvinen & Gundelach, 2007). Symbolic capital creates perception towards values and understanding of values attributed to capital forms (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). It is the form acknowledging the importance of other forms of capital (Morrow, 2001). Although symbolic capital is something possessed by individuals, it is constructed through a social process, making social capital important to this concept (Flint & Rowlands, 2003 and Doherty & Dickmann, 2009).

Acknowledging the symbolic value of capital is linked to the lifestyle theory of valued practices within groups. Symbolic capital creates distinction from other groups or individuals and it defines prestige within fields (Flint & Rowlands, 2003). When people share symbolic values with other people they will generally be recognized and admired by the group of people sharing these values. The more recognized symbolic capital a person has within a group, the more right to speak one has, granting power in the long run, or as De Clercq and Voronov (2009, p 400) put it: *"The ability to impose definitions of phenomena on other field participants"*. This means that in the power battle in the field theory of Bourdieu symbolic capital is important.

Symbolic capital influence is especially very strong when it is not perceived as such (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009) and when imposed on others it can be taken as a for granted way of doing things, or as common practice (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). People or groups of people containing little symbolic value in a society can feel the pressure of social dissociation, feeling different than others and being confronted with it in daily life.

Determinants

Symbolic capital is this dependent on the context and what is deemed legitimate by a group it becomes symbolic capital (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). Since there are many different groups and cultures, almost everything might become symbolic capital when valued by a certain group. Even with children symbolic capital differs from one group to another subsequently raising the question what symbolic capital is determined by and what sets it apart from other types of capital.

In general prestige, reputation and personal authority are embodiments of symbolic capital. Furthermore wealth is a strong power and prestige base and serves as a strong symbol (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). However, this is less important when is comes to children. It might be related to their parents though. Parents with a larger amount of money are able to spend more on their children if they wish to do so. They can give higher allowances or spend money on material possessions directly. These material possessions can in turn give kids symbolic power. Material possessions and allowances can thus be an indicator of symbolic capital, although this will still be dependent on the particular field in which children will be as not all groups will value high allowances and many possessions. Not only allowances and possessions can give children prestige or reputation, but being able to make their own choices might also form a base for prestige and a good reputation among peers.

Allowances and material possessions are also part of economic capital, as will be shown in the next chapter. What really sets symbolic capital apart in this case is the notion of care. The theory behind this is that some norms and values are generally regarded positive in society meaning that people who live according to these norms and values can be regarded as having symbolic capital. Examples are not being egoistic and being empathetic, as both will be liked by most people. This can subsequently lead to a good reputation and personal authority. The positively valued norms and values, so to say, can be inherited from the parents who teach children to live in a certain way. They can also be cultivated by certain ways of upbringing, like showing love and support for the children, as care and supervision are two basic consumption needs for children (Magrabi et. al., 1991). The freedom for children to express themselves, recognizing needs of children and commitment of the parents are important (Kontos et. al., 1995). These possibilities for capital transfer which could be turned into symbolic capital are measured in the survey.

The importance of symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is related to the attached value of certain traits of persons and also to which persons as a whole are valued within groups (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). In school, children with different backgrounds and thus different values are put together, which can clash. When children can't find shared values or "lifestyles" with other children they might feel socially dissociated. When this happens in high school during puberty (when children are sensitive for recognition) it might influence them in the long run; lead to feelings of in

security and possibly of being unwanted altogether. Building a symbolic foundation for prestige and personal authority might help prevent this.

For children, especially when small, certain symbolic values of the parents are important with this, for example when fulfilling emotional needs which are mostly provided by the mother (Reay, 2004). Reay refers to this as emotional capital. While she says that Bourdieu does not speak specifically of this type of capital, Bourdieu apparently did propose a key role of the mother for affective relationships, generating devotion, generosity and solidarity: All values which could serve as symbolic capital later on when passed on to children.

Symbolic capital can also be used as a facilitator for the conversion of social and cultural capital into economic capital (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009). This is because symbolic capital serves as a power base, which in turn can be used to exploit social and cultural capital the best a person can. With children this might not happen as conscious as with adults though.

Conclusion

All forms of capital can be turned into symbolic capital in certain social processes in certain fields. An acquired capital asset has got symbolic value when it is related to status or prestige. Dependent on the field, a lot of different determinants may be thought of for symbolic capital to arise. For children, symbolic capital might just play an important role for children in the educational environment. Getting high allowances, many possessions or a lot of freedom might help, but what sets symbolic capital apart from other types is the amount of care and supervision received from the parents which can be turned into symbolic capital in later stages of life. The hypotheses are derived from this notion:

5a. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental income.

5b. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental education.

To measure symbolic capital as an integral concept, the allowances, possessions and symbolic freedom indicators are added to test the following hypotheses:

6a. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

6b. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

2.3.5 Economic capital

The fourth type of capital is economic capital. It is one of the principal forms of capital as discussed by Bourdieu, but seems not to have developed in the social sciences in a way in which social, cultural and human capital did. Once again an introduction about the concept is given before continuing with some determinants and the importance of economic capital. The chapter ends with the hypotheses.

Introduction

Bourdieu considered economic capital as the root of all types of capital (Morrow, 1999). The term economic capital reflects capital with a monetary or exchange value. This includes financial capital, but also possessions. Financial capital is defined by Coleman as income or wealth (Teachman et. al. 1997). The term financial capital however is often used in relation to businesses, not individual consumers and households. Flint & Rowlands (2003) subsequently describes economic capital as financial resources (for example gained with income (Anheier, 1995)) which can be used for consumption. Reay (2004) sees economic capital as en equivalent of wealth which is gained from interactions of individuals within "the economy". In a broader sense Bourdieu sees both material and symbolic goods as economically valuable, whenever these goods are sought after in particular fields making scarcity an indicator for economic value. Just like with other types of capital, economic capital performs as a resource which can be used to gain a position in a social field. Money is the major currency of economic capital (Anheier, 1995).

Different classes can be divided by the economic capital obtained by people in the class, as Bourdieu argues. Economic capital used to be the main divider, but cultural capital has gained ground. Certain amounts of certain types of capital may lead to a certain lifestyle. This lifestyle can be a choice, but it may not be a choice when for example economic capital is very limited. This lead to the concept of poverty, inevitably related to economic capital.

Poverty is a concept hard to define. It can be seen as a condition in which people are unable to buy the basic necessities in life; absolute poverty. It can also be seen more relative, being poor in comparison to other people with higher income (Case et. al., 1999). Both ways of defining poverty could lead to arbitrary decisions, whether it is about what basic necessities are, or what percentile is relatively poor.

Spicker at. al. (2006) gives a definition from UNICEF on child poverty in particular:
"Children who experience deprivation of the material, spiritual and emotional recourses needed to survive, develop and thrive, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, achieve their full potential or participate as full and equal members of society". Child poverty differs from adult poverty because even the impact of brief periods of (severe) poverty can cause permanent psychological and mental damage. Most often child poverty relates to family poverty.

Determinants

Two main views exist when it comes to explaining why some people are poor. The first view blames individuals for having little skills and motivation, thus depending on others to gain resources. The second view concerns looking at societal processes on a high level, which are said to distribute wealth unevenly and making it difficult for the poor underclass to change anything about it; social and financial processes determine the amount of capital (Flint & Rowlands, 2003). Elderly, sick, children, woman and ethnic minorities have an increased chance of being poor (Giddens, 2001).

In this case, the income of parents is an independent variable and the question is how this income, as well as the education level, influences the economic capital of children. Because the economic capital of children is measured, some different determinants play a role than it would be with economic capital of adults. Children derive economic capital in the monetary

form from allowances and perhaps a small job. Economic capital encompasses more than just the monetary form, so different kinds of material possessions can also be thought of. Example could be having a smartphone and owning a laptop. Personal space, like having an own room in the parental home can also be considered an economic asset. Some non-material "possessions" like going on holidays and amusement parks are measured. This study focuses on parental income and education levels and their influence on capital acquirements of children. A link between high income parents and children with high economic capital seems obvious.

The importance of economic capital

Economic capital (or lack of it) influences the possibilities for gaining all other types of capital. When it comes to cultural capital, children coming from parents with a higher income spend more years in school (Teachman et al, 1997). Children from higher income parents will have potential access to better schools. Also their tastes regarding education will be different and expectations will be higher (Carneiro & Heckman, 2003). Families with lower incomes in general have got children who are less productive, less motivated and with less abilities to prosper in school (Heckman, 1999).

Social capital is also influenced by economic capital. Communities are often less tight when there are high levels of unemployment and subsequently low levels of economic capital (Giddens, 2001). Social structures and networks are undermined by this, which in turn influences for example the educational attainment. Lack of means of transportation can also play a role, since social events might require transportation. When people are poor, exclusion from society might occur (Giddens, 2001).

Symbolic capital is also influenced by economic capital. Consumption can play a role with this, since being able to gain symbolic capital often requires consumption. Consumption time has become very important in western societies (De Vries, 2008). Income and economic capital has an effect on the possibilities of consumption and the standard of living is at least partly defined by it (Atkinson, 1991). Consumption can also be related to human capital and health; economic capital has got a positive relation with sport attendance (Wilson, 2002).

Conclusion

Economic capital is largely determined by income, with money as a way of measurement. Children can get economic capital from their parents in the form of allowances or material possessions and when old enough from paid work themselves. Because parental income is an independent variable in this study, this can be laid next to economic capital indicators (allowances and possessions) of children. The two folded hypothesis would thus be;

7a. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental income.

The education related hypothesis is once again added:

7b. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental education.

In order to measure the entire economic capital concept which is needed to get to an answer on the main research question, these two hypotheses are added:

8a. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

8b. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Looking at the last two hypotheses will take into account more than just allowances and possessions of children. Examples of this are the freedom to spend money on what children want and economic values taught by parents.

2.3.6 Human capital

Human capital is the last type of capital that will be discussed in this chapter. The roots of this concept are found well before Bourdieu wrote about the theory on capital and Bourdieu actually saw his four types of capital as an expanded view on capital formation, claiming that human capital was rather limited in its view. The broad setting of the types of capital is maintained for this research, while also explaining the theory on human capital since it consists more than what was discussed with the other types of capital. Health is the most important part of human capital discussed in this chapter.

Introduction

Human capital is an intangible asset possessed to more or lesser extends by people. It can be placed within the theory on capital accumulation since it can be used to gain power and other outcomes in a certain field and in life as a whole. The concept had been discussed before Bourdieu, primarily by Becker in 1964 who saw human capital in the light of companies as the physical capital in production (Throsby, 1999). Since human capital in the economical discourse is often used when looking at capital assets in companies, this particular view on human capital will not be discussed. Human capital in more contemporary literature is often said to be an embodiment of skills, knowledge and experience of people, largely gained through education (Teachman et. al 1997). Sometimes personality is added to the concept of human capital, as being part of the human being. Human capital, just like economic capital, is a private good, meaning it belongs to an individual and is realized by the individual, whereas for example social capital is a good created by and benefiting all members in a network (Conley, 2010). Human capital is an investment good, created by families, schools and firms (Carneiro & Heckman, 2003).

Since the contemporary conceptualization of human capital involves all things that make a human being the concept of health is a part of it. Ferlander (2007) uses a definition from the World Health Organization for health, in which health is "*a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity*". He does however add that this is a rather broad and utopian definition and that most empirical studies define health as the absence of ill-health. The reasons to include health in the analysis of human capital seem obvious; health is of utmost importance for daily human functioning and thus has got influence on all kinds of capital and the overall quality of children and of people in general.

Determinants

Schuller (2010) describes three ways of measuring human capital on a macro-level; the highest level of education completed by citizens, the level of skills and earnings. Comparable ways of measurement can be seen when looking at individuals. Boxman et. al. (1991) measured human capital by three indicators; formal education (total years of education), work experience in years after school and the number of former jobs. Needless to say, the latter two measurements don't apply to this case. Goldsmith at. al. (1997) mention formal schooling, accumulation of basic skills and work experience as aspects of human capital.

Both the education determinant and the skill determinant discussed by multiple authors can be measured with children. The first has been discussed in-depth in the cultural capital chapter. With skill formation the family is very important, since both the skills and the motivation to learn skills increase productivity with people at a later age when they are cultivated at a young age (Carneiro & Heckman, 2003).

The third determinant added to human capital in this research is the concept of health, playing a vital role in the accumulation of all types of capital. Adding health to the human capital form sets human capital apart from cultural capital. Health is determined by a large amount of socioeconomic factors. Economic, social and cultural capital are all related to health and can in fact together be seen as a broad set of determinants for health. Besides accumulated capital in persons there are of course also genetic influences on health, which will not be subject to discourse in this study.

According to Ferlander (2007) health on a macro-scale if often operationalized through morbidity, which is not quite useful for this thesis. Morrow (1999) says that children will (obviously) not experience clear health problems in terms of morbidity, but do however engage in activities which might pose a risk to their health and wellbeing. Ferlander (2007) mentions some of these activities; smoking, alcohol use, drug use, (lack of) physical activity, diet and sexual behaviour. People in lower social classes will in general expose themselves to more health hazards (Giddens, 2001).

Social capital

The relationship between social capital and health has been the subject of a lot of research during the last decade, but can be traced back to Durkheim at the end of the 19th century. In general it is believed that social capital has got a positive influence especially on mental but also on physical health. This also goes for development, health and wellbeing of children and adolescents, with one aspect in particular being important; informal social control (Almedom, 2005). Physical health is increased with neighbourhood safety and mental health with safety and connections between people in a neighbourhood (Ziersch et. al, 2005).

High social influence, especially when combined with limited information, can enhance unhealthy norms (Ferlander, 2007). Furthermore when looking in detail, for example high social support is related to more smoking and binge drinking (Carpiano, 2007), so not all social capital has got a positive influence. These findings can be related to the part discussed earlier about "negative social capital"; high social attachment leads to more obligations and it can lead to downward spiralling social norms (Portes, 1998).

With a lack of social control children could engage in problematic behaviour endangering their health. In the rapport of the SCP (2011), five different forms of problem behaviour are mentioned:

1. Problems with behaviour (disobeying, being angry and aggressive, lying, stealing)
2. Problems with other children (unable to get social relations: having little friends, being bullied)
3. Hyperactivity (restlessness, attention problems, concentration problems, impulsiveness)
4. Emotional problems (mood swings, fears, being retracted)
5. Problems with pro-social behaviour (little empathy, not being able to share, not being helpful towards others).

The SCP (2011) states that "better" neighbourhoods are associated with less problem behaviour of children and an overall better health, but this is mainly because parents in poor neighbourhoods more frequently use authoritarian strategies for the raising of their children. These strategies are associated with more problem behaviour. More informal networks in a neighbourhood can contribute in a positive way to the upbringing of children because parents can partly learn how to be a good parent from other people.

Economic capital

Family income (together with the education level) of the parents is the main explanation for better or worse health of children (SCP, 2011). Poverty is an important factor in a lack of health (Groenendaal & Deković, 2000). Morrow (1999) discusses how unemployment and relative poverty has got a negative impact on both mental and physical health. When parents face these conditions the health of their children will likely also be influenced through family income, mental state of parents and pressure on children to start working early or leave the home early. Both physical and mental health are subsequently better with higher income and higher education levels (Ziersch et al, 2005). Gatrell et. al. (2004) found that psychological illness is more frequent among people who feel that they are not managing financially.

There is also some evidence against the positive relationship between economic capital and health. The wide array on possible influences on health means that the class distinction often made by Bourdieu does not always holds truth; middle and higher classes do not necessarily raise healthier children (Morrow, 1999).

Cultural capital

As was discussed in the part about economic capital, education level of the parents is an important explanation for better or worse health of children. Norms and values play a role with this, as unhealthy norms might be the norms of parents having less cultural capital. Knowledge about deceased and possible influences from certain behavioural tendencies on health plays a role with this. Furthermore, when children are sick the parents with less (general) knowledge are less likely to act in the best possible way for improving the health of their children (Abel, 2008).

The importance of human capital

In most literature human capital is discussed in relation to labour outcomes, producing economic value. It is discussed not only relating to individual wages, but also to the outcome for companies and nations. Schuller (2010) notes however that when measuring the effects of human capital, one should be careful not to focus only on tangible and immediate economic returns; there are also other outcomes, like the enhanced quality of social existence. Furthermore health is of utmost importance for functioning in daily life.

Education, knowledge and skill formation all lead to higher personal wages (Case et al, 1999), (Goldsmith et. al., 1997). This process was already seen by Becker in 1962, who added that not all investments in human capital lead to higher wages because some returns are going to companies and nations as a whole. In a broader economic sense human capital is therefore increasingly seen as important for the prosperity of nations and their economic competitiveness (Schuller, 2010).

Conley (2010) says human capital is important for children and their development and wellbeing. Life chances of children are increased when human capital of parents is higher, for example because of positive parenting behaviour and increased parental participation in the schooling of their child. Children from parents who are better educated spend on average more years in school (Teachman et al, 1997). However, as Teachman et. al. discuss, the influence of human capital is mediated through social capital. Without social capital, other forms of capital will likely not be transferred to children.

When beginning to invest in the learning of children at a young age, they have got a long time in which this can be turned into an advantage. This is made easier by the fact that having skills enhances the possibilities for new skill formation (Heckman, 1999); human capital grows when it is being used.

Health

The most important thing to consider with the concept of health is that it is essential for daily functioning. In general, a (chronically) ill person is unable to perform his or her duties in society, which usually also influences other people around this sick person. Time, energy, strength and emotions might get drained (Giddens, 2001). To a certain extend the same will also go for children, although duties are different and consequences can be less serious.
Health is important for the general development of children though, for example when taking part in all kinds of activities might be limited due to health problems (SCP, 2011). This might in turn jeopardize social capital formation (Morrow, 1999), by limiting opportunities for social engagement (Carpiano, 2007) and could in the long term lead to social exclusion (Ferlander, 2007).

Conclusion

Human capital can be seen as a set of skills, competences and knowledge gained through education and training, including health as an essential factor for human functioning. For children, family is important because human capital formulation starts with birth and the sooner a foundation is laid, the more it will have positive future effects. The most important effects can be seen after childhood; the total amount of education and income. So when looking at this specific case it is hard to get to a lot of conclusions when it comes to human

capital relating to overall quality of children, as many outcomes will only show beyond childhood. There are however parent indicators measured which are associated with the formation of human capital of their children; income and especially education and certain indicators of human capital with children are measured (education related), although it will be difficult to relate this to future quality outcomes. It does not have to do with quality of children per se, but more with future quality of what are children now. So some of the hypotheses related to this chapter will be:

2b. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental education.

2a. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental income.

The hypotheses are the same as with cultural capital. For measuring human capital as an entire concept two other topics will be analyzed: General knowledge and health. It is expected that parents with higher educational attainment will engage in more knowledge transfer moments with their children then parents with lower education. These are the hypotheses related to knowledge:

9a. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental income.

9b. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental education.

Health is important for daily functioning, which also goes for children. It has got a dynamic interaction with other types of capital, meaning that social, economic and cultural capital can influence health to a certain extend, but that health problems will also have negative consequences for these types of capital. When it comes to social capital, the neighbourhood is an important indicator. This leads up to the first hypotheses:

10a. Neighbourhood indicators which can be seen as positive for the health of children are positively related to parental income.

10b. Neighbourhood indicators which can be seen as positive for the health of children are positively related to parental education.

In order to measure the health of children as a whole concept, the following hypotheses are added:

11a. The health of children is positively related to parental income.

11b. The health of children is positively related to parental education.

2.3.7 Summary of hypotheses

In concept, there is a flow of capital from parents to children which plays an important role in quality formation during childhood. Children receive and possess capital of different forms. Some of these forms are described by sociologist Bourdieu (1986) in “The forms of capital”. Other forms are derived from different fields of study, like economy and health care. For this research the following forms of capital have been included: Social, Cultural, Symbolic, Economic and Human capital. Theory about those capital forms have led to the formation of

several hypothesis per type of capital. The independent variables are always both income and education level of the parents, while the dependent variables differ per type of capital and are related to the quality of children. The hypotheses derived are the following:

Social capital of children

1a. Social capital of children is positively related to parental income.

1b. Social capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Cultural capital of children

2a. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental income.

2b. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental education.

3a. The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental income.

3b.The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental education.

4a. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental income.

4b. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Symbolic capital of children

5a. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental income.

5b. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental education.

6a. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

6b. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Economic capital of children

7a. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental income.

7b. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental education.

8a. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

8b. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Human capital of children

2a. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental income.

2b. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental education.

9a. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental income.

9b. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental education.

10a. Neighbourhood indicators which can be seen as positive for the health of children are positively related to parental income.

10b. Neighbourhood indicators which can be seen as positive for the health of children are positively related to parental education.

11a. The health of children is positively related to parental income.

11b. The health of children is positively related to parental education.

The main hypothesis underlying those hypothesis and reflecting the conceptual scheme are:

- *There is a positive and significant relation between the income of parents and the quality of their children.*
- *There is a positive and significant relation between education level of parents and the quality of their children.*

The hypotheses will be tested using the dataset acquired with the previously described method. How the concepts in the hypotheses are measured in the survey will be explained in more detail in the next chapter.

3. Data and methods

Chapter three serves to explain the methods used in this research as well as describing the data. The first part is about the methodology. Scientific literature was explored, a survey formed the backbone of the study and the analysis was done with SPSS. The second part of this chapter consists of the operationalization of the key concepts income and education (of parents) and the types of capital (of children) in the survey. The last part gives an introduction regarding the results of the survey by describing the sample obtained with the survey. It served as a background for further analysis in the next chapter.

3.1 Methodology

In order to answer the research questions given in chapter one, several methods were used. For a start an extensive literature study was conducted. This literature review had several functions; to show how the current situation regarding raising children in the Netherlands was founded through development over the last few centuries and thus serve as a background for reading the rest of the rapport, to determine how the quality of children can be defined and about the consequences of this (lack of) quality for children themselves. The survey was also based on the literature research and has been refined after feedback from the supervisor and some trials among respondents. The main purpose of the survey was to have a look at the quality of children (living at the parental home) in the Netherlands, while making a distinction between low-income families and high income families, as well as between low-educated parents and high-educated parents. The survey has been distributed among parents to see how they feel the quality of their children is. The Dutch version of this invitation can be found with the survey in appendix 1.

Distribution of the survey

The survey was an E-survey, published online on a website called *thesistools*, providing a service tool for students with which they can build an entire survey for free and distribute it among chosen recipients with an URL. The survey was online for a period of four months. The 5th of November 2013 was the last day people could fill in the questionnaire. Results could be obtained from this website in windows Excel format, as well as in a HTML document format showing the questions and the results together, like this (but with green bars corresponding to the outcome):

Bent u een..?

Man		39 (31.2 %)
Vrouw		86 (68.8 %)
n	=	125
# 125		

The respondents were obtained making use of the mailing lists from some online marketing programs, in this case *100eurorace.com* and *centenland.nl*. Both programs have since ceased existing, probably due to financial shortages. Around the world, many of such programs exist, giving members the opportunity to get “cashback” on purchases and make a little bit of

money by reading e-mails sent to them. Those e-mails show readers both commercials and invitations to take part in commercial surveys. The two selected programs were targeting at the Dutch market and were thus suitable for this survey. In the invitation e-mail it was mentioned that it would take approximately 30 minutes to fill in the survey. This time-estimate followed testing the survey with a limited number of respondents before putting the final version online. Gift coupons (1x 20 euro and 2x 10 euro) were sent to three respondents. The opportunity to win those coupons was mentioned in the e-mail, in order to serve as a possible stimulus for filling in the survey.

Analyzing the data

The dataset gathered with the survey was analyzed with the statistical computer program SPSS. The purpose of this research was to see if two independent variables (income of the parents and education level of the parents) influence several quality indicators of children. This meant not only looking at correlations between two variables, but also at how income and education can predict the quality indicators. For example; does income have an influence on the allowances children get and if so, how much does an increase of income contribute to the increase of allowances? In order to better understand this relationship with two predictors, regressions analysis was chosen to analyse the data.

Two separate datasets were used; one with 87 cases including all persons that answered the education question and one with 45 cases, containing all the respondents who answered the income question. Analyzing all the data for both independent variables with just the first dataset would have created false results with the parental income variable. Outliers were removed from analysis when the standardized residuals scored more than 4.

Both independent variables were recoded to three categories (low, middle, high). This categorical representation meant that dummy variables had to be used for all three (six in total) groups. This approach made it possible to compare the different categories to each other, where with the regression analysis the low and high groups were compared to the middle groups to check for significant differences.

In an early stage of analysis it became apparent that the small amount of cases was to cause little results when analyzing separate items (or variables) from the dataset. At the same time, the amount of variables in total was very high at almost 300 separate variables. In order to get better results and save time, variables were compiled out of multiple items wherever possible. The compilations were based on the type of capital, the subject within this capital type and the measurement of the items. For example; if there was a set of items all relating to cultural capital and more specifically to cultural freedom, while all being measured with a 5-point likert scale, they were added together for analysis. If it was necessary variables were recoded so that with all variables the largest score on the variable stands for a larger amount of the type of capital it is measuring. Missing values were defined in the dataset so they would not influence the outcomes. Subsequently the scales were checked for reliability by looking at the Cronbach's Alfa for the items together. Scales scoring above 0.70 were included in the analysis. If the Cronbach's Alfa was lower, items were deleted from the scale in order to get a scale with a Cronbach's Alfa that was high enough. If a solution was not possible, items were left separate from each other for analysis.

It became apparent that choosing regression analysis came with some problems regarding the assumptions needed to do the analysis. The regression analysis was still conducted for all the

variables, but with these limitations in mind alternatives were also used to strengthen the evidence with significant findings. The linear regression results were scanned for all the significance values less than 0.20. These relationships would then be tested a second time with the Kendall's Tau (b) coefficient. Kendall's Tau is useful when linearity is lacking with the data analyzed, but also useful with small datasets and many scores in the same rank.
From the linear regression the coefficients, significance levels and adjusted R-square are reported. The adjusted R-square is used instead of the normal R-square because it gives a better estimation of the model fit when small datasets are analyzed. From the Kendall's Tau the coefficients and the significance levels are reported.

The Phi-coefficient was used as an alternative for logistic regression for all variables with yes/ no answers. This coefficient is considered to be suitable for two binary variables; in this case the dummy variable and the yes (0)/ no (1) answers. The coefficient is a correlation coefficient for the two variables. Whereas the regression coefficients are comparing one group (low or high) to the middle group, both Phi and Tau compare one group two both other groups.

3.1.1 Operationalization of key concepts

This part of the chapter is meant to introduce the way concepts were operationalized in this research. The key independent variables income and education of the parents will first be discussed. After that it will be shown how the capital concepts were operationalized in the survey.

Operationalization of the two independent variables

Income

Income of the parents is expected to be an important predictor for the quality of the life of their children; children cost money. The more parents earn, the more they can spend on making life better for their kids. In the survey people were asked about their average income from paid labour per month, defined as the sum of euro's deposited on one's bank account. The question was formulated after consulting several other surveys asking income-related questions. The possible answers people could choose out of were compiled after consulting data from government agencies in The Netherlands. The average standardized income for 2012 was set on 23,200 euro per year net income (CBS, 2013). Translated to a monthly income this is about 1900 euro per month. Based the information of the CBS, income was measured in the survey with the following groups (income per month):

- No income
- 0 – 500 euro ….onwards to ....4501 – 5000 euro
- 5001 – 6000 euro
- 6001 – 7000 euro
- More than 7001 euro

For the analysis these groups were combined to form a low income, middle income and a high income group. The low income group contained respondents with an income up to 1500 euro

a month, the middle income group between 1501 and 3000 euro and the high income group contained all of the respondents earning more than 3001 euro per month.

Education

Education is the second concept expected to have a large influence on the quality of children. Theory underpinning this expectation has been discussed in chapter two, especially in the part regarding cultural capital. In the survey people were asked about the highest grade achieved in school, excluding several courses only taking a short amount of time. The possibilities for answering were derived from some government publications. The central agency for statistics has divided education levels according to a standard measurement, called the "standard education classification" (SOI) (CBS, 2011). Combining this SOI with the different types of (contemporary) education provides us with the following information:

Table 3.1: Types of education grouped

SOI (Groups)	**Types of education**
Toddler education.	Lower education groups 1 and 2.
Elementary education.	Lower education beyond group 2.
Secondary education, first phase.	V(m)bo First 3 years of havo / vwo
Secondary education, second phase.	Havo Mbo Vwo
Higher education, first phase.	Hbo Bachelor Wo
Higher education, second phase.	Master Wo
Higher education, third phase.	Everything beyond Master WO

In the survey these categories were brought back to the following answering possibilities (with per category all possible types of education respondents could have followed):

- Elementary education
- High school
- Secondary education LBO
- Secondary advanced education MBO
- Higher education HBO and WO

In order to analyze the data using dummy variables for the education level of the parents, first the highest level of education among both parents was derived from the data. Based on these results, three groups were made containing low educated parents, average educated parents and high educated parents. The low educated group contained elementary, high school and secondary education combined. The average group thus consisted of higher education HBO and the high educated group of WO and everything beyond WO.

Operationalization of capital concepts in the survey

Now that the independent variables income and education level of the parents have been operationalized, the capital concepts can be discussed. The basis for the operationalization can be found in chapter 2, where the definition and determinants of all the different types of capital can be found. The theory about capital has lead to the formation of several themes per type of capital. Within these themes certain determinants were selected which together define a theme. The survey itself was at first divided into the different types of capital and the different themes per capital type. A certain amount of questions for every type of capital and theme was generated. In order to generate a sufficient amount of questions, some inspiration was found with surveys conducted by other researchers with similar topics (children, households, families). The list of questions was subsequently refined following some feedback sessions and (when a final selection was made) put into a conceptual version of the survey. In this version the previous sequence of questions was partly mixed, dividing the survey into different groups of questions. An example of such a group is the theme *the neighbourhood*, which contains questions regarding difficult types of capital. There were also questions with a list of propositions, relating to all kinds of capital forms but all relating to the neighbourhood of respondents. The purpose of the grouping strategy was to make the survey easier to fill in by respondents. Maintaining large amounts of alternations between different types of questions would make the survey more difficult to understand. Some questions and propositions were featured more or less twice or thrice in the survey, in order to see if respondents were serious when filling in the survey. Multi-item-scales for better reliability and validity were used. While these questions stood together in the initial version, they where mixed in the final version so people were less likely to start questioning why there were similar questions featured multiple times.

The survey started out with a selection variable, asking respondents to fill in the composition of their household. When people responded living in a household without children, they were sent to a separate screen thanking them for their time and effort but explaining that they were not part of the envisioned sample. The survey proceeded by asking respondents about their highest scholastic achievement and that of their partner (if any). This question measured one of the two important independent parental variables. Other independent variables were measured in the following questions, some regarding the parents (e.g. gender), some regarding the household (e.g. size) and some related to the children (e.g. age).The different groups of questions followed, from time to time separated by a text in order to explain what people could expect in the next part of the survey. The questionnaire concluded with the second important independent variable; income. After this income-question, a couple of income-related questions followed, like “how well is your household able to sustain with this income?”. Respondents could then fill in any remarks about the survey along with their e-mail address if they wanted a chance to win the gift certificates.

Some questions in the survey concerned the eldest kid living at home with the parents, some were about all children and some about (an opinion regarding) children in general. It would of course give a more complete picture of quality when a lot of data about all children living with the respondents was obtained, but this would have led to a very long survey with the expectancy of a large number of drop-outs before finishing. Therefore a selection of questions has been shortened to include only the oldest child. Choosing the youngest child would also have been a possibility, but with that method it was expected that a relatively large amount of people would not have been able to give useful information regarding some questions. For example, if the average age of the youngest child would have been low, a lot of them would

not have received allowances yet and the data about this topic would thus be limited. The questions about children in general were meant to cross-reference parenting behaviour with opinions about how parenting should be done. In other words; measuring both how parents want to raise children and how they do raise their own children. This could potentially reveal a gap between the ability to raise children and parental desires, and in that way give a more in-depth understanding about capital transfers from parents to children.

The appendices contain the entire survey in Dutch (appendix 1), as well as an overview of the operationalization itself; the survey questions per type of capital (appendix 3). In the survey the questions are numbered and per question it states which variables are included in this question.

3.2 Description of the sample

Comments at the end of the survey

Before continuing with the description of the sample and some first "general" results of the survey itself, first some comments that were made at the end of the survey will be briefly discussed. Although most comments were not related to the survey itself, some were and thus are described in this section as a way of reflecting from a respondent point-of-view. Two respondents said the survey was (fairly) long. One respondent claimed to have become confused with questions sometimes relating to all children, but sometimes to only the eldest child. One person claimed missing some questions. The examples he formulated were: "Should the legal drinking age be raised" and "Should there be more male teachers in front of the classroom". Six persons filled in the entire survey, though not having any children living at their parental home. The comment "some questions were not relevant for me" came as no surprise with two of these six respondents.

Some of the comments discussed may have an influence on the results. If this is the case it will be discussed in chapter five.

Description of the sample

The first results that will be discussed in this chapter are some general results regarding the sample of respondents. It serves to better understand the sample of data used for this research. This part starts with an introduction with some figures regarding the sample. Following that is a description of some key variables and background variables. There will also be some crosstabs for better understanding of the sample group. The last part features a question about the opinion people had about raising children, more specifically whether they think the mother of father should do more of the raising.

The marketing programs were selected with the total number of members being the most important argument for choosing specifically those programs. The first program had about 5000 members, the second about 900. A total number of four mailings have been sent to all members, of which only one with the second website. It was not known how many people have actually opened the e-mail with the invitation. Table 3.2 on the following page features some figures on the people who did respond to the e-mail.

Table 3.2: Key figures of data collection

Total number of respondents	248
Response rate compared to invitations sent	4,2 %
Total number within the target group	129
Respondents who have completed the survey	71
Respondents answering education question	87
Respondents answering income question	45

The figures in table 3.2 relate to the original dataset before removing two respondents who did not belong to the target group after all and six respondents who have filled in the survey more than once. What can be seen is that a very low amount of people who have received the e-mail with the invitation have actually responded to it, although not al people receiving the e-mail had children living at their home. A total of 119 people began to fill in the survey despite not having children living at their home. 58 people did not finish the survey. Even though 129 people were part of the target group, only 87 people answered the education question at the beginning of the survey and only 45 the income question at the end of the survey. The rest of the results below depict the group of people in the first dataset (the respondents answering the education question N = 87) on the left and the group of people in the second dataset (the group answering the income question N = 45) on the right.

Regarding background information

Table 3.3 reflects how the type of household of respondents is related to the number of persons in the household:

Table 3.3: A crosstab containing household type and persons in household

	Persons in household→	***N = 87***	2	3	4	5	6	*Avg.*	***N =45***	2	3	4	5	6	*Avg.*
House-hold→	Married, children living at home	**44 (50,6%)**	2	20	17	5	0	*3,57*	**23 (51,1%)**	0	11	10	2	0	*3,61*
	One parent (father) with children	**1 (1,1%)**	1	0	0	0	0	*2,00*	**0 (0,0%)**	0	0	0	0	0	---
	One parent (mother) with children	**21 (24,1%)**	12	8	0	1	0	*2,52*	**13 (28,9%)**	7	5	0	1	0	*2,62*
	Living together with children	**21 (24,1%)**	4	9	6	1	1	*3,33*	**9 (20%)**	0	7	0	1	1	*3,56*
	Total	***87***	19	37	23	7	1	*3,24*	***45***	7	23	10	4	1	*3,31*

Most of the people in the target group (44) were married. There were 21 people living together with a partner. 22 people belonged to a single parent family, of which only 1 was a man. This crosstab serves for a better understanding of the relationship between the number of persons in a household and the type of household. A couple of things stand out from this table. The first thing is that two people stated to be living as a married couple with children at the parental home, while at the same time having a household with only two people. This is not possible. Those respondents have been recoded or deleted depending on other answers. The second thing that might be noticed is that there was only one father without spouse, having only one child living at home. This respondent did not make it into the final sample.
In the group “living together with children” it can once again be seen that four people in the original group claimed to live with two persons while there should at least be two adults and

some children in the household. One turned out to have two children but did not finish the survey. Two of them had one child and did not finish the survey.

Table 3.4: Gender distribution of the respondents

Gender	*N = 87*	*N = 45*
Male	30 (35,7%)	15 (33,3%)
Female	54 (64,3%)	30 (66,7%)

The gender question came after the household composition question. Three people in the education dataset did not fill in their gender. As can be seen, the majority of respondents (about two-third) are female. The percentages for the group of people which filled in the gender question are just about the same as the percentages in the group of people who filled in the entire survey and belonged to the target group for this study.

Regarding income

Table 3.5 shows the income of respondents. The table only shows the results for the income dataset, since the income question was at the end of the survey. There used to be two more categories; 5001- 6000 and 6001 – 7000 euro. None of the respondents stated to have such an income. About one out of five respondents chose not to answer this (important) question. This will be discussed in chapter six.

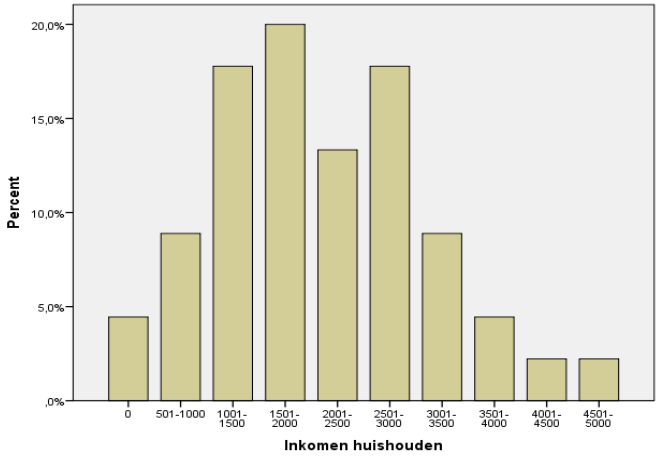
Table 3.5: Income distribution of the respondents

Income	*N = 45*	*Three categories*
No income	2 (4,4%)	Low
0 – 500 euro	0 (0,0%)	14 (31.1%)
501 – 1000 euro	4 (8,9%)	
1001 – 1500 euro	8 (17,8%)	
1501 – 2000 euro	9 (20%)	Middle
2001 – 2500 euro	6 (13,3%)	23 (51.1%)
2501 – 3000 euro	8 (17,8%)	
3001 – 3500 euro	4 (8,9%)	High
3501 – 4000 euro	2 (4,4%)	8 (17.8%)
4001 – 4500 euro	1 (2,2%)	
4501 – 5000 euro	1 (2,2%)	
More than 5001 euro	0 (0,0%)	
Average income in euro:*	**2083,33**	

**Taking the average in euro's per category.*

In 2012, the average net income of households per year was 43.600 euro (CBS Statline, 2013). This makes 3633 euro per month for households the average. This number, unlike the figures above, includes allowances from the government. This might at least partly explain the difference between this number and the numbers in the table above. In the bar chart on the following page the original distribution of income is displayed, showing quite a normal distribution. The Shapiro-Wilk test confirms the data is normally distributed, showing a level of 0,373 when leaving out the respondents who choose not to answer this question (N = 45). What is apparent from the table above is that while three logical categories of income are chosen for the analysis with dummy variables, the distribution is still highly concentrated with the middle incomes while leaving only eight respondents in the high income group.

Figure 3.1. Bar chart income of the respondents



While one person spends a lot of money on things that could be considered not affordable, others might tend to maintain a lifestyle where every possible cent is saved. In order to see if income says anything about the ability to make ends meet, a question about the latter was asked. These are the results:

Table 3.6: Extend to which respondents can make ends meet

Making ends meet	*N = 45*
Very hard	8 (17,8%)
Hard	9 (20%)
Not hard not easy	19 (42,2%)
Easy	3 (6,7%)
Very easy	6 (13,3%)

As can be seen most people do not find it hard or easy to get by with the income they receive. However, there are more people who find it hard to make ends meet than there are people who find it easy. The Shapiro-Wilk test for normality shows the results are not considered normally distributed because of this. A Kendall's Tau correlation conducted between the income variable and the variable above shows a significant positive correlation at p-level 0.05, meaning that there is a strong relationship between income and the ability to make ends meet.

Having an income as operationalized in the survey comes with having a paid job. In table 3.7 the work situation of the respondents is shown:

Table 3.7: Work situation of respondents

Work situation	*N = 87*		*N = 45*	
Paid employment <18h	8 (9,3%)		2 (4,4%)	
Paid employment 18-32h	18 (20,9%)	Total employed	6 (13,3%)	Total employed
Paid emplorment >32h	25 (29,1%)	51 (59,3%)	13 (28,9%)	21 (46,7%)
Unemployed, WW	7 (8,1%)		3 (6,7%)	
Unemployed, Bijstand	4 (4,7%)		4 (8,9%)	
WO invalide-uitkering	1 (1,2%)		1 (2,2%)	
Pensioner/ VUT	2 (2,3%)		2 (4,4%)	
House(wo)men	16 (18,6%)		10 (22,2%)	
Other	5 (5,8%)		4 (8,9%)	

One person is missing in the education dataset, because this respondent did not fill in the question. The distribution is more or less the same with in both tables. The number of people not having a job but working at home in the household is relatively high (18,6% and 22,2% respectively). The reason for this is probably the way in which the sample was retrieved. It is plausible that a relatively large number of people participating in online cashback programs are doing this as an extra activity besides working at home (and thus having the time to earn a little bit of extra money online). This can also be the reason for a relatively large number of unemployed people participating in this survey.

The unemployment rate is relatively high in this sample. CBS Statline (2014) published an unemployment rate of 8,5% of the total Dutch labour force during the period this survey was held (3rd quarter 2013). Although this seems to be an indication of a large difference between this sample and the Dutch population, differences in measurement make it impossible to accurately compare those two figures.

Table 3.8 is about the type of house respondents and their children live in and whether this house is owned by the respondent and/ or partner or rented.

Table 3.8: Cross-tabulation of type of house and house ownership of respondents

Type of house	Owner *N = 87*	No owner *N = 87*	Owner *N = 45*	No owner *N = 45*
Detached	7 (15,9%)	0 (0,0%)	4 (15,4%)	0 (0,0%)
Terrace house	33 (75%)	29 (76,3%)	19 (73,1%)	16 (84,2%)
Apartment/ Flat	2 (4,5%)	9 (23,7%)	2 (7,7%)	3 (15,8%)
House with shop/ farm	1 (2,3%)	0 (0,0%)	1 (3,8%)	0 (0,0%)
Other	1 (2,3%)	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)
Total	**44 (53,7%)**	**38 (46,3%)**	**26 (57,8%)**	**19 (42,2%)**

One person in the education dataset filled in only one out of the two questions, accounting for difference between the N stated above the table and the number of respondents in total featured in the different categories. One person filling in “other” lived in a “corner house”, which is probably a terrace house on the corner.

Detached houses are usually houses people will have to buy and not be able to rent, which explains the results regarding this category. A terrace house is what in Dutch is called a “rijtjeshuis” (house in a row of attached houses). This category also includes “twee onder één kap” (two houses underneath one roof). Most respondents (by far) are in this category. About half of the respondents rent this type of home. The number of respondents living in a flat is a little bit higher than the number living in a detached house. Most flats are rentals, as shows in the results. In total the number of people renting a home is about as large as the people owning a home.

Regarding education

The following variable shows the second key independent variable for this research; education of the parents. It is being researched what the influence of this education level is on several quality indicators of children.

Table 3.9: Education of the respondents

Education respondent	*N = 87*	*N = 45*
Elementary school	5 (5,7%)	3 (6,7%)
High school	26 (29,9%)	15 (33,3%)
Lower advanced education	14 (16,1%)	7 (15,6%)
Secondary advanced education	28 (32,2%)	14 (31,1%)
College (Higher advanced education and university)	14 (16,1%)	6 (13,3%)

Percentage-wise, both groups are just about the same. The amount of respondent who have only finished high school is about the same as the number of respondents finishing secondary advanced education and about the same as the groups lower advanced and college together. A couple of respondents did not finish anything beyond elementary school. In the table below are the results regarding the partner of respondents (if any):

Table 3.10: Education of partners of respondents

Education partner	*N = 87*	*N = 45*
Elementary school	7 (8,0%)	3 (6,7%)
High school	19 (21,8%)	11 (24,4%)
Lower advanced education (lbo)	19 (21,8%)	8 (17,8%)
Secondary advanced education (mbo)	20 (23,0%)	12 (26,7%)
College (Higher advanced education and university)	5 (5,7%)	2 (4,4%)
No partner	17 (19,5%)	9 (20,0%)

The categories “high school”, “lower”- and “secondary advanced education” are just about the same. The amount of partners having finished college is about the same as the amount of people not having a degree beyond elementary school.

For the analysis the education variable was first combined into a variable containing the highest education level among both partners and subsequently divided into three categories. The results of this are found in table 3.11:

Table 3.11: Highest education among both parents in three categories

Highest education	*N = 87*		*N = 45*	
Elementary school	5 (5,7%)	Three categories:	3 (6,4%)	Three categories:
High school	15 (17,2%)		9 (20%)	
Lower advanced education (lbo)	19 (21,8%)	39 (44,1%)	9 (20%)	21 (46.7%)
Secondary advanced education (mbo)	32 (36,8%)	32 (36,8%)	18 (40%)	18 (40%)
College (Higher advanced education and university)	16 (18,4%)	16 (18,4%)	6 (13.3%)	6 (13.3%)

Both for education and for income these variables are not to be considered as normally distributed. Due to the nature of the categories the category of low educated people has got the highest amount of respondents, while the category high educated has got the lowest amount. What is remarkable is that there are a lot of low educated respondents (with partners not being higher educated) who took part in the survey. With 45% for the education dataset and 46% for the income dataset, it was the largest group in both datasets. Usually it is quite hard to get respondents in this category and having a lot of them in the sample increases the chance of getting significant results for this low educated group.

The relationship between income and education level

For these correlation coefficients the dataset which has been used to analyze education as an independent variable (N = 87) has been used.

Table 3.12: Coefficients for the relationship between education and income

	Kendall's Tau	**Significance**
Education - Income	0,310	.011
Three categories compared	0,366	.008

The results show that there is a very significant positive relationship between education and income of the respondents. This relationship, divided into the three categories per variable, is displayed in this crosstab:

Table 3.13: A crosstab on the relationship between education and income

	Low income	**Middle income**	**High income**
Low education	11	8	2
Average education	2	12	4
High education	1	3	2

Especially with low and middle income with regard to education the relationship is very clear.

Regarding raising children

To see what kind of attitude respondents had towards the responsibility of raising children, a question was asked about who should take care of the children (man or woman) and who is actually taking care of the children. The following results emerged:

Table 3.14: Gender taking care of children and opinion about gender roles

Should take care of children	*N = 87*	*N = 45*	**Takes care of children**	*N = 87*	*N = 45*
Only woman	6 (6,9%)	3 (6,7%)	Only woman	20 (23%)	10 (22,2%)
Man helps sometimes	9 (10,3%)	7 (15,6%)	Man helps sometimes	12 (13,8%)	8 (17,8%)
Man helps often	10 (11,5%)	5 (11,1%)	Man helps often	11 (12,6%)	8 (17,8%)
Both equal	54 (62,2%)	28 (62,2%)	Both equal	35 (40,2%)	16 (35,6%)
Woman helps often	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)	Woman helps often	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)
Woman helps sometimes	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)	Woman helps sometimes	1 (1,1%)	1 (2,2%)
Only man	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)	Only man	1 (1,1%)	0 (0,0%)
No response/ No opinion	8 (9,1%)	2 (4,4%)	No response/ No opinion	7 (8,0%)	2 (4,4%)

Most people think both woman en man should equally take care of children, although it is very apparent that while there is a group of people who think women should take (more) care of the children, there is not a single respondent who stated that the man should take more care of the children than the woman. Traditional gender roles are still showing in this result. The results of the second question show that the "equal gender roles" group is quite a lot smaller; the group of respondents stating that only the woman takes care of children is rather large. A crosstab showed that most of the respondents in this category were living in a household

without a man, so this explains the high figure. Men taking more care of children than women are also the exception with the question about who actually raises the children.

The Kendall's Tau correlation coefficient (conducted with the final education dataset N = 87) between the two questions after removing the "no opinion" answers is 0,479 with a p-value of .000. This means there is a very significant correlation between taking care of children and the opinion about who should take care of the children. People will generally distribute the burden of upbringing in the way they think it should be done.

Conclusion

There are several things that stand out with the key indicators of the sample. The first thing is that the response rate was very small and the dropout rate high, which lead to a rather small dataset especially for income. Two of the consequences of this small dataset are that not all variables are normally distributed and the amount of cases in the three groups for income and education are small. On the level of individual variables it can be seen that most respondents are part of a marriage; one parent families are almost all with a female parent; most respondents are indeed female; the middle income group is the one with most respondents while with education the low education group is; and a rather large percentage is unemployed. The sample might not be indicative for the entire Dutch population because of the small number of respondents in combination with the results for these variables, but since the analysis is done with three dummy variables for the independent groups this does not matter: The three groups are compared to each other.

Now that an introduction has been given on the sample and some of the (more general) results, an in-depth look can be given into the results per type of capital. The next chapter features all the results, which are used to formulate conclusions with regard to the hypotheses.

4. Empirical findings

In chapter four all the findings from this research can be found. The purpose it to accept or reject the hypotheses stated in chapter two. This is done by analyzing the dataset obtained from the respondents filling in the survey. The chapter is divided by capital type and subsequently a division has been made into the different hypotheses per type of capital. With every capital type the chapter ends with the analysis of some variables not directly related to the stated hypotheses. Altogether this leads up to a conclusion about every type of capital children can obtain and how this capital is related to both the income of parents as well as the highest education level among them.

4.1 Social Capital

In the conceptual framework, social capital was defined as a type of capital which can be used to gain resources for other types of capital through relationships with other people and networks. It consists of a person receiving the resources, a person (or persons) donating them and the resources themselves. It is assumed, following the literature, that certain "positive" neighbourhood indicators could form a basis for social capital accumulation. These neighbourhood indicators will feature in the first section of this chapter as a special part of social capital indicators.

As is the case with all capital types, the variables that are used are partly compiled out of multiple variables, or multiple questions from the survey. When this is the case, a Cronbach's Alfa analysis is conducted to see whether different variables can be used on one scale. A short elaboration about this will follow which each compiled variable, before showing the actual results. The tables containing the results display the R2 as well as the coefficients from the regression analysis and the Kendall's Tau. With some categorical variables, a Phi – Coefficient is displayed instead. All variables have been coded in a way that higher scores relate to higher accumulated capital for children. Despite the small number of cases (especially with the income dataset), some significant results were found.

As was outlined in chapter three, all variables belonging to a certain type of capital were divided into several themes, allowing for a more in-depth analysis to take place. With regard to social capital, four themes are identified:

1 = Influence neighbourhood
2 = Possessed (family/ elsewhere)
3 = Freedom/ Possibility to accumulate
4 = Social norms and values

The number of the theme can be found in front of the variable name in the tables.

Neighbourhood and social capital of children

The survey, which can be seen in its entirety in appendix 1, had several questions about neighbourhood indicators relating to the social capital of children. After the process of compiling new variables, three variables remained of which two are compiled variables. The

first compiled variable is "possibilities social capital neighbourhood", measuring the possibilities for gathering social capital in the neighbourhood.

Table 4.1: Possibilities social capital neighbourhood. Cronbach's Alfa 0,727

- Respondent feels letting children go out to play is safe (does not agree – agrees)
- Enough to do when children want to play outside (does not agree – agrees)
- Enough playground in vicinity for children (does not agree – agrees)

The second compiled variable consists of nine propositions. It measures the amount of "positive" neighbourhood indicators according to the parents. Three of them were reversed for analysis, so that whenever people stated "I agree" on the five point likert scale, it meant that there is a positive relation to the indicators of the neighbourhood.

Table 4.2: Positive neighbourhood indicators. Cronbach's Alfa 0,826

- Respondent has lots of contact with direct neighbours (does not agree – agrees)
- Respondent feels letting children go out to play is safe (does not agree – agrees)
- Respondent says people in neighbourhood go along together well (does not agree – agrees)
- Respondent lives in neighbourhood with solidarity (does not agree – agrees)
- Enough to do when children want to play outside (does not agree – agrees)
- People in neighbourhood hardly know each other (reversed) (does not agree – agrees)
- Often nuisance from direct neighbours (reversed) (does not agree – agrees)
- Enough playground in vicinity for children (does not agree – agrees)
- Lot's of bicycles stolen in neighbourhood (reversed) (does not agree – agrees)

Whereas the separate variable, which was safety neighbourhood, did not yield a significant result with any of the independent (dummy) variables, the two compiled variables did. These results are shown in table 4.3. With each table a list of variables that did not yield any significant result is included in the bottom part. Details about those (and all other) variables can be found in appendix 4, which contains all the results.

Table 4.3: Neighbourhood indicators for social capital

Theme(s)	**Question/ Final variable in dataset**	**Type of analysis**	**<u>Education</u>**		***N = 87***	**<u>Income</u>**		***N = 45***
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1, 3	Possibilities social capital neighbourhood	Linear	.051	-.685	1.624*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.218**			
1, 3	Positive neighbourhood indicators	Linear	.056	-.742	4.98**	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.222**			
	Safety neighbourhood.		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

It can be seen that the R2 values are very low. There even were some negative R2 values with the income tests. Whenever these negative values were seen the results are replaced with "N.S.F.", which stands for "no solution found".

With regard to the possibilities for accumulating social capital in the neighbourhood, regression analysis gave a significant result at the significance level < 0.10 for high educated parents. This means that respondents falling into this category score on average 1,624 units higher when it comes to the possibilities for gaining social capital in the neighbourhood than people in the average education group. This result gave the basis for further analysis with a Kendall's Tau. The Tau correlation coefficient is significant at the level < 0.05 with a score of 0.218. This means there is a significant deviation from both the lower and the average educated categories, showing a positive relationship between being higher educated and the score on possibilities for social capital accumulation in the neighbourhood.

Regarding the positive neighbourhood indicators in total, a similar correlation was found. This time the relation is significant at the level < 0.05 for both the regression analysis (comparing it to the average educated group) and the Kendall's Tau analysis (comparing it to the lower and the average educated groups). In this dataset, higher educated people seem to live in neighbourhoods which score better when it comes to subjects as safety, facilities for children and being socially involved with each other. Chances are lower than 5 percent that this correlation occurred by chance.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from these results that there is a significant positive correlation between being high educated and living in a good neighbourhood for gaining social capital. Although there are no significant results found with the low educated group, results show that there are significant results with the high educated group for both variables indicating a relationship between education and positive neighbourhood indicators. The other question, whether respondents feel unsafe when going out at night, shows no significant results but contains only a single question. There is no evidence found in support of a relationship between neighbourhood indicators and parental income.

Social capital of children

The second set of variables deals with social capital of children as a whole. This possessed social capital is measured in the setting of family relations (e.g. playing games with the family) and on other relations (e.g. visiting social network sites). The related hypotheses are:

1a. Social capital of children is positively related to parental income.

1b. Social capital of children is positively related to parental education.

Seven variables in the survey indicate something about these hypotheses. Three of them are related to experiencing social events in a family setting and four in other settings. The first three (playing games, visiting amusement and visiting playground) were combined into one variable at first, but yielded a Cronbach's Alfa of only 0,642 with no solution of combined items possible. Therefore, these three variables remain separate items in the analysis. Hobby club total covers the total number of hobby clubs the oldest child is a member of. Social sports total comes forward out of a question about which sports the oldest child practices and

in what relation (association, with people outside an association or without other people). Whenever a sport was practiced with other people (in an association and/or other context) it was coded 1. The total number of sports combined resulted in this variable.

Table 4.4: Social capital of children

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
2	Playing games	Linear	.049	-.527**	-.165	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.271**				
2	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	-.170	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.273**				
2	Hobby club total (N = 12)	Linear	N.S.F.			.250	.500*	.000
		Kendall's Tau					.661*	
2	Social networks (n/y) (N = 55)	Phi-coefficient	----	-.004	.144	----	-.299*	.108
2, 3	Social sports total (N = 29)	Linear	.051	-.467	.2	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.367**				
	Friends at home		N.S.F.					
	Visiting playground		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The hobby club total variable yielded only twelve valuable cases, because most children were not part of any hobby club. The social networks variable has got only 55 valuable cases and social sports total only 29. The latter is because there were many children not playing sports in an association and were thus left out. Yet again, most R-squared values are low. Hobby club total is an exception to this, but with only 12 cases with education and even 9 with income, conclusions still need to be drawn with care.

With income there were only two small significant results with hobby club total and social networks. The hobby club variables had only 9 cases for income, of which two were in the low income group. One out of those two scored very high with two hobby clubs, the only respondents indicating this much hobby clubs hence this significant result.

There are more things to be concluded from the relationship between parental education and several of the variables tested. Playing games, visiting amusement and social sports total all yield significant outcomes for low education at p-level <0.05 for the Kendall's Tau coefficients. All are negatively correlated, meaning that low educated respondents on average (compared to average and higher educated parents) spend less time playing games with their children, less frequently visit the zoo and/ or amusement parks and their children are on average involved in less "social sports". The first of those two conclusions can also be drawn when comparing low educated parents to only the average educated parents, using the coefficients from the regression analysis.

Conclusion

Low educated parents do seem to be associated with children in less possession of family generated social capital, at least when looking at playing games together and visiting the zoo and/ or amusement parks. Children of low educated parents are also involved in significantly less "social sports", although the figure stated was generated using only 29 cases. When looking at family possessed social capital, playing games together does not show the same evidence as the other two variables. Furthermore, three out of four variables regarding possessed social capital outside of the family show no significant results. Based on these results it is not possible to reject hypotheses 1a and 1b entirely, but neither is it possible to definitively confirm them. The conclusion thus is that partial evidence is found for the hypotheses.

Other social capital indicators of children and parents

This last part serves to give some additional insight into the relationship between social capital of children and education as well as the income of the parents. Ten variables are included. Some of the variables serve as factors possibly influencing social capital accumulation (instable factors and communication fluency with the parents, both derived from the conceptual framework) while others relate to a range of different things associated with social capital (e.g. is a child allowed to address the parents in an informal way).

Two of the variables are combined variables. The first is social freedom, measuring what freedom parents would give to a child of ten on a three-point scale.

Table 4.5: Social freedom. Cronbach's Alfa 0,856

- Time of coming home in the evening (parents decide – children decide)
- Staying at a friends house (parents decide – children decide)
- Which friends can stay over (parents decide – children decide)
- What a child does on the computer (parents decide – children decide)
- Hobby of child (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on the Smartphone (if any) (parents decide – children decide)

All the above variables have been reversed, so that the answer with the highest score stands for the most freedom and this the maximal possibility for gaining social capital for children.

The second combined variable is level norms values, measuring the level of most often positively valued norms and values in society. Parents were asked whether they thought a certain value was important with their own children on a five point scale.

Table 4.6: Level norms values. Cronbach's Alfa 0,864

- Important that children pay attention to other people (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children having good manners (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have got a feeling of responsibility (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children obey the parents (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children (if of sufficient age) help with household chores (does not agree – agrees)

Three variables (misunderstandings, misunderstandings respondent and misunderstandings partner) were combined in to a single variable about the level of understanding between parents and their children. The Cronbach's Alfa for this scale was only 0,454, with no possible solutions of combined items. The variables were left on their own. For analysis the results are split into the categories instable factors, communication fluency and norms and values to make the interpretation of the results easier.

Table 4.7: Instable factors in the household

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	Education		N = 87	Income		N = 45
			Adj. R2	Low	High	Adj. R2	Low	High
3	Parental separation	Linear Kendall's Tau	N.S.F.			.057	-.224 -.268*	.223
	Instable factors total (N57)		N.S.F.					
	Moving out total (N57)		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The instable factors possibly effecting social capital accumulation as discussed in the conceptual framework are essentially measured with two variables (divorces oldest child has experienced and times oldest child has moved with parents), with a third variable being a combination of the two added together. The variable parental separation containing low income as an independent variable is the only one with a significant result, albeit only at p-level <0.10 and only with the Kendall's Tau correlation test. Children from low-income families might be involved in significantly more divorces, but evidence is quite low. Of all the respondents 33,9 percent said their oldest child went through one or more parental divorces.

Table 4.8: Level of understanding between children and parents

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	Education		N = 87	Income		N = 45
			Adj. R2	Low	High	Adj. R2	Low	High
3	No misunderstandings	Linear Kendall's Tau	N.S.F.			.077	-.848** -.292**	-.598 -.022
3	No misunderstandings respondent	Linear Kendall's Tau	.021	-.024	-.604* -.215*	N.S.F.		
	No misunderstandings partner		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The results in table 4.8 reflect the level of understanding between the oldest child living at the parental home and his or her parents. Once again most R-square values are relatively low. Despite this, two results are found. It is perhaps somewhat surprising that higher educated parents seem to have a lower level of understanding with their children (significance level

<0.10). Maybe children from higher educated parents form more own opinions due to getting higher education themselves (resulting in more conflicts), maybe the parents do not have enough time for their children resulting in arguments, but another thing to notice is that the education level is measured as being the highest among respondent and partner, meaning that the respondent is not necessarily the one being higher educated (see chapter three). Since a comparable result is not seen with the level of understanding between partner and child and the low significance of the result, no definite conclusions can be drawn from these figures.
More significant is the result that parents with low incomes have got significantly more misunderstandings with the oldest child more at p-level <0.05.

Table 4.9: Norms and values children

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
3	Opinion disco 15y/o is normal	Linear	.141	.195	-1.165***	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			-.383***			
	First name basis		N.S.F.					
	Social freedom		N.S.F.					
	Level norms values		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

Only one (highly) significant result can be derived from all the variables. This is a variable consisting of only one item. Parents with a high education find it significantly less normal for 15 year old children to be allowed to go to disco's by their parents. Translated to the effect for the own children this means higher educated parents are significantly less likely to allow their children (if 15) to go to the disco. This result is significant at a P-value below 0.01 compared to average educated parents as well as average and low educated parents. This lack of freedom is not seen with the freedom indicators in the social freedom variable. No significant differences have been found regarding freedom with 10-year-old children, not with the level of social norms and values of the own children and there are no significant differences in whether children are allowed to speak informatively to their parents or not.

Conclusion social capital

In the tables displayed in the conclusion part of the capital types, like table 4.10, the significance is displayed for the Kendall's Tau results. The results are all framed in the way it would probably influence the children themselves.

Table 4.10: Results social capital

Social capital			
Low income	*High income*	*Low education*	*High education*
Less children visit social networks regularly*		Playing less games with the family**	Higher possibility for gaining social capital in the neighbourhood**
Parents have gone though more separations*		Visiting amusement park and zoo less**	Better neighbourhood indicators**
More misunderstandings with both the parents**		Attending less sports with social connection**	More misunderstandings with the respondent*
			Less likely to be allowed to go to the disco when 15 years old***

In this chapter some significant results have been described regarding the influence of parental income and education on the social capital of children. Few significant results regarding the influence of income have been found. There are more results with education as an independent variable. Looking at the hypothesis about neighbourhood indicators, results seem to suggest higher educated parents live in neighbourhoods scoring higher on the "positive indicators" scale. This translates in an environment where children in general will feel safer, where there is more to do for children wanting to play outside and to more possibilities for social interaction with people in the neighbourhood. All these indicators provide a better basis for gaining social capital when being a child.

When it comes to the possessed social capital with children (family wise or through other social arrangements) the data shows that low educated parents on average tend to play less games with their children and to pay less visits to the zoo and amusement parks. These facts are not enough to accept hypotheses. Adding to this information it can be seen that there is one other significant finding, which is that higher educated parents are very significantly so less likely to allow their 15 year old children (if any) to the disco's.

Looking back at the conceptual framework, some implications are found. When less social capital is built up in low educated families, possibilities for developing social capital with children might be compromised. However, social capital with family support consists of more than playing games and going to the zoo and/ or an amusement park, so the data does not necessarily build a foundation for evidence regarding possible problems with low educated families and social capital formulation in the long term. Whenever social capital is lacking in families it can be found outside of the family, but besides the better neighbourhood (which might build a foundation for social capital building outside of the family) with higher educated families there is no evidence any lack in social capital with low educated parents is counteracted by social capital accumulation outside of the parental home.

In the conceptual framework care from parents and paid employment were also mentioned as a possible basis for social capital formulation. The concepts of parental care and parental supervision will be discussed in the chapter about symbolic capital. Paid employment is in focus in the chapter about economic capital.

4.2 Cultural Capital

Culture in general is linked to norms and values which are binding groups. Cultural capital can subsequently be defined by what certain groups of people value as culture, with some outings valued higher than other outings. Social class is (still) considered to be an important divider between cultural activities rated high or low in society. Cultural reproduction theory follows up on this line of reasoning, with family being the source of distinction being produced.

Cultural capital can be very broad. This is because high and low valued cultural outings differ from group to group. This can especially be seen in the so-called embodied state of cultural capital, with language (which is also the basis for a lot of other capital types accumulation) differing from society to society. The survey among parents covered mostly this embodied predisposition, with education as an important determinant of cultural capital, but it also covered cultural activities pursued by the children with their parents as well as the children on their own or with peers.

Just like in the social capital chapter this part is divided into several peaces, with the hypotheses being the most important divider. The first part deals with the educational attainment of children in relation to both education and income of the parents. The second part is about cultural activities the children were engaged in. After that, possessed cultural capital as a whole will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with some other themes relating to cultural capital, but not directly relating to the hypotheses formulated earlier in the research. Every part will begin with explaining the compiled variables before moving on to the results. The different themes are once again to be found in front of the variable name. In the case of cultural capital, these are the themes:

1 = Norms and values
2 = Education
3 = Cultural expressions
4 = Freedom to explore culture

As is apparent from these themes, the second and third cover the hypotheses, whereas the other two cover subjects discussed separately at the end of the chapter. After each part a short conclusion will follow, which will in the end lead to a conclusion about children and their cultural capital related to income and education of the parents.

Educational attainment and cultural capital of children

The first part is about cultural capital in the form of educational attainment. The hypotheses that suit this part are directly derived from the literature discussed in the conceptual framework. They are:

2a. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental income.

2b. Educational attainment of children is positively related to parental education.

There are not many questions in the survey regarding the education of children. Educational attainment should be quite easy to measure by asking what levels of schooling children attend of have attended in the past. The survey accounted for this by asking the highest level of education for all children living at the parental home.

Only high school levels (low/ medium/ high) were used, making it possible to interpret the results. Unfortunately this left only 29 cases with this variable, since other children were not in high school. The only other question giving an idea about educational attainment which could be achieved by the children is the one asking the respondent about how important he or she feels it is that children at least finish high school. Although this is no guarantee of school achievements, it gives somewhat of an idea of the amount of "push" parents would engage in order to get good school achievement of the children. The results from the linear regression analysis did not provide a basis for further analysis, as all significance levels were above 0.20. Judging by these results, a significant relation between the income and education of parents on one hand and educational attainment on the other hand is not found. The hypotheses thus cannot be accepted, despite the evidence found in the literature with regards to cultural reproduction theory.

Cultural activities and cultural capital of children

Four variables are relating to cultural activities of children and with it to the next hypotheses:

3a. The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental income.

3b. The number of cultural activities of children is positively related to parental education.

Two of the variables are constructed out of multiple questions. The first one is cultural activities total; the amount of time the respondent has spent visiting several cultural venues with the oldest child. Although it is a sum of time spending and as such not a scale of items, it is still interesting to see that the Cronbach's Alfa on all venues together is 0,887. There is a strong relation between visiting the different venues.

Table 4.11: Cultural activities total. Cronbach's Alfa 0,887

- Classical concert
- Pop concert
- Opera
- A play
- Ballet
- Cabaret
- Musical
- Movie
- Museum
- Dance-evening

For the variable above, one outlier was removed from analysis. This respondent had scored the maximum amount of visits for every cultural venue. The second constructed variable was visiting library measured on a five point scale, shown in table 4.12 on the next page.

Table 4.12: Visiting library. Cronbach's Alfa 0,891

- Oldest child; visiting library with parents (never – multiple times a week)
- Oldest child; visiting library by itself (never – multiple times a week)

Both variables are recoded such that a higher score stands for more visits to the library. One outlier was removed from analysis.

Table 4.13: Cultural activities of children

Theme(s)	**Question/ Final variable in dataset**	**Type of analysis**	**Education**		***N = 87***	**Income**		***N = 45***
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
3	Cultural activities (N = 55)	Linear	.041	-.880	.800	.035	-.486	1.448
		Kendall's Tau						.269*
3	Reading stories to children	Linear	.022	-.616*	-.008	.038	-.860*	-.342
		Kendall's Tau		-.220*			-.241*	
3 (4)	Visiting cities (n/y) (N = 38)	Phi-coefficient	----	.069	.268*	----	-.223	.028
	Visiting library		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The low N with visiting cities is because only cases going on vacation in the last year were included. Many people had not gone on a holiday with their children last year. None of the results are very significant. There are some significant results on the <0.10 level though. High income parents spent more time visiting cultural activities with their children compared to middle and low income parents. Both low income and low educated parents spent less time reading to their children, compared to both middle and high education. This result is a bit odd, because as can be seen when looking at higher educated and higher income parents, these groups too score lower on the amount of reading to their children compared to middle educated and middle income groups. Apparently the middle groups spent much more time reading to their children. Compared to the low educated this might be a cultural capital transfer attempt from the parents. In the case of higher income and educated parents, they might be busier than the middle group parents with other things, like employment, causing them to have less time for reading to their children.

The last result in this section is that higher educated parents are more likely to go on a cultural holiday (visiting a city) than the middle educated group of parents. In total there were only six respondents who had indicated going on holiday to a city in the past year. Three out of those six were in the high educated group of parents. Given the open to question way of measuring a cultural vacation (going on city trips), the value of this result might be considered low.

Conclusion

On the basis of the results presented, both hypotheses on cultural activities are considered rejected. There are some indications on a couple of variables that the hypotheses might hold ground at significance level 0.10, but this still leaves a large margin of error. No convincing evidence is found that there is indeed a positive correlation between income and / or education and cultural activities the children venture.

Cultural capital of children

4a. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental income.

4b. Cultural capital of children is positively related to parental education.

For cultural capital formation as discussed in the conceptual framework, the most important indicator is the level of schooling of the children. As was seen in the part above about education, no significant results were found on this variable. On the basis of this information, together with the other variables already discussed, the hypotheses about possessed cultural capital of children in relation to parental education and income must be rejected.

Other cultural capital indicators of children and parents

In this part some other indicators of cultural capital accumulation will be discussed, with a focus on cultural freedom and norms and values. Three of the variables are combined variables. The first one is cultural freedom, about the freedom parents would give to a 10 year old child. Only the propositions which had anything to do with culture are selected for this compiled variable.

Table 4.14: Cultural freedom. Cronbach's Alfa 0,872

- Which television programmes to watch (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on computer (parents decide – children decide)
- Which hobby (parents decide – children decide)
- What music child listens to (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on smartphone (parents decide – children decide)

Another combined variable is norms values common, about several commonly positively valued character traits or norms and values together creating a very reliable scale. All questions are about how important the parents think certain traits with children are.

Table 4.15: Norms values common. Cronbach's Alfa 0,953

- Important that children care about other children (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children want to know why things happen in the world (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have got manners (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have got a feeling of responsibility (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have self control (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children are neat (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children are doing their best at school (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children obey the parents (does not agree – agrees)

When adding help household, the importance of the own children helping with the household we get norms values total about the norms and values in total. It does decline the Cronbach's Alfa a little bit to 0,938, which is still very high. The Cronbach's Alfa for help household is 0,884. The two items included in this scale are:

Table 4.16: Help household. Cronbach's Alfa 0,884

- Important that children help with household chores (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children clean own room (does not agree – agrees)

The variables included in the total norms and values were added together in a later stage and first analysed separately for the independent education parental indicator. That is the reason the importance caring variable is listed as an extra (consult appendix 4 for details); it yielded a significant result for the Kendall's Tau at p-level <0.10. Of all the extra variables, this was the only one yielding a (small) significant result. Low educated parents seem to attach less value to their children caring about other children compared to average and high educated:

Table 4.17: Other cultural capital indicators

Theme(s)	**Question/ Final variable in dataset**	**Type of analysis**	**Education**		***N = 87***	**Income**		***N = 45***
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1	Importance caring for others	Linear Kendall's Tau	.021	-.206 -.208*	.122	N.S.F.		
	Cultural freedom		N.S.F.					
	Importance finishing school		N.S.F.					
	First name basis		N.S.F.					
	Norms values common		N.S.F.					
	Norms values total		N.S.F.					
	Help household		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

In order to see what norms and values Dutch parents think are important, a description of the sample for the education dataset is provided below with the mean scores per question. The higher the score, the more important parents think the value is, with 5 being the maximum.

Table 4.18: Average scores on norms and values propositions

Important that children:	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**
Care about other children	4,69	,573
Want to know why things happen in the world	4,50	,692
Have got manners	4,69	,547
Have got a feeling of responsibility	4,69	,547
Have self control	4,59	,623
Are neat	4,54	,627
Are doing their best at school	4,58	,599
Obey the parents	4,39	,723
Help with household chores	4,18	,828
Clean own room	4,31	,816

What can be seen is that all propositions score high, meaning that parents think all values and acts are important or very important. The household chore related propositions score the lowest with the highest standard deviation, indicating that parents care less about these acts being done by their children than they care about the values. From these values the one about obeying scores lowest, which could be in line with the theory about families getting more democratic as stated in the first chapter.

Conclusion cultural capital

Table 4.19: Conclusion cultural capital

Cultural capital			
Low income	*High income*	*Low education*	*High education*
Parents are reading less stories to their children*	Children going on more cultural activities with parents*	Parents are reading less stories to their children*	More likely to visit cities on the holiday with parents*
		Parents think it is less important that their children care about other children*	

Based on the results the dataset yielded, none of the hypotheses regarding cultural capital can be accepted. In fact, there were only a couple of variables significant at level <0.10. Parents with a high income seem to spend more time in total visiting various cultural activities with their oldest child than parents with a lower income. Parents with a low income, as well as the low educated parents spent less time reading to their children when compared to parents with higher education/ income and even more so compared to middle educated and middle income parents. Parents with higher education are less likely to go on a cultural holiday the data seems to suggest. However, due to the very small sample size and the somewhat strange definition of what cultural holidays are, this result has to be taken with a grain of salt. The last significant correlation was found regarding parents with lower education caring less about their children caring about other people.

The conclusion is that this data hardly tells the reader anything useful about a possible relation between income of the parents and the cultural capital of their children. This goes against the literature review in the conceptual framework, stating that there are cultural capital transfers from parents to children based on education. The most significant results came with the variables relating to cultural activities. This might indeed be the best indicator for measuring cultural capital with children when keeping in mind conceptual problems regarding educational attainment of children.

4.3 Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital can be quite an ambiguous term because what is considered to be symbolic capital, or valued practices, differs from group to group. Wealth serves as an example for this, as it is symbolically valued in many groups but will not be so in all groups and cultures. Apart from wealth, status, prestige and reputation are often valued making them part of symbolic capital. With children determinants might thus be high allowances, many possessions or going on days out or holidays with the parents often. In the conceptual framework it was also discussed how praiseworthy character traits are symbolically valued. These traits can be inherited when parents raise their children, in which care and supervision serve as a sort of

proxy. Symbolic freedom is yet another part of symbolic capital for children; the amount of freedom the children get to express them selves and do what they want to do. With all these determinants of symbolic capital the rule is that it will not be valued in every group, as is inherent with symbolic capital.

In this chapter, the first part will be about the transfers of care and supervision from parents to children. This can turn into praiseworthy character traits with the child. The second part is about possessed symbolic capital, which is measured in the form of allowances, possessions and freedom. The last part covers all other survey questions related to symbolic capital in order to come to a conclusion about symbolic capital as a concept at the end of the chapter.

The four themes that can be distinguished in the survey questions are in line with the topics as discussed in the conceptual framework and summarised above:

1 = Freedom for child
2 = Love, care attention
3 = Positive norms and values
4 = Possessions (material)

Care and supervision from the parents and symbolic capital of children

The first part is related to care and supervision from the parents. The hypotheses formulated to go along this subject are:

5a. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental income.

5b. Good parental indicators like care and supervision are positively related to parental education.

When these hypotheses are accepted it will give some indication about the chances of children developing character traits that are (in general) considered praiseworthy in Dutch society (if not in any). Several variables are combined out of multiple questions and/ or propositions from the survey. Some combinations could not make a scale and are left separate.
The first combined variable is about care and supervision when it comes to drinking alcohol and going out. The scores on the items have been reversed so that a higher score stands for more freedom, but as one could argue at the same time stands for less care and supervision of the parents.

Table 4.20: Freedom alcohol disco. Cronbach's Alfa 0,721

- Children should not drink alcohol before reaching the age of 16 (does not agree – agrees)
- I do not understand parent who let their 15 year old children go out in disco's (does not agree – agrees)

The next variable is an important indicator for care, measuring items like being at home with small children, sending children to day care and using correcting hits or not.

Table 4.21: Home with children. Cronbach's Alfa 0,721

- Both parents work outside; family should preferably take care of children (does not agree – agrees)
- Children come home from day care, parents should be at home (does not agree – agrees)
- "Correcting hits" not contemporary norm (does not agree – agrees)
- Part of good upbringing is "correcting hits at children"* (does not agree – agrees)
- Children going to day care two mornings a week is not a problem* (does not agree – agrees)
- Women having baby should temporarily stop working (does not agree – agrees)
- Would never send kid to day care (255) (does not agree – agrees)

When deleting the first proposition about family taking care of the children, the Alfa rises to 0,801. This is "home with children 2". The two propositions about correcting hits are joined in the correcting hits variable, with an Alfa of 0,835. The two propositions with stars are reversed to reflect more / better care with higher scores on the variables.

An attempt was made to unite three variables (unlimited support, visibility help and giving much) on one scale, but no scale was possible at an Alfa level of only 0,452. The two variables about dinner choices (influence out for dinner and influence dinner choice) had a negative Cronbach's Alfa of -0, 01. The variables about communication between the oldest child and the parents together (misunderstandings, misunderstandings respondent and misunderstandings partner) only yielded a Cronbach's Alfa of 0,454 with no scale possible.

Table 4.22: Care and supervision of parents

Theme(s)	**Question/ Final variable in dataset**	**Type of analysis**	**Education**		***N = 87***	**Income**		***N = 45***
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1	Freedom alcohol/ disco	Linear	.111	.706	-1.374*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		.286**	-.323***			
2	Giving much to children	Linear	.054	.353	-.387	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		.207*				
2	Talk about future	Linear	.028	-.343*	-.127	.072	-.460**	-.031
		Kendall's Tau		-.231*			-.324**	
2	No misunderstandings	Linear	N.S.F.			.077	-.848**	-.598
		Kendall's Tau					-.292**	-.022
2	No misunderstandings respondent	Linear	.021	-.024	-.604*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			-.215*			
2	Reading stories to children	Linear	.022	-.616*	-.008	.038	-.860*	-.342
		Kendall's Tau		-.220*			-.241*	
	Home with children		N.S.F.					
	Home with children 2		N.S.F.					
	Correcting hits		N.S.F.					
	Bring to school		N.S.F.					
	Unlimited support from parents		N.S.F.					
	Visibility help		N.S.F.					
	Influence out for dinner		N.S.F.					
	Influence dinner choice		N.S.F.					

	Visiting playground	N.S.F.
	No misunderstandings partner	N.S.F.
	Knowledge subjects child	N.S.F.
	Help homework	N.S.F.

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

There are some significant findings in the table; one of the correlations is even very significant. When looking at the amount of freedom regarding alcohol habits and going out to disco's, significant effects have been found with education as an independent variable. Low educated parents are associated with giving more freedom than those that have gotten a higher education. The significance level is <0.05. With higher educated parents, the opposite effect is seen at a significance level of less than 0.01. Higher educated parents tend to give their children less freedom regarding alcohol usage at a young age and regarding going to disco's when young. For these hypotheses this effect has to be translated to care and supervision. Based on these results it must be concluded that care and supervision measured with these two propositions goes up significantly with higher educated parents, while dropping significantly with low educated parents, as 15 year old children are not allowed to consume alcohol or go to regular disco's.

A small significant effect (at level <0.10) is found with low educated parents being more likely to give their children everything they wish for if they could, compared to those with a higher education. This could translate to more care being given by low educated parents, but at the same time this care could be bad for the children; a spoiled child might encounter psychological problems in the long run.

When it comes to talking with children about the future, something which can be considered part of taking good care of your children, significant effects can be seen with low educated as well as with low income parents. While the effect is more significant with low income parents, results seem to indicate that both groups are less likely to talk about the future with their children, spending less time guiding their children along the path of life and preparing them for what might happen.

When it comes to communication fluency between the parents and the oldest child, significant effects can be seen with two out of three propositions (the third one being about fluency between the partner and the oldest child). There are significantly more misunderstandings between oldest child and parents when the parents have got a lower income ($P < 0.05$). Perhaps monetary restrictions lead to a lower level of understanding. Although P-values of parents in the highest income group are above 0.10, results do seem to point in the direction of the least misunderstanding in the middle income group, since coefficients for the higher income group are also negative. The same can be seen with regard to education for the misunderstandings respondent variable and higher educated people. Possible explanations are given in the chapter on social capital.

When it comes to reading stories to the children, it was already seen with cultural capital that both low educated and lower income parents on average spend less time reading to their children, translating in less care. The significance level however is relatively small.

Conclusion

Regarding income, there are a couple of indicators that there is a difference between the level of care from parents with a low income and parents with a high(er) income. Parents with a low income are less likely to talk to their children about the future, have got more misunderstandings with their oldest child and are less likely to read stories to their children. The results seem to suggest that these differences are largely in comparison to the middle income group of parents. This means that there is no linear relationship between the income of parents and the amount of care they give their children. The 0-hypothesis is therefore maintained; there is no significant difference between parental income and care or supervision. Only partial evidence has been found.

The results regarding the education level of the parents seem to point in the same direction. The only real apparent result is that they care more about (their own) children not using alcohol before it is legal and not going to disco's before the age of 16. Regarding talking about the future, misunderstandings and reading behaviour the conclusion is the same as with income: Low educated parents score lower on the level of care than parents in the average education group, but this difference cannot be seen with the higher educated group meaning that there is not a linear relationship between education level of the parents and care-indicators. The 0-hypothesis is maintained with only partial evidence available supporting the alternative hypotheses.

Symbolic capital of children

The second set of hypotheses is about the possessed symbolic capital of children in the form of freedom and in the form of allowances and possessions which can both generate status among their peers. The hypotheses are:

6a. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

6b. Symbolic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

There are three propositions in the survey regarding allowances being independent from the allowances of other children. Though the subject is about the same in these three propositions, together they only account for a Cronbach's Alfa of 0,341. There is no solution possible with regards to putting the items together on a scale.

Then there is a scale measuring what is in this case called "symbolic freedom", combined of several items in which parents indicated how much freedom they would give to a child of 10 years old. Table 4.23 on the next page shows the items included in this variable.

Table 4.23 Symbolic freedom. Cronbach's Alfa 0,929

- Choice of sport (parents decide – children decide)
- Time of coming home at night (parents decide – children decide)
- Time of going to bed (parents decide – children decide)
- Whether child goes along on a holiday (parents decide – children decide)
- Staying over at friends house (parents decide – children decide)
- Choice of tv-program (parents decide – children decide)
- Decorating bedroom (parents decide – children decide)
- Which friends can stay over for the night (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on holiday (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on computer (parents decide – children decide)
- Choice of hobby (parents decide – children decide)
- Choice of music (parents decide – children decide)
- What child does on smartphone (parents decide – children decide)

Five other questions, which together form a sum of total things the oldest child has to pay for himself, stand for a Cronbach's Alfa of 0,723. This is also the maximum amount possible with this combination of items. The possessions questioned about in the survey are paying themselves for clubs, clothes, for savings, going out and paying for lunch at school.

The possessions child variable contains the amount of items possessed by the oldest child living at the parental home. The following possessions are included in the survey:

Table 4.24 Possessions child

- Smartphone
- Regular mobile phone
- Desktop pc
- Laptop pc
- Own television
- DVD-player
- Mp3-player
- Tablet

Table 4.25 shows the results for symbolic capital. It can be seen at page 72.

Table 4.25: Symbolic capital of children

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1	Freedom alcohol/ disco	Linear	.111	.706	-1.374*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		.286**	-.323***			
1	Freedom spendings	Linear	.023	.050	.815*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.209*			
4	Dependence allowance	Linear	.059	.197	-.946**	.061	-.325	-1.182**
		Kendall's Tau			-.259**			-.305**
4	Vacation total	Linear	.114	-.573***	.040	.031	-.441	.130
		Kendall's Tau		-.410***			-.242*	
4	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	-.170	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.273**				
4	Allowance total	Linear	N.S.F.			.120	.453**	.614**
		Kendall's Tau					.204	.225
4	Possessions child	Linear	N.S.F.			.081	-1.376**	.196
		Kendall's Tau					-.303**	
4	Type of home	Linear	.057	-.007	.598**	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's tau			.321***			
4	Rooms home total	Linear	.081	-.447	1.214**	.220	-1.706***	1.217
		Kendall's Tau			.316***		-.454***	.300**
	Extra allowance				N.S.F.			
	Allowance comparison				N.S.F.			
	Paying child				N.S.F.			
	Symbolic freedom				N.S.F.			

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

Considering rooms total there were two outliers which have been removed. The results are discussed in three different categories: Freedom, allowances/ possessions and immaterial possessions.

Freedom

As was already seen in the first part of this chapter, low educated parents allow their children more freedom when it comes to alcohol usage and going out to disco's, whereas higher educated parents allow their children, even more significantly so, less freedom. In terms of possessed symbolic capital, children from higher educated parents will have less among many

of their peers. When looking at the freedom to spend money in a way children want to spend it themselves, there is an indication with a p-value of less than 0.10 that children of higher educated parents are allowed more freedom compared to averagely educated as well as low educated parents. The last indicator of freedom is removed from the table because it did not generate any significant result. When it comes to children of 10 years old, parents from all categories allow them about the same amount of freedom, at least with no significant differences.

Allowances and possessions

The first result shows that both with higher income and with higher education the allowances children get are significantly ($p < 0.05$) less dependent on what children from other parents get when compared to low educated and lower income parents. Whether children get an allowance as well as a clothing allowance (allowance total) does not differ significantly between the three education groups. When looking at income however, it is clear from the linear regression that both lower income parents and higher income parents are more likely to give allowances than the middle income group. This also means there is no linear relationship between the income of the parents and the chance of allowances for children. It is clear that the middle income group is the exception, because when a Kendall's Tau is conducted to compare low income to higher income and high income to lower income there is no significant result either way. The adjusted R-square is relatively high, even though the sample is very small; meaning a large amount of variance is explained by income. Allowances do not guarantee a certain amount of possessions though. The amount of items possessed by children in low income families is significantly lower than the amount of items in both middle and higher income families.

Immaterial possessions

With regard to going on vacation with the children and visiting a zoo or amusement park, children from low educated parents are significantly less likely to go along on such trips than their peers from higher educated families. In the case of holidays the significance is less than 0.01 and in the case of going to the zoo or an amusement park it is less than 0.05. Another "possession" that might be considered giving symbolic capital is the size of the house the parents live in. It is apparent that the houses are larger with higher educated families and there are also more rooms in those homes. When comparing to low educated families, the p-value is less than 0.01 in both cases, when comparing with average educated parents it is less than 0.05. With differences in income, no significant results can be seen when looking at the type of home. This could perhaps partly be explained by the small sample size, after all it is a bit odd that there is quite a distinction with education but the same cannot be said about income (which would seem more logical). Looking at the number of rooms however, there is a clear significant relationship between income and the number of rooms in the parental home. Lower income families have got significantly less rooms in the home at a p-value less than 0.01. This average compares to all higher incomes. The Kendall's Tau also shows that higher income families have got significantly more rooms in the houses ($p < 0.05$) compared to all lower incomes.

Conclusion

Regarding symbolic freedom, whether children have got more or less freedom seems to depend on the subject of freedom. When it comes to virtues like drinking alcohol, children

from higher educated parents seem to get less freedom. When it comes to spending money, they get more than their peers from low educated parents. In terms of allowances, the height of them is less dependent from that of other children with high educated and high income parents. Groups with middle income parents are the least likely to get allowances and clothing allowances. Kids from low income families possess less luxury items. Children with parents having got a lower education are less likely to go on a holiday with the parents or to an amusement park while at the same time having smaller homes with fewer rooms. Low income parents do also raise their children in smaller houses with fewer rooms.

What does this mean for possessed symbolic capital as a whole? Although there is not a very clear relation, the trend seems to be that there is in fact a relation between symbolic capital and both income and education. There are at least a couple of factors proving this relationship exists. Except for freedom regarding drinking alcohol and such, children from low educated families and from lower income families do enjoy less symbolic capital than other children. The conclusion is that both hypotheses are accepted.

Other symbolic capital indicators of children and parents

There is one other variable related to symbolic capital, which is in line with the theory that care and supervision often lead to the building of character traits with their children which are in general valued positively in society. This is the scale measuring positive character traits valued by parents.

Table 4.26: Importance positive traits. Cronbach's Alfa 0,953

- Important that children pay attention to other people (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have good manners (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children are neat (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have got a feeling of responsibility (does not agree – agrees)
- Important that children have got self-control (does not agree – agrees)

The Cronbach's Alfa for this compiled variable is 0,953, meaning it is a good scale for measuring positive character traits. However, when doing the analysis it turned out that there were no significant findings with this variable. The amount of value parents attach to their own children having various positive character traits does not differ per group. The positive value attached to these traits might be more subjective than thought, causing the lack of significant variation among the scores.

Conclusion symbolic capital

Table 4.27: Results symbolic capital

Symbolic capital			
Low income	*High income*	*Low education*	*High education*
Less likely to talk about the future with their parents**	Allowance less dependent on what other children get**	More freedom for drinking alcohol and going to the disco**	Less freedom for drinking alcohol and going to the disco***
More misunderstandings with both the parents**	Higher chance of getting both general allowances and allowances for clothes**	Parents more likely to give children as much as possible*	More misunderstandings with the respondent*
Parents are reading less stories to their children*	More rooms in the parental home**	Playing less games with the family**	More freedom on how to spend own money*
Going on vacation with parents less*		Visiting amusement park and zoo less**	Allowance less dependent on what other children get**
Higher chance of getting both general allowances and allowances for clothes**		Less likely to talk about the future with their parents*	Living in higher category home***
Less possessions**		Parents are reading less stories to their children*	More rooms in the parental home***
Less rooms in the parental home***		Going on vacation with parents less***	

The theory behind this last section is that symbolic capital, measured through care, allowances and possessions as indicators, is related to parental income and to parental education. Care could build future symbolic capital by building positively valued character traits, allowances and possessions could hold symbolic value for the children when young. There is no evidence that care and future positive traits are in fact related, but the data does seem to suggest that care from parents does not have any relation to parents valuing these positive traits with their children. Whether the theory holds ground or not isn't very important, since the evidence base supporting the hypotheses regarding care is not very high. There seems to be more evidence for a relationship between income and education of the parents on the one hand and possessed symbolic capital of children on the other. The relationship seems to be positive and significant for both income and education, at least regarding some determinants that make up symbolic capital.

4.4 Economic Capital

Possessing economic capital is about having both money and possessions. It is a useful type of capital for acquiring other types of capital, for example cultural capital by visiting cultural venues. Consumption thus is an important term related to economic capital. Since income of the parents is one of the independent variables, economic capital of the children is an important indicator for their quality of life in this research.

There were several themes attached to the questions in the survey. There were questions about material possessions, immaterial possessions, questions related to money and questions about financial raising and responsibility. These themes are numbered in the output tables as such:

1 = Material
2 = Immaterial
3 = Monetary
4 = Raising/ responsibility

The chapters below are divided between allowances/ possessions and other economic indicators.

Allowances and (im)material possessions and economic capital of children

The first two hypotheses regarding economic capital are about both the allowances and the possessions. Together they make up part of the possessed economic capital of children. These are the hypotheses:

7a. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental income.

7b. Allowances and (im)material possessions of children are positively related to parental education.

Because all possessed economic capital is covered in these hypotheses, the following hypotheses will be regarded as being equal to the ones above when analyzing the data:

8a. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental income.

8b. Economic capital of children is positively related to parental education.

There were fifteen questions related to this subject, of which four were deleted from the table because they did not yield any significant results. The first of the eight questions measures whether children get an allowance, allowances for clothes or both (allowance total). The second is about getting allowances for clothes only. Then there is a question about whether the oldest child has got an own income, after which all of the variables above are combined into a variable measuring spendable income of the oldest child.

The next is about the total number of items possessed by the oldest child. Which items were included was already explained in the symbolic capital chapter. The last question is about the number of insurances the parents pay for their oldest child. There were several insurances included in the question, for example a life insurance and study insurance, but parents also had the opportunity to include extra insurances, adding to the total number of insurances.

The two questions about home indicators were added to one scale with similar ways of measurement (5 point categorical scale), but this only yielded a Cronbach's Alfa of 0,506. The items were thus left separate.

Table 4.28: Economic capital of children

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
3	Allowance total	Linear	N.S.F.			.120	.453**	.614**
		Kendall's Tau					.204	.225
	Allowance clothes (n/y)	Phi-coefficient	----	.079	-.070	----	.301**	.160
3	Income child (n/y)	Phi-coefficient	----	-.052	.271**	----	-.273*	.127
	Spendable money	Linear	.022	.182	.607*	.145	.335	.978***
		Kendall's Tau			.171			.336**
2	Vacation total	Linear	.114	-.573***	.040	.031	-.441	.130
		Kendall's Tau		-.410***			-.242*	
2	Spending holiday (N = 38)	Linear	.072	-308.684	781.871*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.216			
2	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	-.170	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.273**				
1	Type of home	Linear	.057	-.007	.598**	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.321***			
1	Rooms home total	Linear	.081	-.447	1.214**	.220	-1.706***	1.217
		Kendall's Tau			.316***		-.454***	.300**
1	Possessions child	*Linear*	N.S.F.			.081	-1.376**	.196
		Kendall's Tau					-.303**	
3	Insurances paid by parents (N = 48)	Linear	N.S.F.			.142	.435	2.026***
		Kendall's Tau						.303**
	Allowance		N.S.F.					
	Paying parents		N.S.F.					
	Pets total		N.S.F.					
	Paying child		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

There were some results regarding the hypothesis with income as an independent variable as well as with education. In the previous chapter it was already seen that both high income parents and low income parents are more likely to pay allowances to their children than the middle income parents. Added to that, children from low income families are more likely to get an allowance for clothes, which is part of the total allowances variable and helps explain this result since there are no significant results with the "normal allowances" variable. Children from high educated parents are more likely to receive an own income, compared to those with average educated parents. Children from low income families are less likely so.

The sum of all the questions about the allowances yields a highly significant result with high income parents and their children. Their spendable income will on average be higher than the children from middle income families. The same effect but with a smaller significance level can be seen with children who have got parents with higher education levels. Remarkable is that the middle income parents and middle educated parents are the groups scoring lowest on the questions about allowances.

When looking at the questions about going on holiday with the children, despite the low number of cases there is a very significant effect with regards to low educated parents being less likely to spend holidays together with their children. With low income families there is a similar effect found in comparison to families with a higher income, but this result is less significant. It can also be seen that high educated parents on average spend 782 euro more on a holiday with the children, which is an effect with a p-level of less than 0.10. As was seen before in earlier chapters, children from low educated families are also less likely to visit the zoo or amusement parks.

The two questions about the home children live in have been discussed in the chapter about symbolic capital. In short it can be seen that children from high educated families live in larger homes with more rooms than other children. Income of the parents has got a significant linear effect on the number of rooms in the home; the higher the income, the more rooms in the home adding to the feeling of children having a high economic capital.

The amount of items possessed by children from low income families is on average less than with other families with a P-value of less than 0.05. The last thing that can be seen is that parents with a high income on average pay for two extra insurances for their oldest child than the middle income class. When compared to both middle and lower income families, the result is still significant, but with a lower P-value.

Conclusion

No relationship has been found between education and allowances or possessions of children on a lot of the items. Significant results were found with getting an own income and on spendable money, going on holidays as well as to the zoo or an amusement park and the scales regarding home characteristics. Partial evidence for the hypotheses is found.

With income, there are quite a lot of differences to be found. For allowances, the 0-hypothesis would be maintained. There is no linear relationship between the allowances and income and children from low income families seem to be even more likely to get allowances than their peers from high income families. With spendable income there is also no linear relationship. There is no significant relationship with regards to normal allowances and paying to parents for living at home. Only having an own income yields a linear relationship, but there is only a small significance level with low income parents. Partial evidence is found, but not enough to accept the alternative hypothesis.

With regard to possessions it is clear that children from low income families possess fewer items, whereas children from high income families get more insurances from their parents (though there isn't a clear linear relationship between income and the number of insurances).
Children from low income families are less likely to go on a holiday with their parents and live in homes with fewer rooms, with the latter being opposite for high income parents and their children. No significant effects have been found with regards to the number of pets

possessed by the oldest child. Altogether this is some evidence in support of hypothesis 8a, but rejecting the 0-hypothesis on the basis of these results, while there are some contradicting results with the allowances too would go a little far. Only partial evidence is found.

Other economic capital indicators of children and parents

Apart from the economic capital possessed, financial raising of children is another issue related to economic capital which was asked about in the survey. There were seven questions about this, but four of them did not yield any significant results. Furthermore, an attempt was made to create a scale about the amount of responsibility of spending money children would get from their parents. The three items included were "saying no", "freedom money" and "independence allowance". Together they created a negative Cronbach's Alfa, even though the coding on all variables was correct. The items have been left separate.

Table 4.29: Other economic capital indicators

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
3 4	Freedom spending	Linear	.023	.050	.815*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.209*			
3 4	Dependence allowance	Linear	.059	.197	-.946**	.061	-.325	-1.182**
		Kendall's Tau			-.259**			-.305**
1 4	Giving much to children	Linear	.054	.353	-.387	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		.207*				
	Saying no		N.S.F.					
	Extra allowance		N.S.F.					
	Allowance comparison		N.S.F.					
	Good economic teaching		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The most significant result is found with the variable about the dependency of allowances upon the allowances of other children of the same age (independence allowance). Parents with a high income and parents with a high education indicate that the allowances they give to their children are less likely to be dependent on what other children get. There is another question in the survey which is about the children stating to the parents that they get smaller allowances than their classmates. Parents could indicate whether this would influence the amount of allowances. With this variable, there were no significant results. There were also no significant results with the question about whether children would get more money if they have spent all of their allowance.

Parents with a high education level indicate that their children are responsible themselves for what they do with their money, significantly more so than parents with lower education levels (perhaps only compared to average educated parents). The significance of this effect however is not very big. There is also an effect with relatively little significance when comparing low

educated parents to higher educated parents with regards to trying to give the children everything they wish for. Low educated parents are more likely to do so. This does not automatically mean they will give children everything they wish for.

Conclusion economic capital

Table 4.30: Results economic capital

Economic capital			
Low income	*High income*	*Low education*	*High education*
Higher chance of getting allowance clothes**	More spendable money**	Going on vacation with parents less***	Higher chance of having an own income**
Lower chance of having an own income*	More rooms in the home**	Visiting amusement park and zoo less**	More spendable money*
Going on vacation with parents less*	More insurances paid by the parents**	Parents more likely to give children as much as possible*	Larger spending per holiday with parents*
Less possessions**	Allowance less dependent on what other children get**		Living in higher category home***
Less rooms in the parental home***			More rooms in the parental home***
			More freedom on how to spend own money*
			Allowance less dependent on what other children get**

When looking at economic capital in its entirety there is not enough evidence to conclude that education and income have got a positive and significant correlation with it. Significant relationships can be found on the level of individual scales and items though. With regards to the data available for this research, the only significant linear relationship that suits the hypothesis is the one about the relation between the number of rooms in the parental house and the income of the parents. When it comes to financial raising, allowances for children in high educated families and high income families seem to be less dependent on allowances of other children and the same children seem to get more responsibility themselves for the way they spend their money. It is possible that a larger dataset would yield more evidence, especially with regards to the link between the income level of the parents and economic capital of the children, since this seems to be an obvious relationship.

4.5 Human Capital

In the framework human capital contained an education part, a knowledge part and the notion of health. There were several hypotheses relevant to human capital accumulation of children. The hypotheses about human capital in relation to education have already been discussed in the chapter on cultural capital. Three variables are related to these hypotheses: Whether the respondent thinks it is important children in general finish high school, the average high school level of the own children and the importance of the own children doing their best at school. With none of the three variables any significant results were found. There is no basis upon which to accept the hypotheses. They will therefore not be discussed any further.

Then there are the hypotheses regarding general knowledge, which only refer to two questions; one about skills being applied in the household and the other about curiosity. This

makes the last section about health the biggest part of this chapter. The hypotheses for this part of the chapter state that the possessed health of children is positively correlated to both income and education of the parents.

General knowledge and human capital of children

These were the two hypotheses related to this subject:

9a. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental income.

9b. General knowledge of children is positively related to parental education.

The variable about skills applied in the household is compiled out of five things that could possibly happen in a household; making own bread, own mayonnaise, own cake, own jam and the tinning (or bottling/ canning) of vegetables. The total number of skills applied makes up this variable. Since this is a sum of skills, items don't necessarily have to be on the same scale. This is fortunate, because the Cronbach's Alfa for this scale would only be 0,592. In reality this probably means that there are not a lot of people executing all skills, while at the same time there are not a lot of people executing none of the skills. This makes a significant correlation quite unlikely.

Table 4.31: General knowledge of children

Theme(s)	**Question/ Final variable in dataset**	**Type of analysis**	**Education**		***N = 87***	**Income**		***N = 45***
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
2	Skills household (N = 55)	Linear	.059	-.643**	.024	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.253**				
	Curiosity		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The number of people included in this sample was only 55, but there was a significant result at level <0.05 for low educated parents. Low educated parents tend to apply significantly less skills in the household than average educated parents. Both the regression analysis and the Kendall's Tau confirm this significant difference. With income the relationship lacks linearity, as well as significant results. The average number of skills applied in the households of respondents was only 1,2 per household.

Curiosity of children could be something transferred from parents to children, which in turn could lead to the children learning more skills than other children because of this curiosity. Although curiosity with the children was not measured, it can be concluded from the data that there were no significant differences in the amount of value parents attach to this curiosity with their own children. No significant results have been found with this variable and it was deleted from the table above.

Conclusion

The concept of knowledge is primarily measured with one variable about the number of skills applied in the household. Results with this variable suggest that the hypothesis regarding education of the parents and knowledge is accepted, while at the same time rejecting the hypothesis for income of the parents. However, since the result is only based on this one significant result, the conclusion will have to be read with a note of caution: If more knowledge related variables would have been measured results could have been different.

Health and human capital of children

Economic situation, being educated and the social environment all play a role in maintaining health. For children this is no different, except for that they are largely dependent on their parents for money, getting educated and creating a social setting. So income and education of the parents are important independent variables when looking at both the physical and mental health of children. In the survey questions about both kinds of health were asked. In front of the variables the number 1 stands for physical and number 2 for mental health. There are also variables which can say something about both types of health together.

This part about health will begin with a short review about the social environment and how this relates to parental income and education. This social environment can influence the health of children. After discussing the main topics on total health this section about health will end with some additional survey questions which give an idea about how parents think about certain health topics. This can serve as background information about the relationship between parents and the influence on their children's health.

Neighbourhood indicators and human capital of children

The questions regarding neighbourhood indicators are largely based on the notion that they will influence social capital. This influence has been discussed in the part about social capital and the outcome was that higher educated parents tend to live in neighbourhoods scoring better on indicators like safety and social bonds in the neighbourhood. There was one proposition in the survey more directly relating to the health of children, both mental and physical. This proposition stated that the neighbourhood would be safe for children to go out by their own. There is a significant relation found at a P-level less than 0.05 with this variable. Low educated parents indicate they live in neighbourhoods where they feel it is not safe for children to go out by their own significantly more often than the two groups of higher educated parents. For children living in such surroundings this could pose a threat to their health. This evidence strengthens the acceptance of the hypotheses about the neighbourhood indicators versus the education of the parents. With regard to income, no (additional) evidence has been found.

Table 4.32: Neighbourhood indicators for health

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1,2	Safety neighbourhood children	Linear Kendall's Tau	.038	-.372 -.229**	.454	N.S.F.		

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

The total health of children

Table 4.34 gives insight into the relationships between the two parental indicators and the health of children. The following hypotheses are tested:

11a. The health of children is positively related to parental income.

11b. The health of children is positively related to parental education.

So with these hypotheses some indicators of possessed health are measured, although some are indicators about behaviour which could pose problems to one's health and often only in the long run. Five variables gave significant results, while a large majority of seventeen did not. The first variable in the table is a combination of the children eating varied meals and the children eating sufficient vegetables.

Table 4.33: Varied meals. Cronbach's Alfa 0,825

- It is important that my children eat varied meals (does not agree – agrees)
- I pay attention to it that my children eat sufficient vegetables with dinner (does not agree – agrees)

Table 4.34: The health of children

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	**Education**		*N = 87*	**Income**		*N = 45*
			Adj. R2	**Low**	**High**	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	**High**
1	Varied meals	Linear	.072	-.970**	-.542	.050	-.817*	.326
		Kendall's Tau		-.183			-.235*	
1,2	Health children	Linear	.020	-.320*	-.084	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau		-.201				
1, 2	Children alcohol (N = 56)	Linear.	N.S.F.			.087	33.333*	-14.719
		Kendall's Tau					.352**	
1	Sports total (N = 45)	Linear	.059	.006	1.236*	N.S.F.		
		Kendall's Tau			.262*			
2	Parental separation	Linear	N.S.F.			.057	-.224	.223
		Kendall's Tau					-.268*	
	Sufficient vegetables		N.S.F.					
	Happiness children		N.S.F.					
	Children smoking		N.S.F.					
	Enough sleep		N.S.F.					
	Exercise amount		N.S.F.					
	Salty snacks frequency		N.S.F.					
	Frequency illness		N.S.F.					
	Chronic deceases		N.S.F.					
	Deceases total		N.S.F.					
	Friends at home		N.S.F.					
	Moving out total		N.S.F.					
	Instable factors total		N.S.F.					
	Moving out total		N.S.F.					
	Instable factors total		N.S.F.					
	Enough sleep 2		N.S.F.					
	Safety neighbourhood children		N.S.F.					

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

When first looking at the varied meals variable, it can be seen that children of low educated parents eat less healthy, but only compared to the average educated group. The P-value is less than 0.05. When looking at income, children from lower income families on average eat less healthy compared to children in other income categories with a P-value of less than 0.10. With the low educated group, parents indicate an effect on the health of their children. The score for this variable is significantly lower than the score with averagely educated parents, but with a margin of coincidence larger than 5 percent. The average health of all children in the sample was 4,23 on a five-point scale according to the parents, whereas the average happiness of all children was only 3,82 out of 5. Furthermore the linear regression shows that children from low income families are 33 percent more likely to drink alcohol compared to the middle income group. Compared to both middle and high income groups, using a

Kendall's Tau as measure, the correlation is even more significant. In the long run this could have an effect on the health of those children.

Results also show that children from high educated parents engage on average in 1,2 types of sports more than the other children. The significance is not very high though and there were no significant findings with the variable "amount of exercise oldest child", meaning that the number of sports might not say too much about the amount of exercise.

The last variable in the table is related to mental health, with the amount of separation of the parents being the determinant. Children from low income families seem to suffer from parents who get significantly more divorces. The correlation coefficient is not very significant though at p-level <0.10.

Conclusion

There are some significant findings when it comes to the health of children and how it relates to the parental indicators. Most importantly, lower income parents are connected to less healthy food and more alcohol usage. When looking at the number of variables not yielding any significant results though, it cannot be said that there is a significant relationship between income and education on the one hand and the health of children on the other hand. Even with the variables that do yield results, significance levels are often low and there are no definite linear relationships to be found. Furthermore, since many variables have been left out due to lack of results, no significant differentiation can be made between possessed physical and mental health when discussing the results. This means there is only partial evidence found, where the burden of evidence is relatively low.

Other health indicators of children and parents

There are two variables about parental indicators of health consciousness. One is a question about whether respondents know the "schijf van vijf". This is a well known aid in The Netherlands for being conscious about what you eat. The other variable is about how conscious the parents are about children's health in general. If parents are less conscious about health and the health of children, they are less likely to make sure their own children eat sufficient vegetables and such. The second variable consisted of three propositions from the survey:

Table 4.35: Consciousness health parents. Cronbach's Alfa 0,737

- Children at age 12 should not smoke (does not agree – agrees)
- I don't understand parents who do nothing about their children being fat (does not agree – agrees)
- Children under the age of 16 should not drink alcohol (does not agree – agrees)

Table 4.36: Other health indicators

Theme(s)	Question/ Final variable in dataset	Type of analysis	Education		N = 87	Income		N = 45
			Adj. R2	Low	High	Adj. R2	Low	High
1	Consciousness health parents (N = 57)	Linear	.193	-1.773***	.327	.005	-.976	-.244
		Kendall's Tau		-.424***			-.160	
1	Knowledge "schijf vijf" (n/y)	Phi-coefficient	----	-.231*	.141	----	-.176	-.277*

****= significance .000 **= significant at level < .05
***= significant at level < .01 *= significant at level < .10

One outlier was removed with the first variable. This variable yielded the most significant coefficient of the entire study. Low educated parents score 1.77 points lower on the scale of consciousness about children's health in general, creating a p-value of less than 0.01. Because the regression analysis is flawed, like with many other variables a Kendall's Tau correlation coefficient was produced. The coefficient shows a negative correlation between low education and health consciousness. Because dummy variables were used this means that when people score a 1 one the low educated scale, they are less conscious about the health of children than people who score a 0 on this scale (meaning that they are in the average or high educated group). This was the only result with a P-value of 0.000, meaning it is a very significant result and is very unlikely to be the result of coincidence. It is indeed what one would expect when reading theory about health and education. It could be the cause of children behaving in a way that is bad for their health and parents behaving in a way that is bad for their children's health, though results from the previous section suggest there are not a lot of significant differences between the low educated group of parents and the rest of the sample when it comes to healthy behaviour. The significant result can be attributed to a significant variance with the low educated group of parents:

Table 4.37: Distribution of health consciousness variable

	Low educated	Average educated	High educated
Valid cases	24	22	10
Mean	12,000	13,773	14,100
Std. Deviation	2,187	1,631	0,738
Variance	4,783	2,660	0,544

The variable about the "schijf van vijf" gives less significant findings, but still tells us that low educated parents are less likely to know the term, with a significance level of less than 0.10. There is a significant negative correlation between being low educated and scoring yes on this variable. At the same significance level, high income parents show a negative correlation. Out of eight respondents with a high income, four said not to know the "schijf van vijf". Out of all the respondents 76,2 percent knew the schijf van vijf.

Conclusion human capital

Table 4.38: Results human capital

Human capital			
Low income	*High income*	*Low education*	*High education*
Eating less varied*	Parents are less likely to know the "schijf van vijf*	Less skills being applied in the household**	Playing more kind of sports in total*.
More chance of drinking alcohol**		Less safe neighbourhood environment for children**	
Parents have gone though more separations*		Having a lower health*	
		Parents are less conscious about the health of children in general****	
		Parents are less likely to know the "schijf van vijf*	

Correlations between the two parental variables and the human capital of children manifest with some individual determinants of human capital, but not with enough variables to positively confirm any of the related hypotheses. Low educated parents are associated with less skills being applied in the household, but the question is whether this is enough to serve as a proxy for general knowledge of children as a whole. With regards to health, although there are some (very) significant findings regarding the formulated hypotheses, there are also a large amount of variables not giving any evidence of a relationship between income/ education and the health of children.

The discourse found in literature might be near a consensus about the relationship between various factors and health, but evidence is lacking in this research. Children will generally be healthier than older people, which could serve as an explanation for the lack of correlations found.

4.6 List of hypotheses and the outcomes

Table 4.39: List of hypotheses confirmed or rejected

Number	Dependent	Correlation	Dependent	Status	Comments
1a	Social capital	Positive	Income	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found, only with low income
1b	Social capital	Positive	Education	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found, especially with neighbourhood indicators
2a	Educational attainment	Positive	Income	Rejected	No results
2b	Educational attainment	Positive	Education	Rejected	No results
3a	Cultural activities	Positive	Income	Rejected	Only 2 variables with p-level <0.10
3b	Cultural activities	Positive	Education	Rejected	Only 2 variables with p-level <0.10
4a	Cultural capital	Positive	Income	Rejected	No results
4b	Cultural capital	Positive	Education	Rejected	Only 1 variable with p-level <0.10
5a	Good parental indicators	Positive	Income	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found
5b	Good parental indicators	Positive	Education	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found
6a	Symbolic capital	Positive	Income	Accepted	Many significant findings
6b	Symbolic capital	Positive	Education	Accepted	Many significant findings
7a	Allowances and possessions	Positive	Income	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found for possessions
7b	Allowances and possessions	Positive	Education	Partially accepted	Evidence found with high education
8a	Economic capital	Positive	Income	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found for possessions
8b	Economic capital	Positive	Education	Partially accepted	Evidence found with high education
9a	General knowledge	Positive	Income	Rejected	Based on one variable
9b	General knowledge	Positive	Education	Accepted	Based on one variable
10a	Neighbourhood indicators	Positive	Income	Rejected	No results
10b	Neighbourhood indicators	Positive	Education	Accepted	Safety neighbourhood important
11a	Health	Positive	Income	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found, many variables without results
11b	Health	Positive	Education	Partially accepted	Partial evidence found, many variables without results

5. Conclusion, discussion and recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

This chapter will elaborate on the conclusions found with the analysis. The goal of this research was to give an overview of relevant literature regarding the quality of children in a kinship care setting, as well as to provide an overview of the quality situation of children in The Netherlands. The problems stated were that an integral overview of what quality of children determines in a kinship setting is missing and that families in The Netherlands face changes in the welfare state as well as changes in the roles for the family. Income and education were chosen as independent variables for this research. A literature review and a survey were the main methods for achieving the goals. The way of analyzing the quality of children was done with five capital types; social, cultural, symbolic, economic and human capital. Several research questions were formulated in order to achieve the stated goals:

- *How is quality upbringing in general defined in literature?*
- *How does income of the parents relate to quality of the children?*
- *How does education of the parents relate to quality of the children?*

The main research question was:

- *How do the income and the education level of parents influence the quality of children in The Netherlands?*

There where a total of eleven hypotheses formulated, all two folded to include both the income of parents and the education of parents. The hypotheses related to the five types of capital children can accumulate during childhood and stated that parental income as well as parental education has got a positive relationship with the accumulation of all types of capital by children. The main hypotheses underlying these eleven hypotheses were:

- *There is a positive relation between the income of parents and the quality of their children*
- *There is a positive relation between the education level of parents and the quality of their children*

In order to answer the second and third research question and test the hypotheses, the first research question about what constitutes quality children had to be answered. The quality of children, as well as the raising of children, can be defined in many different ways. Central in the concept of general quality of life is the notion of wellbeing. Some determinants of wellbeing are the economic situation, health (both mental and physical) and environmental factors. In a household setting consumption is considered to be important for satisfying the needs with regard to wellbeing. In the scientific literature, the needs of more specifically children are often determined in a setting of professional child care, for example in day care centres, which can partly be translated to a kinship situation of care: Kinship members need to be sensitive about the needs of children, need to be involved, need to support the children as well as show them they love them. At the same time there is a need for rules, structure and

discipline, which should be balanced with the needs for care. A safe environment is also mentioned as being important for children, especially when they are small.

A way to integrally conceptualize the needs of children for getting a quality life is by looking at the concept of capital types. The higher the amount of capital obtained, the higher the quality of children will be the theory states. A literature search led to the in-depth conceptualization of five types of capital; social, cultural, symbolic, economic and human capital. Social capital exists of persons in the surrounding of a child donating resources which can be used to gain other types of capital and is determined by for example the amount of time spent with family and the amount of time spent with friends. Cultural capital is determined by norms and values, education and what are by society considered to be cultural activities. Especially education is an important asset for success in life and thus quality of life. Symbolic capital is an odd variant, which can exist of all other types of capital and their determinants, as long as they are recognized as having symbolic value by people around the person possessing the symbolic capital. For children economic capital is part of symbolic capital, but what sets symbolic capital apart in this research is the symbolic freedom children can get from their parents as well as several care indicators of the parents. Economic capital of children is mainly determined by allowances and possessions, also by nonmaterial possessions like going on vacation. The fifth and last type of capital is human capital, which was operationalized with the determinants education, general knowledge and health. Especially health is an important determinant for human functioning.

Using the information from the first research question the other two research questions can be answered. By distributing a survey (containing questions about all the types of capital) to parents with children living at their parental home an overview about the quality of children in The Netherlands is given. Both linear regression and a Kendall's Tau correlation coefficient were used to analyze the ordinal variables, whereas several binary variables were analyzed with a Phi-coefficient. Dummy variables for the two independent parental variables were used to analyze differences between parents with a low income/ education level and parents with a high income/ education level.

The results per type of capital

For social capital, only high income parents as a reference group yielded no significant results. The most significant results were found with neighbourhood indicators for social capital, showing a clear significant positive relation with being higher educated. Partial evidence with other variables was found for the hypotheses which stated that there is a positive significant relation between the two parental indicators and social capital of children.

The concept of cultural capital yielded very little significant results, despite the expectation that education would have an influence on cultural capital indicators of children. The few significant results that were found only had a P-level between 0.05 and 0.10. These results are in line with expectations though, showing a positive relationship between cultural capital of children and the two parental indicators.

The symbolic capital type showed partial evidence for the positive relationship between both parental income and education on the one hand and care indicators on the other end. Furthermore there were some results regarding the symbolic freedom indicators, but only with education as an independent variable. The amount of freedom given by low or high educated

parents seems to depend on the kind of freedom. Symbolic capital also included allowances and possessions as indicators, both also part of economic capital.

With this economic capital, some significant relationships have been found with both the income and the education variables. All in all there is some evidence for the significant and positive relationship between parental income/ education and economic capital, but there is also some evidence against it, even though this latter evidence is based on fewer variables than the evidence in support of a positive relationship.

The last type of capital, human capital, included education of children as a determinant. No results were found with this determinant. With regard to the knowledge/ skills determinant, evidence was found for a significant positive relationship between education of the parents and skills being applied in the household. Health was an important determinant for human capital. A few variables showed evidence for a positive relationship between both parental income and education and the health of children. Many variables did not show any significant relationship though.

Some surprising results

There were some surprising results found with the analysis. One surprising result was that the cultural capital type yielded little significant relationships, even not a single one with a P-value below 0.05. Especially with parental education as an independent variable for cultural capital, some results were expected. Scientific literature clearly indicated a significant relationship between parental education and educational attainment of the children as well as other cultural capital indicators could be expected. On an item-level there were four surprising results. First of all, high educated respondents show having significantly more misunderstandings with their oldest child, which is negative for the social capital accumulation of children. The second result was that children from low income parents are more likely to get both a general allowance and an allowance for clothes, which seems to highly depend on the clothing allowance variable since this variable gives the same result while the general allowances variable does not. The third surprising result showed that parents of low educated families are more likely to give their children as much as they could possibly wish for. The last surprising result on an item basis is that parents with a high income are significantly less likely to know the “schijf van vijf”.

The results related to the last two research questions

The analysis of the survey results discussed above leads to answers on the second and third research question and subsequently to the main research question. The second research question was: *How does income of the parents relate to quality of children?* The general tendency with most significant results is that there is a positive relationship between income of the parents and the quality of children, with only two exceptions on item level pointing in the other direction. There are however relatively few significant results when compared to the total number of variables tested, which means that there is only partial evidence for the relationship between parental income and the overall quality of children. The strongest evidence for the positive relationship is seen with economic capital, yielding relative to the total amount of variables tested a high amount of significant results pointing in the direction of a positive relationship. This is in line with the expectations formulated in the hypotheses.

The third research question is about the education level of the parents: *How does education of the parents relate to quality of children?* With this research question the same can be concluded as with the income question above; partial evidence is found for a positive and significant relationship between the parental education level and the quality of children. The burden of evidence is higher than it is with income, yet there are two results contradicting the general tendency. Furthermore there are a lot of variables not yielding any significant result, especially with health/ human capital. Also, while there are significant results pointing in a certain direction, often there is no evidence for a linear relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. Surprising is that there are few relationships found regarding parental education and cultural capital (and thus education) of their children, while there are more significant results with lower P-values for all other capital types.

The results related to the main research question

All the results thus far have lead up to an answer on the main research question: *How do the income and the education level of parents influence the quality of children in The Netherlands?* The income as well as the level of education of the parents has got a significant influence on a sample of items associated with the quality of children. This influence is of a positive nature, meaning that when the income and education rise, so do these quality indicators. The body of evidence in this research does not provide a basis for assuming that the relationship holds for all determinants of children's quality. Furthermore, the impact of parental income and education on quality differs from one type of capital to the other.

5.2 Discussion

Chapter 5.2 contains a discussion about the research and its results. Four things are subject to discussion; the low number of cases in the dataset, some changes in the methods used, the distinction between different types of capital and the questions in the survey.

The low number of cases in the dataset

The most obvious point of discussion with this research is the small amount of respondents that filled in the entire survey, resulting in especially a low N with income as an independent variable. More than 250 people responded to the invitation to take part in the survey. At first this seemed a promising result, but soon it became clear that there were some problems with this figure. A large portion of the original sample did not pass the selection variable at the beginning of the survey, because they did not have any children living at the parental home after all. Furthermore many people quit before finishing the entire survey. Not only did a large amount of people stop before getting to the income question at the end, but subsequently about 20% of the respondents left with this question choose not to answer it. The question was being put in the end because asking people about their income at the beginning could scare them off altogether. In hindsight it might have been better to put it at the beginning anyway. The income dataset only had 45 cases, increasing the chances of getting non-reliable results. In this dataset the high income group for example had only eight cases and the high education group only sixteen out of 87 cases. The large amount of dropouts could perhaps be attributed to the length of the survey; some respondents finishing the survey mentioned the survey was long.

Another problem causing the low N was the problem of low quality respondents. This could have been caused by the way of sampling; getting people who participate in online marketing programs meant to earn a small amount of extra cash. It is possible that many respondents were particularly interested in winning the gift certificates and were not serious about the survey itself. There were some indicators for low quality respondents: Some people filled in the survey multiple times, which showed in the same e-mail addresses being filled in more than once. Furthermore some people skipped a variety of questions. Also there was a question in the survey simply asking people to fill in one of the answers. From all the respondents, 20% filled in the wrong answer. Maybe they did not understand the question, maybe they just did not fill in the survey seriously.

Adjustments with the methods

The low quality of the respondents meant some action had to be taken to increase the validity of the research. Some respondents were deleted entirely and with some variables outliers were removed. Unfortunately this meant the number of cases left in the dataset decreased some more. This had some implications for the methods. First of all, low R2-values could be seen all throughout the regression results due to the small number of cases (in combination with analyzing with only two independent variables). A low R2 does not have to provide a serious problem, since this research is not aiming at making precise predictions about the relationship between independent and dependent variables. A significant relation still tells something about a significant deviation from the mean. There were some other problems with the regression analysis though. Assumptions like normality of the distribution (of variables as well as the residuals), but also the sample size and the linearity assumptions were broken with many variables. Promising results from the regression analysis were therefore subjected to a second test for an increased validity; the Kendall's Tau correlation test. This test was chosen for being non - parametric, meaning the necessity for normally distributed values does not apply, just as well as for example the linearity assumption. Whether this was the best alternative or not could be debated. Spearman's Rho for example is a rather similar alternative and whether Kendall's Tau is more suitable when using a small dataset seems still to be up for debate in scientific discourse. The problems seen with the linear regression also arose with the logistic regression, meant to test the hypotheses for some binary variables. A decision was made to not do the logistic regression, replacing it with the Phi-coefficient. This coefficient is suitable when testing the relationship between two binary variables, in this case the dummy variable and a yes/ no question.

In order to get better results, another measure was taken in the form of recoding some variables. Not all answers on questions were coded in a way in which the highest score would be equal to a positive score for a certain type of capital. These variables were all recoded for the purpose of easier analysis. There was also a problem with all of the questions regarding allowances. The idea of those questions was to measure the height of certain allowances, but there was no time-indication given in the question. Some people seemed to put in the amount per year and some respondents the amount per month or even per week. It was impossible to tell with certainty what time period the individual amounts filled in were about. These questions were subsequently recoded into whether children would get allowances (yes/ no) questions. The value of the results obtained is decreased by doing it this way, but it was the only way to get any result out of it. Some other questions were recoded to fit into a linear regression analysis by ranking the answers. The type of home is an example, in which certain types of homes were ranked higher than others according to the probable higher value of certain types of homes.

Distinction between the capital types and the set of determinants chosen

A thing that was probably apparent for people reading this research was that the boundaries between several capital concepts were not clearly defined. Several determinants were allocated to multiple types of capital. The most obvious examples were symbolic capital, featuring many determinants from economic capital, and human capital featuring determinants from cultural capital. This overlap could partly be explained by the lack of an integral framework of quality determinants for capital in the scientific literature. The selection of items thus came about combining determinants from several authors and applying the most suitable determinants to this case. There was a subjective element in this process, since many capital determinants were not specifically determining the quality of children. Another thing to note is that the different types of capital interact with each other, making it difficult to determine clear boundaries between the different types.

The symbolic capital concept gave rise to the most discussion, since determinants for this type of capital depends on the group analyzed. In combination with the lack of proper determinants for children in scientific literature, the chosen set of determinants was somewhat arbitrary (like it often is with research on types of capital in general). Conclusions on symbolic capital with the way it is measured can thus only be applied to groups actually valuing the four chosen determinants, which may be the majority of children but will never be all children.

Having a (large) set of determinants, which together makes up a type of capital, makes accepting or rejecting hypotheses a bit ambiguous. There were always some variables yielding significant results and some variables yielding no results. Furthermore there were four conflicting results as was discussed in the conclusion. The way of coping with this in this research was to partially accept most hypotheses, only accepting hypotheses when a large proportion of variables yielded results in support of the hypotheses.

The strength of the survey

The survey itself was quite strong: It was extensive, was measuring concepts on multi-item scales and was clearly separated into different subjects taking the respondents along on a set out path through the questionnaire. The survey was made up of a minimum amount of questions per type of capital, in order to maximize the possibility of getting enough evidence per type of capital to draw accurate conclusions. The internal consistency reliability of the scales used turned out to be very high, displaying high numbers with the Cronbach's Alfa. The scales consistently yielded more significant results than the variables based on just one item. R2 values were also higher for the scales than the individual items. The only real downside turned out to be the length of the survey, as was discussed in this chapter.

5.3 Recommendations for future research

The discussion leads to some recommendations for future research. Future research could be done with some adjustments regarding the selection of independent variables, the way of obtaining respondents and the approach towards defining quality.

Building a model for the quality of children using regression analysis

This research had several problems with the regression analysis, including low adjusted R-squares. These low R-squares could at least partly be attributed to using only two independent variables. In order to properly define what constitutes the quality of children, a choice could be made to use other or more independent variables, rather than using only income and education of the parents. The researcher could choose many possible indicators to allow for model building to happen. This would be viable research because it could fill the knowledge gap when it comes to properly determining the quality of children and more specifically the role of parents in this quality development. This model can subsequently be used to elaborate on the quality situation of children in certain settings, for example like this research tried to do in the setting of the changing environment for children in The Netherlands. A model helps predict how a changing setting influences the quality of children.

The survey and the way of obtaining respondents

The quality of the respondents was rather low and the dropout rate was high. Several things can be done to prevent these problems with future research. One of those things is to make the survey shorter, but more importantly it was seen that an online survey was not the best way to conduct this research. When conducting this research offline, chances are the dropout rate would be much lower even when the survey would be as long as it was with this research. Furthermore the way of getting respondents; though online marketing programs meant to earn a little extra cash, was not the best way of getting quality respondents. Another way of getting respondents could be used, for example by asking parents awaiting their children at school to fill in the survey, or visiting day care centres in order to get respondents.

The approach towards defining quality

The way of analyzing the quality of children, by measuring the possession of five types of capital, came with some difficulties. Determinants specifically suitable for children were hard to find and the several types of capital overlapped with each other. Some adjustments to the theory behind this approach could therefore be made in future research. This research conducted was grounded in the light of theory from Bourdieu, which served as a backbone for the rest of the conceptual framework. Instead of focusing on quality in the light of capital accumulation following Bourdieu, focus could also be on other determinants. Needs and preferences could form the basis, to name an example, by looking at what needs are met and the amount of importance that is attributed to this kind of need. Research on the literature regarding needs would be necessary to work out this approach further, but it seems the needs of children are better defined in scientific literature than the capital determinants for children.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1: Survey as published online

Note: The questions below are displayed in the way *thesistools* displayed them to the person using it. Respondents have seen a slightly different version, whereby differences for respondents are most notable in the layout and the lack of certain additions included in the questions below. With some questions, for example, the word “kies” (choose) is added in the version below. Respondents did not get to see this addition. Inspiration for the questions in the survey was partly acquired by browsing surveys by other researchers regarding similar topics.

The invitation e-mail:

Beste deelnamer van dit spaarprogramma,

Op dit moment ben ik bezig met een onderzoek voor mijn studie. Voor dit onderzoek ben ik op zoek naar ouders met thuiswonende kinderen. In een online enquête wil ik deze doelgroep graag vragen stellen binnen het thema "tijdsbesteding van thuiswonende kinderen". Het kost u ongeveer een half uur om deze enquête in te vullen. De gegevens worden anoniem verwerkt en onder de respondenten worden enkele VVV-bonnen verloot (1x20 euro en 2x 10 euro, uitgaande van 100 deelnemers). Dit alles gebeurt onder het toeziend oog van mijn begeleider.

Valt u binnen deze doelgroep of kent u mensen binnen deze doelgroep die deze vragenlijst in willen vullen zou u mij zeer helpen. Mocht u de enquête op een later moment in willen vullen of door willen sturen naar mensen in uw omgeving kunt u de volgende link gebruiken:

http://www.thesistools.com/web/?id=359786

Als u op de vergoedingslink onderaan deze mail klikt komt u ook bij de enquête terecht.

Vriendelijke groeten,

Tom

The welcoming text in the survey itself:

Een onderzoek naar hedendaagse tijdsbesteding van kinderen

Deze enquête wordt afgenomen in het kader van een afstudeervak. Het onderwerp is “tijdsbesteding van thuiswonende kinderen”. Sommige vragen gaan over uw mening ten aanzien van kinderen in het algemeen en sommige vragen gaan specifiek in op de situatie ten aanzien van uw eigen thuiswonende kinderen. In de meeste gevallen wordt gevraagd hierbij van het oudste thuiswonende kind uit te gaan. De enquête zal ongeveer 30 minuten van uw tijd in beslag nemen. De gegevens worden anoniem verwerkt. Er zijn geen foute antwoorden, wij zijn op zoek naar uw eigen mening en ervaring!

Onder de deelnemers die de enquête volledig en naar waarheid hebben ingevuld worden drie VVV-bonnen verloot (1x20 Euro en 2x10 Euro). Wilt u hier kans op maken kunt u aan het einde van de enquête uw gegevens achterlaten. De winnaars worden aan het einde van dit kalenderjaar gekozen.

Bij voorbaat dank voor het invullen!

Thanking text at the end of the survey:
Dank u voor uw medewerking. Indien u andere mensen in uw omgeving kans wilt laten maken op de VVV-bonnen, kunt u ze de link toesturen die in het originele bericht vermeld stond.

Thanking text if not belonging to the target group:
Helaas behoort u niet tot de doelgroep voor deze enquête. Bedankt voor uw tijd en moeite. Op de volgende pagina kunt u de enquête afsluiten.

The survey itself as published online

……

Pagina: 2

Een onderzoek naar hedendaagse tijdsbesteding van kinderen

1. (Var. 1/ Var. 2)

Onder welke van de volgende beschrijvingen valt uw huishouden of woonvorm (één antwoord mogelijk)? Vink het juiste antwoord aan. *

- ☐ Huishouden zonder kinderen
- ☐ Getrouwd, thuiswonende kinderen
- ☐ Eenoudergezin met vader en kinderen thuis
- ☐ Eenoudergezin met moeder en kinderen thuis
- ☐ Samenwonend met thuiswonende kinderen
- ☐ LAT relatie met kinderen
- ☐ Anders, namelijk.... _____

Pagina: 3

2. (Var. 3)
Bent u een..? *

- ☐ Man
- ☐ Vrouw

3. (Var. 4)

Kunt u mij zeggen uit hoeveel personen uw huishouden bestaat, u zelf meegerekend? *

2

Pagina: 4

4. (Var. 5. Var. 6)

Welke situatie is op u van toepassing (één antwoord aanvinken)? *

- ☐ Betaalde baan <18h
- ☐ Betaalde baan 18-32h
- ☐ Betaalde baan >32h
- ☐ Werkloos met WW-uitkering
- ☐ Bijstand
- ☐ WO met invalide uitkering
- ☐ Gepensioneerd / VUT
- ☐ Studerend/ schoolgaand
- ☐ Huisman/ huisvrouw zonder werk
- ☐ Overig, namelijk

Pagina: 5

Er volgen enkele vragen over uw eigen opleiding en die van uw partner (indien van toepassing).

Pagina: 6

5. (Var. 7. Var. 8)

Wat is de hoogst voltooide opleiding van uzelf? Wij bedoelen het onderwijsniveau, de school, bijvoorbeeld niet een cursus van een paar dagen. *

- ☐ Lagere school (basisonderwijs)
- ☐ Middelbare school (mavo, mms, ulo, mulo, havo, hbs, vwo, lyceum)
- ☐ Lager beroepsonderwijs (leao, lts, lbo, lhno, vglo, lavo)
- ☐ Middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (measo, mts, hbo)
- ☐ Hoger beroepsonderwijs/ universiteit (heao, hts, hbo, wo)
- ☐ Anders, namelijk

6. (Var. 9. Var. 10)

Wat is de hoogst voltooide opleiding van uw partner (indien van toepassing)? *

- ☐ Lagere school (basisonderwijs)
- ☐ Middelbare school (mavo, mms, ulo, mulo, havo, hbs, vwo, lyceum)
- ☐ Lager beroepsonderwijs (leao, lts, lbo, lhno, vglo, lavo)
- ☐ Middelbaar beroepsonderwijs (measo, mts, hbo)
- ☐ Hoger beroepsonderwijs/ universiteit (heao, hts, hbo, wo)
- ☐ Anders, namelijk
- ☐ Niet van toepassing

Pagina: 7

De volgende vragen gaan over uw kinderen in het algemeen.

Pagina: 8

7. (Var. 11 – Var. 25)

Wilt u van al uw kinderen de leeftijd en het geslacht geven en aangeven of een kind nog thuis woont of niet? U kunt beginnen met het oudste kind. In de eerste kolom selecteert u "ja" wanneer het kind een man is, in de tweede kolom "ja" wanneer een kind nog thuis woont. In de laatste kolom kunt u de leeftijd invullen. Indien u bijvoorbeeld slechts 2 kinderen heeft kunt u bij kind 3 tot en met 5 in de kolom leeftijd 0 invullen en in de eerste twee vakjes nee.

Indien u meer dan 5 kinderen heeft, vul deze vraag dan in voor de jongste kinderen, beginnend met de oudste van de 5 jongste kinderen.

	Man	Thuiswonend	Leeftijd
Kind 1			

(oudste)

Kind 2 ☐

Kind 3 ☐

Kind 4 ☐

Kind 5 ☐

8. (Var. 26)

Hoeveel van uw kinderen die niet meer bij u thuis wonen zijn nog wel (deels) financieel afhankelijk van u en/of uw eventuele partner? Dat wil zeggen dat u ze bijvoorbeeld een financiële toelage geeft of verzekeringen betaalt. Vul hier beneden het aantal kinderen in. *

0

9. (Var. 27. Var. 28)

Wie zou volgens u voor de kinderen moeten zorgen en wie zorgt er bij u in werkelijkheid voor de kinderen?

	Vrouw alleen	Vrouw, man helpt soms	Vrouw, man helpt vaak	Beiden even veel	Man, vrouw helpt vaak	Man, vrouw helpt soms	Man alleen	Ik wens deze vraag niet te beantwoorden/ Geen mening
Zou moeten zorgen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zorgt voor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. (Var. 29 – 38)

Wilt u in de onderstaand tabel per thuiswonend kind invullen naar welke school ze op dit moment gaan, beginnend met het oudste nog thuiswonende kind?

	Gaat nog niet naar school	Basisonderwijs	Middelbaar: vmbo	Middelbaar havo	Middelbaar vwo (atheneum of gymnasium)	Gaat niet meer naar school vanwege leeftijd	Niet van toepassing	Anders, namelijk..	Invullen anders namelijk
Kin	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

d 1								
Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Pagina: 9

Nu volgen er enkele vragen over uw woning. Vanaf dit moment gaan alle vragen over uw kinderen slechts over de kinderen die nog bij u thuis wonen.

Pagina: 10

11. (Var. 39. Var. 40)
In welk soort woning woont u? Is dat een: *

- ☐ Vrijstaande eengezinswoning
- ☐ Eengezinswoning (rijtjes, 2 onder 1 kap)
- ☐ Appartement, flat, boven of benedenwoning, etagewoning, portiekwoning, maisonnette
- ☐ Woning met winkel en/of werkplaats, deel van een bedrijfsgebouw, boerderij of woning bij een tuinbedrijf
- ☐ Woonboot, caravan, chalet
- ☐ Anders, namelijk...

12. (Var. 41. Var. 42)
Bent u, of is één van de leden van uw huishouden, eigenaar van de woning (koophuis)? *

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nee
- ☐ Anders, namelijk.....

13. (Var. 43)

Hoeveel kamers zijn er in uw woning? Tel hierbij elke ruimte die groter is dan ongeveer 8 vierkante meter. De kamer zou qua grootte bijvoorbeeld als slaapkamer, woonkamer, studiekamer of woonkamer gebruikt moeten kunnen worden. *

1

14. (Var. 44 – Var. 49)

Wilt u hier onder per thuiswonend kind aangeven welke er een eigen kamer hebben, oftewel een kamer die ze niet delen met een broertje, zusje of ouders. Zet alstublieft boven het oudste kind neer, hier onder het op één na oudste kind etc. Vink het vakje aan als het desbetreffende kind een eigen kamer heeft

- ☐ Kind 1 (oudste kind)
- ☐ Kind 2
- ☐ Kind 3
- ☐ Kind 4
- ☐ Kind 5
- ☐ Niemand heeft een eigen kamer

Pagina: 11

De volgende vragen gaan over uw buurt. Allereerst volgen er enkele stellingen en hierna nog enkele losse vragen.

Pagina: 12

15. (Var. 50 – Var. 58)

Hier volgen een aantal stellingen met betrekking tot uw buurt. Wilt u per stelling aangeven voor hoever u het met de stelling eens bent? Bent u het bijvoorbeeld totaal niet eens met een stelling, vul dan het meest linker vakje in. Als u het niet eens, maar ook niet oneens met een stelling bent dan kunt u de middelste aanvinken. Als u het bijvoorbeeld een beetje eens bent kunt u het vierde cirkeltje aanvinken.

	Niet mee eens				Mee eens
Ik heb veel contact met mijn directe buren	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik heb het gevoel dat ik mijn kinderen veilig in hun eentje naar buiten kan laten gaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In deze buurt gaat men gezellig met	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

elkaar om					
Ik woon in een buurt met veel saamhorigheid	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Als mijn kinderen in hun vrije tijd buiten willen spelen is er genoeg voor ze te doen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mensen kennen elkaar in deze buurt nauwelijks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik ondervind vaak overlast door directe buren	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Er zijn in onze omgeving voldoende speelplaatsen voor kinderen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In deze buurt worden veel fietsen gestolen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. (Var. 59)

Zijn er in de wijk of buurt waar u woont plekken of straten waar u ’s avonds liever niet alleen zou komen?

Dropdown: Ja/ Nee

Pagina: 13

Er volgen nu een aantal stellingen met betrekking tot opvoeding in het algemeen en vervolgens met betrekking tot financiële opvoeding van uw kinderen.

Pagina: 14

17. (Var. 60 – Var. 69)

De volgende stellingen gaan over wat u belangrijk vind voor wat betreft de opvoeding van kinderen in het algemeen. Kunt u wederom per stelling aangeven in hoeverre u het er mee eens bent of niet?

	Niet mee eens				Mee eens
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

rekening houden met anderen					
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen willen weten waarom dingen in de wereld gebeuren	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen goede manieren hebben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel hebben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen zelfbeheersing hebben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen netjes zijn	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen hun best doen op school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen ons als ouders gehoorzaamt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen, indien oud genoeg, helpen bij huishoudelijke klusjes als de afwas en het stofzuigen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen hun eigen kamers schoonmaken (indien oud genoeg)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. (Var. 70 – Var. 82)

Wilt u bij deze vraag aangeven wat u zou doen bij kinderen van 10 jaar?

	Wij laten onze kinderen hierin behoorlijk vrij	Wij geven onze kinderen daarbij (enige) vrijheid	Dat beslissen wij als ouders helemaal zelf
Keuze sport	☐	☐	☐
Hoe laat een kind 's avonds thuis mag komen	☐	☐	☐
Hoe laat een kind 's	☐	☐	☐

avonds naar bed gaat			
Of een kind mee op vakantie gaat	☐	☐	☐
Of een kind bij een vriendje of vriendinnetje mag logeren	☐	☐	☐
Naar welke tv-programma's een kind mag kijken	☐	☐	☐
Hoe de slaapkamer ingericht wordt	☐	☐	☐
Welke vriendjes of vriendinnetjes een kind mee naar huis mag nemen om te blijven logeren	☐	☐	☐
Wat uw kind op vakantie doet	☐	☐	☐
Wat uw kind op de computer doet	☐	☐	☐
Welke hobby uw kind uitoefent?	☐	☐	☐
Welke muziek uw kind luistert?	☐	☐	☐
Wat uw kind op een	☐	☐	☐

smartphone
doet

19. (Var. 83 – Var. 87)

Hier volgen een aantal stellingen met betrekking tot financiële opvoeding. Wilt u per stelling aangeven voor hoever u het met de stelling eens bent?

	Niet mee eens				Mee eens
Ik vind dat kinderen zelf verantwoordelijk zijn voor wat ze met hun geld doen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
De hoeveelheid zakgeld die ik mijn kinderen geef is onafhankelijk van wat andere ouders geven (indien u geen zakgeld geeft, beantwoord deze vraag dan met uw mening)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Als mijn kinderen al hun geld hebben uitgegeven krijgen ze geen extra geld	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Als mijn kinderen zeggen dat ze minder zakgeld krijgen dan anderen in hun klas krijgen ze van mij meer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind dat ik mijn kinderen goed met geld leer omgaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. (Var. 88)

Mogen uw kinderen u met je of jij aanspreken?

Dropdown: Ja/ Nee

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Er volgt nu een deel waar in we u vragen naar de bezittingen van uw kinderen.

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21. (Var. 89)

Hoeveel zakgeld krijgt uw oudste thuiswonende kind? Indien dit kind geen zakgeld ontvangt, vul dan 0 in. Zakgeld is het geld wat uw kind beschikbaar krijgt voor uitgave naar eigen inzicht. Kleedgeld valt hier in dit geval niet onder. Rond het bedrag af op hele euro's. *

0

22. (Var. 90)

Hoeveel kleedgeld krijgt uw oudste thuiswonende kind? Rond het bedrag af op hele euro's. *

0

23. (Var. 91)

Heeft uw oudste thuiswonende kind daarnaast eigen inkomsten, zo ja hoeveel? Indien u dit niet weet, geeft u dan alstublieft een schatting. Rond het bedrag af op hele euro's. *

0

24. (Var. 92)

Betaalt uw oudste thuiswonende kind kostgeld, zo ja hoeveel? Wanneer dit niet het geval is kunt u 0 invullen. Rond het bedrag af op hele euro's. *

0

25. (Var. 93 – Var. 97)

Hoe worden de volgende uitgaven aan het oudste kind voornamelijk betaald? Het gaat hier om directe betaling, dus wanneer een kind van zijn zakgeld lunch koopt kunt u dit invullen onder “oudste kind zelf”.

	Oudste kind zelf	U en/of uw partner	Iemand anders	Niet van toepassing
Clubs, verenigingen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kleding	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sparen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Uitgaan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lunch op school	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. (Var. 98 – Var. 106)

Wilt u aankruisen welke van de onderstaande artikelen uw oudste kind in zijn of haar bezit heeft voor eigen gebruik?

- [ ] Smartphone (mobiele telefoon met veel extra functies)
- [ ] Gewone mobiele telefoon
- [ ] Eigen desktop pc
- [ ] Eigen laptop
- [ ] Eigen televisie
- [ ] Dvd-speler
- [ ] Mp3speler/ipod
- [ ] Tablet
- [ ] Geen van deze

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27. (Var. 107)
Heeft uw oudste kind huisdieren en zo ja, hoeveel?

Dropdown: Geen huisdier/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5 of meer.

28. (Var. 108)
Kunt u aangeven in welke mate uw oudste kind gebruik maakt van een computer thuis (eigen computer of een gedeelde computer)? *

- [ ] Dagelijks meer dan 4 uur
- [ ] Dagelijks, 2 tot 4 uur
- [ ] Dagelijks, minder dan 2 uur
- [ ] Enkele dagen per week
- [ ] Minder

29. (Var. 109)
Kunt u aangeven hoeveel uw oudste kind gemiddeld televisie kijkt? *

- [ ] Dagelijks meer dan 4 uur
- [ ] Dagelijks, 2 tot 4 uur
- [ ] Dagelijks, minder dan 2 uur
- [ ] Enkele dagen per week
- [ ] Minder

30. (Var. 110)

Heeft uw kind een abonnement op één of meerdere tijdschriften? Zo ja, hoeveel?

Dropdown: Nee/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5 of meer.

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De nu volgende vragen gaan over uw vakantie(s) met de kinderen.

Pagina: 19

31. (Var. 111)
Hoe vaak bent u het afgelopen jaar met de kinderen op vakantie geweest? *

- ☐ We zijn niet op vakantie geweest met de kinderen
- ☐ 1 keer
- ☐ 2 keer
- ☐ 3 keer
- ☐ 4 keer
- ☐ 5 keer of meer

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32. (Var. 112. – Var. 119)
Wat voor vakanties waren dit voornamelijk? Indien u meer dan 4 keer op vakantie bent geweest, vult u dan de nu volgende vragen in voor de laatste 4 vakanties.

	Zon/strand vakantie	Wintersport	Actieve vakantie	Steden bezoeken	Niet van toepassing	Anders, namelijk..	Invullen anders namelijk
Vakantie 1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Vakantie 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Vakantie 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Vakantie 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

33. (Var. 120 – Var. 127)

Waar is tijdens uw vakantie(s) voornamelijk overnacht (1 antwoord per vakantie)?

	Eigen huis/stacaravan	Eigen boot	Tent/caravan etc.	Appartement/bungalow	Hotel/pension	Niet van toepassing	Anders, namelijk...	Invullen anders namelijk
Vakantie 1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

34. (Var. 128 – Var. 135)

Wat is het voornaamste vervoermiddel waarmee u naar uw vakantiebestemming gereisd bent (1 antwoord per vakantie)?

	Trein	Bus	Auto	Vliegtuig	Boot	Niet van toepassing	Anders, namelijk...	Invullen anders namelijk
Vakantie 1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vakantie 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

35. (Var. 136 – Var. 139)

Welk bedrag is er per vakantie in het totaal ongeveer besteed? Vul een bedrag in en rond dit af op hele euro's. Indien niet van toepassing, vul 0 in.

Vakantie 1
Vakantie 2
Vakantie 3
Vakantie 4

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De nu volgende vragen gaan over de lichamelijke activiteiten van uw oudste thuiswonende kind.

Pagina: 22

36. (Var. 140)

Hoeveel dagen in de week beweegt uw oudste kind minimaal een half uur matig intensief volgens u? Twee keer een kwartier telt bijvoorbeeld ook.
Matig intensief houdt in: inspannende lichaamsbeweging waarvan u merkbaar sneller gaat ademen. Het gaat niet alleen om sporten, maar ook om bijvoorbeeld wandelen en fietsen. *

- Dagelijks
- Enkele keren per week
- 1 keer per week
- 1 tot 3 keer per maand
- Minder dan 1 keer per maand

37. (Var. 141 – Var. 160)

Hier volgt een lijst met verschillende sporten. Kunt u aangeven of uw oudste kind deze beoefent en of dit in verenigingsverband, ander verband of geen enkel verband is?

	Verenigingsverband	Ander verband	Geen verband	Beoefent niet
Voetbal (geen zaalvb.)				
Hockey				
Handbal				
Paardrijden				

Volleybal	☐	☐	☐	☐
Badminton	☐	☐	☐	☐
Squash	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fitness/aerobics/gymnastiek	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zaalvoetbal	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zeilen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hardlopen, trimmen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Skaten	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zwemmen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tennis	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fietsen en/of wandelen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Golf	☐	☐	☐	☐
Skiën	☐	☐	☐	☐
Roeien	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ballet	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anders	☐	☐	☐	☐

Pagina: 23

Nu volgen er een aantal vragen over voeding en eetgewoonten.

Pagina: 24

38. (Var. 161 – Var. 164)
Kunt u aangeven hoe vaak het volgende in uw huishouden voorkomt?

	nooit	1x per maand of minder	2 of 3x per maand	4x per maand of vaker
Met het gezin uit eten gaan	☐	☐	☐	☐

Een kant en klaar maaltijd halen/ eten	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eten voor het gezin laten brengen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eten voor het gezin afhalen	☐	☐	☐	☐

39. (Var. 165)
Kent u de schijf van vijf?

Dropdown: Ja/ Nee.

40. (Var. 166)
Hoe vaak eet uw oudste kind chips, zoutjes of aanverwante snacks naar uw idee? *

- ☐ Dagelijks
- ☐ Enkele keren per week
- ☐ 1 keer per week
- ☐ 1 tot 3 keer per maand
- ☐ Minder dan 1 keer per maand
- ☐ Nooit

41. (Var. 167)
Zorgt u ervoor dat uw kinderen voldoende groenten binnenkrijgen bij (vrijwel) elke maaltijd?

Dropdown: Ja/ Nee.

42. (Var. 168. Var. 169)
Wilt u aangeven in hoeverre u het eens bent met de volgende twee stellingen?

	Niet mee eens				Mee eens
Ik vind het belangrijk dat mijn kinderen gevarieerd eten	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik let er op dat mijn kinderen voldoende groenten binnen krijgen bij hun avondmaaltijd	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Pagina: 25

De volgende vragen gaan over de persoonlijkheid en eventuele hobby's van uw oudste kind.

Pagina: 26

43. (Var. 170)
Heeft uw oudste kind naast sport hobby's, zoals musiceren, zingen, ballet, toneelspelen, schilderen of tekenen, handwerken, 'doe-het-zelven', verzamelen of computeren? Zo ja, welke? Vul de hobby's achter elkaar in, gescheiden door een komma.

44. (Var. 171)
Is uw oudste kind lid van een hobbyvereniging, zoals een zang- muziek of toneelvereniging? Zo ja, welke? Vul de vereniging(en) achter elkaar in, gescheiden door een komma.

Pagina: 27

De volgende vragen hebben als onderwerp de gezondheid van uw oudste thuiswonende kind

Pagina: 28

45. (Var. 172)
Hoeveel keer per jaar is uw oudste kind ziek? Ziek wil in dit geval zeggen dat uw kind niet naar school zou kunnen. *

0

46. (Var. 173)

Heeft uw oudste kind een chronische aandoening, zoals bijvoorbeeld astma? Vul hieronder de hoeveelheid chronische aandoeningen in. *

0

47. (Var. 174 – Var. 183)

Kunt u hieronder aangeven hoe u de mate van geluk zou beoordelen van uw thuiswonende kinderen, waarbij 5 het hoogste is en 1 het laagste?

	1 Ongelukkig			5 Zeer gelukkig		n.v.t.
Kind 1 (oudste)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

48. (Var. 184 – Var. 188)

Roken uw thuiswonende kinderen?

	Ja	Nee	Ik weet het niet zeker	Niet van toepassing
Kind 1 (oudste)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐

49. (Var. 189 – Var. 198)

Kunt u hieronder aangeven hoe u de mate van gezondheid zou beoordelen van uw thuiswonende kinderen, waarbij 5 het hoogste is en 1 het laagste?

	1 Ongezond			5 Zeer gezond		n.v.t.
Kind 1 (oudste)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

50. (Var. 199 – Var. 203)
Drinken uw thuiswonende kinderen alcohol?

	Ja, maar alleen wanneer ik en/of mijn partner er bij is	Ja, (ook) buitenshuis	Nee	Ik weet het niet	Niet van toepassing
Kind 1 (oudste)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Pagina: 29

Hier volgen een aantal vragen over cultuur

Pagina: 30

51. (Var. 204 – Var. 213)
Wilt u aangeven hoe vaak u met uw oudste thuiswonende kind in de afgelopen 12 maanden de volgende culturele voorzieningen heeft bezocht of hij/ zij dit alleen of met vrienden gedaan heeft?

	Niet bezocht	1 keer	2-3 keer	4-11 keer	Eens per maand of vaker
Concert klassiek	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Popconcert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Toneelvoorstelling	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ballet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Cabaret	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Musical	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Film	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Museum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dansavond	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

52. (Var. 214. Var. 215)

Kunt u aangeven hoe vaak u met uw oudste thuiswonende kind naar de bibliotheek gaat en hoe vaak u denkt dat hij of zij alleen of met anderen naar de bibliotheek gaat?

	Meerdere keren per week	Wekelijks	maandelijks	Zelden	Nooit
Ik of mijn partner met kind	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Het kind zelf of met anderen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

53. (Var. 216)

Hoe vaak leest u of uw partner uw oudste kind voor of heeft u hem/ haar vroeger voorgelezen? *

- ☐ Dagelijks
- ☐ Wekelijks
- ☐ Maandelijks
- ☐ (Bijna) nooit

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Er volgen nu nog enkele vragen over diverse onderwerpen.

Pagina: 32

54. (Var. 217 – Var. 223)

Welke van de onderstaande verzekeringen heeft u op dit moment afgesloten voor uw oudste thuiswonende kind? Het gaat hier om verzekeringen waarvan u de rekening betaalt.

	Ja	Nee
Aansprakelijkheidsverzekering	☐	☐
Uitvaartverzekering	☐	☐
Levensverzekering	☐	☐
Rechtsbijstandverzekering	☐	☐
Studieverzekering	☐	☐
Eventuele andere verzekering 1	☐	☐
Eventuele andere verzekering 2	☐	☐

55. (Var. 224)

Weet u welke vakken uw oudste kind op school heeft?

Dropdown: Nee/ Ja, ongeveer/ Ja, precies/ Niet van toepassing.

56. (Var. 225)

Praat u wel eens met uw kinderen over de toekomst? *

- ☐ Zelden of nooit
- ☐ Regelmatig
- ☐ Vaak

57. (Var. 226 – 230)

Hoe vaak helpt u of een van uw andere kinderen uw kinderen thuis met hun huiswerk? Begint u alstublieft met invullen bij het oudste kind als “kind 1”. Indien uw kind te oud is om hulp te bieden met het huiswerk of te jong is om huiswerk te krijgen, vul dan “niet van toepassing” in.

	Dagelijks	Wekelijks	Maandelijks	Zelden of nooit	Maakt gebruik van huiswerkklas	Niet van toepassing
Kind 1	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(oudste)

Kind 2	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 3	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 4	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kind 5	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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58. (Var. 231)
Indien u kinderen heeft tussen de 4 en 12 jaar oud, brengt u deze dan (meestal) naar school? *

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ nee
- ☐ niet van toepassing

59. (Var. 232)
Hoe vaak doet u spelletjes met uw kind(eren)? *

- ☐ (bijna) Dagelijks
- ☐ wekelijks
- ☐ een paar keer per jaar
- ☐ nooit

60. (Var. 233)
Hoe vaak bezoekt u met uw kind(eren) een attractiepark of dierentuin? *

- ☐ (bijna) Dagelijks
- ☐ wekelijks
- ☐ een paar keer per jaar
- ☐ nooit

61. (Var. 234)
Hoe vaak bezoekt u met uw kind(eren) een speeltuin? *

- ☐ (bijna) Dagelijks

- ☐ wekelijks
- ☐ een paar keer per jaar
- ☐ nooit
- ☐ niet van toepassing vanwege leeftijd

62. (Var. 235)

Bezoekt uw oudste kind met regelmaat sociale netwerksites als hyves, facebook en twitter? *

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nee
- ☐ Ik weet het niet

63. (Var. 236)

Brengt uw oudste thuiswonende kind regelmatig vrienden mee naar huis? *

- ☐ Ik heb constant vrienden van mijn oudste kind over de vloer
- ☐ Met regelmaat
- ☐ Soms
- ☐ (Bijna) nooit
- ☐ Nee, maar mijn oudste kind gaat wel vaker langs anderen

64. (Var. 237 – Var. 241)

Komt het volgende voor in uw huishouding (kruis aan)? Kruis ja of nee aan.

	Ja	Nee
Zelf brood bakken	☐	☐
Mayonaise maken	☐	☐
Cake of taart bakken	☐	☐
Jam maken	☐	☐
Groenten wecken	☐	☐

Pagina: 34

Er volgen nu enkele vragen over mogelijke minder stabiele factoren in uw huishouden. U hoeft op geen van deze vragen een antwoord te geven indien u dit niet wilt.

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65. (Var. 242)
Is uw oudste kind betrokken geweest bij één of meer scheidingen? *

- ☐ Nee (dit is mijn eerste huwelijk)
- ☐ Ja, het kind heeft één scheiding meegemaakt
- ☐ Ja, het kind heeft twee scheidingen of meer meegemaakt
- ☐ Geen antwoord

66. (Var. 243)
Hoe vaak bent u verhuisd sinds de komst van uw oudste kind? *

- ☐ Nog nooit
- ☐ Eén keer
- ☐ Twee keer
- ☐ Drie keer of meer
- ☐ Geen antwoord

Pagina: 36

Er volgen nu nog een aantal stellingen over diverse onderwerpen.

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67. (Var. 244 – Var. 270)
Wilt u deze verschillende stellingen beantwoorden?

	Niet mee eens				Mee eens
Mijn oudste kind en ik begrijpen elkaar over het algemeen goed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mijn oudste kind en mijn partner (indien van toepassing) begrijpen elkaar over het	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

algemeen goed					
De kinderen hebben geen invloed op de vraag of wij uit eten gaan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bij een goede opvoeding hoort af en toe een corrigerende tik	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Het is geen bezwaar als kinderen twee ochtenden per week naar een kinderdagverblijf gaan (als ze nog niet alleen thuis kunnen of zouden kunnen blijven)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
De kinderen horen invloed te hebben op de keuze voor een hoofdmaaltijd	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Een vrouw die een kind krijgt moet (tijdelijk) stoppen met werken.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Er ontstaan veel misverstanden tussen ons en ons oudste kind	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Een van de ouders moet altijd thuis zijn om op de kinderen te letten wanneer deze jonger zijn dan 12 jaar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Het komt regelmatig voor dat mijn oudste kind naar mijn idee te weinig geslapen heeft	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind dat een corrigerende tik niet van deze tijd meer is	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik zou mijn kind nooit naar een kinderdagverblijf sturen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Het verdient de voorkeur dat wanneer beide ouders buitenshuis werken, familie voor het kind zorgt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Als ouder moet je thuis zijn als kinderen van de basisschool thuiskomen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik probeer mijn kinderen zoveel mogelijk te geven wat ze wensen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik heb het idee dat mijn kinderen voldoende slaap krijgen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Soms moet je kinderen nee verkopen als ze iets willen, zelfs al heb je geld genoeg	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

om het te kopen					
Wanneer mijn kind hulp nodig heeft zie ik dat gelijk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het belangrijk dat kinderen onderwijs volgen tot ze ten minste de middelbare school met succes hebben afgerond	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Selecteer het meest linker vakje (niet mee eens)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind dat kinderen van 12 niet horen te roken	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik snap niet dat sommige ouders slechts toekijken zonder actie te ondernemen terwijl hun kind te dik is	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Als ik een kind van 10 jaar zou hebben en deze wordt de klas uitgestuurd, ga ik “verhaal halen” bij de leraar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind dat kinderen tot hun zestiende verjaardag van alcohol af moeten blijven	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik steun mijn kind onvoorwaardelijk	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ik vind het onbegrijpelijk dat ouders het toelaten dat hun 15-jarige kinderen uitgaan in discotheken	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Een prettige kant van het hebben van kinderen is voor mij dat het je een verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel geeft	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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Tenslotte nog enkele vragen over uw inkomen.

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68. (Var. 271)

Hoeveel bedraagt het netto huishoud maandinkomen? Hiermee wordt in dit geval de som van bedragen die maandelijks op uw rekening(en) wordt gestort bedoeld. Kinderbijslag, vakantiegeld e.d. mogen dus niet meegerekend worden. Indien u een

jaarinkomen heeft, bijv. bij een zaak, of inkomen uit vermogen, wilt u dit dan omrekenen tot een gemiddelde per maand?

Dropdown: Geen inkomen/ 0-500 euro/ 501-1000 euro/ 1001 – 1500 euro/ 1501 – 2000 euro/ 2001 – 2500 euro/ 2501 – 3000 euro/ 3001 – 3500 euro/ 3501 – 4000 euro/ 4001 – 4500 euro/ 4501 - 5000 euro/ 5001 - 6000 euro/ 6000 - 7000 euro/ Meer dan 7001 euro/ Weet niet/ wil ik niet zeggen.

69. (Var. 272)

Hoe gemakkelijk of moeilijk kan uw huishouden rondkomen van het totale besteedbare huishoudinkomen?

	Zeer moeilijk				Zeer makkelijk
Kies:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

70. (Var. 273 – Var. 276)

Mensen gaan op verschillende manieren met geld om. Hoe gaat u zelf met uw geld om? En hoe vind u dat uw partner met geld omgaat?

	Erg zuinig				Erg royaal	n.v.t.
U zelf	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Uw partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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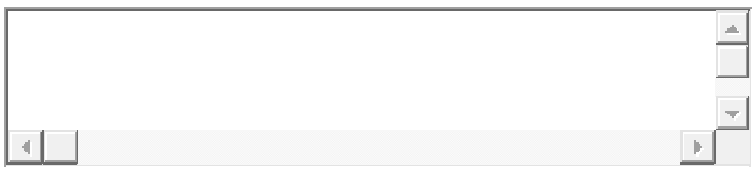
71.

U heeft zojuist de laatste vraag beantwoord. Sluit dit venster niet af voordat u de gegevens verstuurd heeft! Heeft u nog opmerkingen over de enquête?



72.

Indien u kans wilt maken op de VVV-bonnen, vul dan hier uw e-mail adres in. Indien u wint wordt er contact met u opgenomen. Het e-mail adres wordt niet gebruikt voor andere doeleinden dan het notificeren van de winnaars.

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7.2 Appendix 2: Tables and figures

7.3 Appendix 3: List of variables per type of capital

Capital form/ Concept	Subject measured for the children	Questions related
Social capital	Neighbourhood indicators	15
	Safety neighbourhood	16
	Own children; importance of character traits	17
	Children of 10 year old; social freedom diverse	18
	Own children; first-name basis	20
	Oldest child; hobby club membership	44
	Own children; playing games together.	59
	Own children; visiting zoo/ amusement park together	60
	Own children; visiting playground together	61
	Oldest child; visiting social network websites	62
	Oldest child; taking home friends	63
	Children in general; visiting clubs at age 15	67
Cultural capital	Own children; level of schooling	10
	Own children; norms and values diverse	17
	Children in general; (lack of) freedom diverse cultural	18
	Own children; first-name basis	20
	Own children; type of holiday with parents	32
	Oldest child; sport attendance	37
	Oldest child; hobby (club)	43, 44
	Oldest child; visiting cultural things together	51
	Oldest child; visiting library	52
	Oldest child; reading stories by parents	53
	Children in general; finishing high school	67

Symbolic capital	Household; type of home	11
	Household; number of rooms in home	13
	Own children; having room for itself	14
	Own children; symbolic norms and values diverse	17
	Own children; symbolic freedom of choice diverse	18
	Own children; allowance compared to other children	19
	Oldest child; allowance	21
	Oldest child; allowance for clothes	22
	Oldest child; paying for diverse things themselves	25
	Oldest child; diverse possessions	26
	Own children; times been on vacation with children	31
	Children in general; diverse symbolic capital statements	67
	Freedom of choice for the children	18
	Financial care upbringing	19
	Oldest child; reading stories by parents	53
	Own children; knowing their subjects at school	55
	Own children; talking about their future	56
	Children helping with household chores	57
	Own children; taking them to school if young	58
	Various propositions regarding care	67
Economic capital	Household; type of home	11
	Household; number of rooms in home	13
	Own children; having room for itself	14
	Own children; financial raising	19
	Oldest child; allowance	21
	Oldest child; allowance clothing	22
	Oldest child; own income	23
	Oldest child; amount paid to parents for living	24
	Oldest child; paying for diverse things themselves	25
	Oldest child; diverse possessions	26
	Oldest child; number of pets	27
	Own children; times been on vacation with children	31
	Spending per holiday	35
	Oldest child; number of insurances paid by parents	54
	Own children; visiting zoo or amusement park	60
	Own children and children in general; giving them what they want	67

Human capital	Own children; level of schooling	10
	Own children; curiosity and doing their best at school	17
	Household; production of homemade goods	64
	Children in general; importance finishing high school	67
	Neighboorhood safety	15
	Oldest child; enough excercise	36
	Oldest child; sport attendance	37
	Parents; knowhow food diversity	39
	Oldest child; eating snacks	40
	Own children; eating enough vegetables	41
	Own children; eating varied and enough vegetables	42
	Oldest child; sickness	45
	Oldest child; chronic sickness	46
	Own children; happiness	47
	Own children; smoking	48
	Own children; health	49
	Own children; alcohol consumption	50
	Oldest child; friends	63
	Oldest child; divorces parents	65
	Oldest child; moving of parents	66
	Various propositions regarding health	67

7.4 Appendix 4: Table of results

	Variable number and question	Name	Type of regression	Education N87					Income N45				
				Adj .R2	Low	*Sig n*	High	*Sig n*	Adj .R2	Low	*Sig n*	High	*Sign*
Social capital													
				Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
	1. Social freedom respondent would give to a child of 10	Social freedom	Linear	-.015	-.466	.554	.563	.620	-.030	-.022	.983	.978	.426
	2. Normal for 15 year old children to be allowed in disco's by their parents according to the respondent	Opinion disco 15y/o is normal	Linear	.141	.195	.543	-1.165***	.007	-.044	-.006	.989	.190	.727
			Kendall's Tau				-.383***	.002					
	3. Level of social norms and values own children	Level norms values	Linear	.016	-.923	.171	.463	.633	-.046	.109	.908	.234	.838
			Kendall's Tau		-.157	.136							
	4. First name basis spoken to parents (no/ yes)	First name basis	Phi-coefficient	---	.073	.531	-.115	.325	----	-.019	.899	.011	.939
	5.1 Own children; playing games together.	Playing games	Linear	.049	-.527**	.032	-.165	.603	-.031	-.177	.557	-.266	.466
			Kendall's Tau		-.271**	.027							
	5.2 Own children; visiting zoo/ amusement park together	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	.030	-.170	.393	-.018	-.152	.410	.098	.661
			Kendall's Tau		-.273**	.035							
	5.3 Own children; visiting playground together	Visiting playground	Linear	-.08	.000	1	.000	1	-.063	.202	.683	-.333	.580
	6.1 Hobby club membership (total number)	Hobby club total	Linear	-.137	-.2	.526	.05	.861	.250 (N9!)	.500*	.084	.000	1.000
			Kendall's Tau							.661*	.061		
	6.2 Oldest child; visiting social network websites (no/ yes)	Social networks	Phi-coefficient	---	-.004	.975	.144	.285	---	-.299*	.053	.108	.482
	6.3 Oldest child taking home friends freq.	Friends at home	Linear	.014	-.157	.489	.327	.276	-.024	-.261	.356	.025	.945
	7. Number of sports oldest child attends.	Social sports total	Linear	.051	-.467	.145	.2	.564	-.053	.055	.908	-.545	.347
			Kendall's Tau		-.367**	.046							
	8. Possibilities for gaining social capital in the neighbourhood	Possibilities social capital neighbourhood	Linear	.051	-.685	.330	1.624*	.097	-.026	-.032	.974	1.057	.380
			Kendall's Tau				.218**	.026					
	9. Positive neighbourhood indicators for gaining social capital.	Positive neighbourhood indicators	Linear	.056	-.742	.665	4.98**	.037	-.011	-.195	.943	3.948	.257
			Kendall's Tau				.222**	.021					
	10. Places in neighbourhood where respondent rather not go at night (yes/no)	Safety neighbourhood	Phi-coefficient	----	-.078	.491	.050	.657	----	-.005	.971	-.026	.865
Cultural capital													
				Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
	11. Freedom parents would give 10 year old for cultural capital accumulation	Cultural freedom	Linear	-.016	-.610	.382	-.067	.947	-.036	-.621	.510	-.103	.928
	12. Important children at least	Importance finishing	Linear	-	-.035	.875	.265	.361	-	-.137	.568	.185	.524

	finish high school	school		.015					.021				
	13. Average level of high school all children	Level high school	Linear	.015	-.153	.628	.542	.207	.034	.633	.255	-.167	.683
	14. Importance of children caring about other children	Importance caring for others	Linear	.021	-.206	.159	.122	.562					
			Kendall's Tau		-.208*	.074							
	15. Importance of children wanting to know why things happen in the world		Linear	.008	-.221	.215	.107	.675					
	16. Importance of children having good manners		Linear	.001	-.178	.209	.022	.913					
	17. Importance of children having a felling of responsibility		Linear	.001	-.178	.209	.022	.913					
	18. Importance of children having self control		Linear	-.008	-.063	.696	.207	.373					
	19. Importance of children being neat		Linear	-.027	-.041	.800	.044	.851					
	20. Importance of children doing their best at school		Linear	-.021	-.05	.749	.107	.633					
	21. Importance of children obeying parents		Linear	-.017	-.167	.374	-.081	.764					
	21.1 Norms and values common	Norms values common	Linear	-.003	-1.178	.294	.552	.731	-.044	.053	.973	.696	.709
	21.2 Norms and values total	Norms values total	Linear	.003	-1.498	.284	1.059	.594	-.045	.320	.867	.963	.693
	22. Importance of own children helping with the household	Help household	Linear	.000	-.181	.607	.507	.317	-.023	.267	.559	.553	.343
	4. First name basis spoken to parents (no/yes)	First name basis	Phi-coefficient	---	.073	.531	-.115	.325	----	-.019	.899	.011	.939
	24. Going on cultural holidays (amount not specified) (no/ yes)	Visiting cities	Phi-coefficient	---	.069	.671	.268*	.098	----	-.223	.247	.028	.885
	25. Amount of time spent with oldest child visiting various cultural venues	Cultural activities total	Linear	.041	-.880	.203	.800	.368	.035	-.486	.538	1.448	.144
			Kendall's Tau									.269*	.050
	26. Oldest child visiting library with parents and/ or by himself/ herself	Visiting library	Linear	.013	-.741	.147	.033	.960	.003	.667	.155	.238	.684
			Kendall's Tau		-.166	.175				.199	.175		
	27. Oldest child; reading stories by parents now or when child (time)	Reading stories to children	Linear	.022	-.616*	.097	-.008	.986	.038	-.860*	.059	-.342	.528
			Kendall's Tau		-.220*	.073				-.241*	.093		
Human capital													
				Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
	12. Important children at least finish high school	Importance finishing school	Linear	-.015	-.035	.875	.265	.361	-.021	-.137	.568	.185	.524
	13. Average level of high school all children	Level high school	Linear	.015	-.153	.628	.542	.207	.034	.633	.255	-.167	.683
	15. Importance of children wanting to know why things happen in the world	Curiosity	Linear	.008	-.221	.215	.107	.675	-.035	-.149	.568	.065	.836
	20. Importance of children doing their best at school	Importance school effort	Linear	-.021	-.05	.749	.107	.633	-.046	.006	.977	.060	.820
	28. Number of (various) skills applied in the household	Skills household	Linear	.059	-.643**	.041	.024	.952	-.048	-.119	.772	-.130	.799
			Kendall's Tau		-.253**	.045							
Symbolic capital													
				Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
	29. Freedom regarding alcohol habits and going out to disco's	Freedom alcohol /disco	Linear	.111	.706	.191	-1.374*	.055	-.033	-.491	.505	.152	.864
			Kendall's Tau		.286**	.015	-.323***	.006					
	30.1 Caring; parents being with children or not	Home with children	Linear	.001	.864	.537	-1.655	.351	-.025	.595	.719	2.095	.320
	30.2 Caring; parents being with children or not	Home with children 2	Linear	.007	1.136	.372	-1.3	.421	-.011	.333	.825	2.333	.225

31. Respondent does not agree with "correcting hits"	Correcting hits	Linear	-.027	.120	.878	-.600	.559	-.018	.050	.958	1.228	.289
32. If kids between 4 and 12, brings children to school always or regularly (no/ yes)	Bring to school	Phi-coefficient	----	-.096	.645	-.058	.782	----	.091	.707	.161	.506
34. Importance of children having various positive values traits according to parents	Importance positive traits	Linear	-.002	-.717	.306	.419	.676	-.043	.071	.940	.500	.666
35. The amount of freedom the respondent would give to a child of 10	Symbolic freedom	Linear	-.015	-1.459	.369	.041	.986	-.037	-.876	.675	.821	.746
36. Children may determine themselves where to spend their money on.	Freedom money	Linear	.023	.050	.873	.815*	.074	-.013	.519	.247	.341	.527
		Kendall's Tau				.209*	.052					
37.1 Allowances are independent of what other parents give their children (reversed)	Dependence allowance	Linear	.059	.197	.550	-.946**	.049	.061	-.325	.471	-1.182**	.034
		Kendall's Tau				-.259**	.017				-.305**	.027
37.2 If my children have spend all of their money they don't get extra	Extra allowance	Linear	.010	.251	.378	-.378	.358	-.041	-.171	.678	-.207	.678
37.3 If my children say they get less allowance then other children in class I give them more	Allowance comparison	Linear	.002	.382	.160	.096	.805	.03	.332	.337	-.489	.245
		Kendall's Tau		.170	.124							
38. Times been on vacation with children	Vacation total	Linear	.114	-.573***	.005	.040	.885	.031	-.441	.119	.130	.699
		Kendall's Tau		-.410***	.001				-.242*	.094		
39.1 Resp. Gives unlimited support to own children	Unlimited support from parents	Linear	-.010	.287	.329	.387	.315	-.032	.286	.424	.125	.772
39.2 When kid needs help respondent sees it immediately	Visibility help	Linear	.016	-.377	.116	-.017	.955	-.026	-.202	.478	.120	.728
		Kendall's Tau		-.204	.101							
39.3 Resp. Trying to give children as much as they possibly wish	Giving much to children	Linear	.054	.353	.178	-.387	.259	-.040	.099	.754	.207	.591
		Kendall's Tau		.207*	.092							
40.1 Kids have got influence on whether going out to dinner or not	Influence out for dinner	Linear	-.032	.049	.889	.209	.650	-.041	-.034	.936	.234	.648
40.2 Kids have influence on dinner choice	Influence dinner choice	Linear	-.022	.247	.392	.187	.621	-.023	.102	.768	.424	.317
5.1 Own children; playing games together.	Playing games	Linear	.049	-.527**	.032	-.165	.603	-.031	-.177	.557	-.266	.466
		Kendall's Tau		-.271**	.027							
5.2 Own children; visiting zoo/ amusement park together	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	.030	-.170	.393	-.018	-.152	.410	.098	.661
		Kendall's Tau		-.273**	.035							
5.3 Own children; visiting playground together	Visiting playground	Linear	-.08	.000	1	.000	1	-.063	.202	.683	-.333	.580
42. Talks with children about their future	Talk about future	Linear	.028	-.343*	.063	-.127	.595	.072	-.460**	.031	-.031	.906
		Kendall's Tau		-.231*	.068				-.324**	.027		
43. Frequency (average) of helping children with homework	Help homework	Linear	-.018	-.362	.401	.205	.709	-.085	-.167	.768	.146	.838
44.1 Total allowances oldest child	Allowance total	Linear	-.029	-.002	.990	.081	.751	.120	.453**	.037	.614**	.020
		Kendall's Tau							.204	.162	.225	.124
45. Amount of things oldest child has to pay himself	Paying child	Linear	-.032	.190	.707	.326	.611	-.052	.173	.782	-.100	.886
46. Amount of items possessed by oldest child	Possessions child	Linear	.000	.067	.891	.919	.183	.081	-1.376**	.033	.196	.797
		Kendall's Tau				.154	.150		-.303**	.022		
47.1 Lots of misunderstandings between parents and oldest child	No misunderstandings	Linear	-.024	-.273	.449	-.013	.978	.077	-.848**	.027	-.598	.190
		Kendall's Tau							-.292**	.036	-.022	.875

47.2 Oldest child and resp. understand each other well	No misunderstandings respondent	Linear	.021	-.024	.930	-.604*	.100	-.010	-.391	.234	-.266	.501
		Kendall's Tau				-.215*	.083					
47.3 Oldest child and resp. partner understand each other well	No misunderstandings partner	Linear	-.029	-.024	.942	.243	.561	.040	-.414	.298	.548	.243
27. Oldest child; reading stories by parents now or when child (time)	Reading stories to children	Linear	.022	-.616*	.097	-.008	.986	.038	-.860*	.059	-.342	.528
		Kendall's Tau		-.220*	.073				-.241*	.093		
49. Respondent knows what subjects oldest child follows at school	Knowledge subjects child	Linear	-.047	-.016	.941	.081	.774	.030	-.152	.557	.381	.205
50. Household; type of home	Type of home	Linear	.057	-.007	.970	.598**	.019	-.009	-.112	.658	.299	.331
		Kendall's tau				.321**	.003					
51. Household; number of rooms in home	Rooms home total	Linear	.081	-.447	.301	1.214**	.036	.220	-1.706***	.009	1.217	.121
		Kendall's Tau				.316***	.001		-.454***	.001	.300**	.029
Economic capital												
			Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
53.1 You'll have to say no sometimes when children want something, even though you've got enough money (reversed)	Saying no	Linear	.020	.184	.466	-.396	.235	.033	.363	.212	-.315	.369
36. Children may determine themselves where to spend their money on.	Freedom spendings	Linear	.023	.050	.873	.815*	.074	-.013	.519	.247	.341	.527
		Kendall's Tau				.209*	.052					
37.1 Allowances are independent of what other parents give their children (reversed)	Dependence allowance	Linear	.059	.197	.550	-.946**	.049	.061	-.325	.471	-1.182**	.034
		Kendall's Tau				-.259**	.017				-.305**	.027
37.2 If my children have spend all of their money they don't get extra	Extra allowance	Linear	.010	.251	.378	-.378	.358	-.041	-.171	.678	-.207	.678
37.3 If my children say they get less allowance then other children in class I give them more	Allowance comparison	Linear	.002	.382	.160	.096	.805	.03	.332	.337	-.489	.245
		Kendall's Tau		.170	.124							
54. I think I teach my children to get along with money in a good way	Good economic teaching	Linear	-.029	-.008	.975	-.037	.915	-.028	.286	.396	.000	1.000
38. Times been on vacation with children	Vacation total	Linear	.114	-.573***	.005	.040	.885	.031	-.441	.119	.130	.699
		Kendall's Tau		-.410***	.001				-.242*	.094		
5.2 Own children; visiting zoo/ amusement park together (rev.)	Visiting amusement	Linear	.048	-.331**	.030	-.170	.393	-.018	-.152	.410	.098	.661
		Kendall's Tau		-.273**	.035							
39.3 Resp. Trying to give children as much as they possibly wish	Giving much	Linear	.054	.353	.178	-.387	.259	-.040	.099	.754	.207	.591
		Kendall's Tau		.207*	.092							
44.1 Total allowances oldest child	Allowance total	Linear	-.029	-.002	.990	.081	.751	.120	.453**	.037	.614**	.020
		Kendall's Tau							.204	.162	.225	.124
81 Allowance oldest child (no/ yes)	Allowance	Phi-coefficient	---	-.086	.481	.114	.347	----	.070	.637	.237	.112
82 Allowance clothes oldest child (no/ yes)	Allowance clothes	Phi-coefficient	---	.079	.515	-.070	.566	----	.301**	.043	.160	.284
83 Oldest child; own income (no/ yes)	Income child	Phi-coefficient	---	-.052	.669	.271**	.025	----	-.273*	.067	.127	.396

84 Oldest child; paying parents for living (no/ yes)	Paying parents	Phi-coefficient	---	.130	.284	.055	.649	----	.096	.520	.232	.119
44.2. Oldest child: Spendable	Spendable money	Linear	.022	.182	.432	.607*	.065	.145	.335	.211	.978***	.004
		Kendall's Tau				.171	.135				.336**	.017
45. Amount of things oldest child has to pay himself	Paying child	*Linear*	-.032	.190	.707	.326	.611	-.052	.173	.782	-.100	.886
46. Amount of items possessed by oldest child	Possessions child	*Linear*	.000	.067	.891	.919	.183	.081	-1.376**	.033	.196	.797
		Kendall's Tau				.154	.150		-.303**	.022		
60. Number of pets	Pets total	Linear	-.003	.327	.327	.560	.225	.023	.656	.132	-.152	.765
		Kendall's Tau							.135	.348		
61. Oldest child; number of insurances paid by parents	Insurances paid by parents	Linear	-.033	-.190	.707	.286	.688	.142	.435	.463	2.026***	.009
		Kendall's Tau									.303**	.044
50. Household; type of home	Type of home	Linear	.057	-.007	.970	.598**	.019	-.009	-.112	.658	.299	.331
		Kendall's Tau				.321***	.003					
51. Household; number of rooms in home	Rooms home total	Linear	.081	-.447	.301	1.214**	.036	.220	-1.706***	.009	1.217	.121
		Kendall's Tau				.316***	.001		-.454***	.001	.300**	.029
62. Spending per holiday averaged	Spending holiday	Linear	.072	-308.684	.483	781.871*	.091	-.041	-125.000	.814	450.000	.401
		Kendall's Tau				.216	.118					
Health capital												
			Adj. R2	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***	**Adj. R2**	**Low**	***Sign***	**High**	***Sign***
63. Parents are conscious about children's health in general	Consciousness health parents	Linear	.193	-1.773***	.002	.327	.635	.005	-.976	.147	-.244	.760
		Kendall's Tau		-.424***	.000				-.160	.249		
64. Children of respondent eat varied and enough vegetables	Varied meals	Linear	.072	-.970**	.012	-.542	.289	.050	-.817*	.093	.326	.574
		Kendall's Tau		-.183	.125				-.235*	.093		
65. I make sure my children eat sufficient vegetables (no/ yes)	Sufficient vegetables	Phi-coefficient	---	-.151	.230	.113	.369	----	.041	.782	-.059	.692
66. Average happiness of all individual children according to the parents.	Happiness children	Linear	-.023	.219	.537	.330	.488	.046	.281	.367	-.534	.159
		Kendall's Tau									-.167	.232
67. Average number of children not smoking (percentage)	Children smoking	Linear	.059	-14.876	.131	13.258	.317	-.046	-.227	.986	-8.561	.598
		Kendall's Tau		-.209	.105							
68. Average health of all individual children according to the parents.	Health children	Linear	.020	-.320*	.089	-.084	.730	-.033	.075	.750	-.187	.516
		Kendall's Tau		-.201	.101							
69. Average number of children not drinking alcohol (percentage)	Children alcohol	Linear.	-.026	-2.652	.846	-13.485	.445	.087	33.333*	.056	-14.719	.464
		Kendall's Tau							.352**	.026		
70.1 I think my children get enough sleep.	Enough sleep	Linear	-.006	-.280	.304	.100	.778	-.036	-.230	.489	-.087	.828
71. Amount of exercise of oldest	Exercise amount	Linear	.001	-.469	.158	-.335	.455	-	-.240	.550	-.455	.351

	child		Kendall's Tau		-.120	.319			.024				
	72. Type of sports oldest child attends (total)	Sports total	Linear	.059	.006	.990	1.236*	.051	-.066	.000	1.000	-.222	.783
			Kendall's Tau				.262*	.058					
	73. Frequency of eating salty snacks.	Salty snacks frequency	Linear	-.030	-.089	.794	-.225	.627	-.018	-.299	.452	-.477	.321
	74. Frequency of illness.	Frequency illness	Linear	-.027	.202	.540	.167	.709	-.015	.230	.590	-.413	.425
	75. Chronic deceases, if any.	Chronic deceases	Linear	-.020	.013	.859	.087	.370	.018	.130	.149	.130	.244
			Kendall's Tau							.180	.243		
	75.1 Deceases total (descending)	Deceases total	Linear	-.030	.180	.628	.217	.661	-.026	.371	.446	-.211	.727
	6.3 Oldest child taking home friends freq.	Friends at home	Linear	.014	-.157	.489	.327	.276	-.024	-.261	.356	.025	.945
	77. Oldest child involved in separation of parents + frequency if involved.	Parental separation	Linear	-.008	-.092	.543	.148	.458	.057	-.224	.173	.223	.261
			Kendall's Tau							-.268*	.075		
	78. Parents have moved during lifetime oldest child + frequency if involved.	Moving out total	Linear	-.013	.266	.383	.391	.324	-.037	-.155	.662	.130	.762
	78.1 Instable factors combined	Instable factors total	Linear	-.015	.156	.684	.539	.280	-.003	-.379	.372	.353	.491
	70.2 Oldest child regularly sleeps too little.	Enough sleep 2	Linear	-.035	-.035	.918	.065	.883	-.023	-.394	.327	-.109	.823
	79. Neighbourhood safe for children to go outside by their own.	Safety neighbourhood children	Linear	.038	-.372	.186	.454	.247	-.015	-.357	.401	.250	.626
					-.229**	.029							
	80. Respondent knows what "schijf van vijf" is (no/ yes).	Knowledge "schijf vijf"	Phi-coefficient	---	-.231*	.066	.141	.264	----	-.176	.237	-.277*	.064

****Significance .00
*** Significance <.01
** Significance <.05
* Significance <.10