

“They’re Still So Young”: Kibbutz Parents Coping with Their Adolescent Children’s Normative Home Leaving

Asnat Dor¹, Dorit RoJas²

¹Department of education, Emek Yezreel Academic College, Emek Yezreel, Israel.

²Department of education, Emek Yezreel Academic College, Emek Yezreel, Israel.

Correspondence: Asnat Dor, Emek Yezreel Academic College, Emek Yezreel, Israel.

Received: October 19, 2015

Accepted: November 3, 2015

Available online: November 27, 2015

doi:10.11114/ijsss.v4i1.1220

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.11114/ijsss.v4i1.1220>

Abstract

The current qualitative study focused on the experience of adolescents' parents, coping with their children's relatively early home leaving. The study was designed to evaluate whether there are distinct characteristics of parents' reaction to empty nest when the leaving home occurs under normative circumstances during adolescence.

The study population included 15 participants (8 mothers, 7 fathers) who live on kibbutzim, where the children are expected to leave their parents' home at age 15 and live in a regional residential school. The participants were interviewed in semi-structured open interviews about the difficulties and benefits of their children's home leaving. Findings suggest that in addition to the positive and negative feelings that the parents experience, they are also specifically concerned about their children's unique developmental stage – that of identity formation.

Keywords: kibbutz, empty nest period, early home leaving, parents' concerns, adolescents

1. Introduction

1.1 *The empty nest period*

The empty-nest period is the time in a family's life cycle when children move out of their parents' home (Beaupré Turcotte, & Milan, 2006; Dare, 2011; Glenn, 1975). The empty-period – or the post-parental period (Dennerstein, Dudley, & Guthrie, 2002; Raup & Myers, 1989) – indicates a process, not a sudden change (Feeney, Peterson, & Noller, 1994; Hagen & DeVries, 2004). During these years some of the children – usually beginning with the older one – leave home, and some remain, until they, too, leave, (Cooper & Gutmann, 1987). The empty-nest period has been extended with our growing longevity (Borland, 1982; Cassidy, 1985; Hershberger, 1982), so that a couple may spend more than half of their marriage together after the children have left home (Duvall & Miller, 1985).

While normative in academic terms, in real life parents may experience turbulence and mixed feelings (Beaupré et al., 2006; Dare, 2011; Hiedemann, Suholnova, & O'Rand, 1998; Sheriff & Weatherall, 2009). Following the emptying of the nest, parents report increased marital satisfaction (Gorchoff, John, & Helson, enjoyment of time with partner (Gorchoff et al., 2008), and pleasure with their new-found freedom (McQuaide, 1998). However, they also report the risk of divorce (Hiedemann et al., 1998), stress (Crawford & Hooper, 1973; Hobdy et al., 2007), a sense of loss (Lippert, 1997), and a sense of anxiety, solitude, and lower self-esteem (Ackerman, Rosen, & Zosky, 2008).

Recent research on leaving home mainly focuses on young adults, and it has introduced the concept of *emerging adult* (Arnett, 2000, 2001, 2004). Emerging adults are people 18-30 year olds who tend to postpone long-term commitments, both personal and professional, resulting in a delay in the leaving home, marrying and starting a family, and a delay in making career decisions (Arnett 2000, 2001, 2004; Shulman & Ben-Artzi 2003).

1.2 *Adolescents' leaving home*

The current study focuses on adolescents' leaving home. In Israel, where this research was conducted, 3.5% of the 6-18 year olds live outside of their parents' houses (National Council for the Child, 2013). Of these, 12% are treated by welfare authorities and removed from their houses by court decision due to domestic violence or parental dysfunction. The others live in residential schools, due to severe financial difficulties, complex medical needs, mental retardation, or other difficulties that the family cannot manage at home.

However, some adolescents go to residential schools as a normative step. Thus, in religious Jewish society it is customary for boys to leave home after finishing ninth grade and study in a residential school. Also in some of the Kibbutzim, the Kibbutz children – boys and girls alike – attend regional residential schools. In these two cultures, and in cases where an adolescent choose a residential school out of personal interest in its curriculum, leaving home at the age of 15 is normative and is not necessarily a response to domestic problems. In such cases the child and his or her entire family have to make the appropriate adjustments toward the planned, yet relatively early home leaving, and to the fact that the adolescent will be sharing accommodations with peers (Arieli, Kashti, & Shlasky, 1983).

When children grow into adolescents, along with psychological, physical, cognitive, and emotional changes, they reduce their psychological dependence on their parents and establish a sense of self that is distinct and individuated. At the same time, peers gain increasing important as socializing agents, as the adolescent begins to explore issues and behaviors associated with identity, intimacy, and Sexuality (Ragsdale, Bersamin, Schwartz, Zamboanga, Kerrick, & Grube 2014). Research has indicated that peers begin to grow similar to each other, they reinforce or imitate each other's behavior, as they strive to fit into desired social norms (Dahi & Zalk, 2014; Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). Numerous studies have demonstrated that adolescents' problematic behaviors are influenced by their peers' problematic behaviors (Dahi & Zalk, 2014; Veenstra & Dijkstra, 2011), all during a time of exploring sexuality, often resulting in STD and unwanted pregnancies (Finer & Henshaw, 2006; Ragsdale et al., , 2014; Weinstock, Berman, & Cates, 2004). The risk of problematic behaviors add a layer of worry to the mixture of feelings experienced by parents whose adolescent children leave home.

1.3 Focus of the current study

In the center of the current study, are Israeli parents who live on kibbutzim, a population which, in 2012, comprised about 2% of the total Israeli population (http://www.cbs.gov.il/publications/kib05/pdf/h_print.pdf). The Israeli kibbutz, which was originally influenced by utopian socialism, under the influence of Marxist principles, was first established in the early 1900s, as a rural, primarily agricultural community. Its doctrine called for hard work, equality, and sharing (Moskovich & Achouch, 2013). As part of the idea of communal living, children did not sleep under their parents' roof, but in children's homes within the kibbutz. As Israeli society drifted from community-spirited idealism toward materialism and individualism, so did the kibbutz, and among the changes were the shift from children's communal sleeping arrangement to a family sleeping arrangement (Isralowitz & Palgi, 1992). In many kibbutzim the education path calls for adolescents at age 15 to move out and to learn and live with their peers in a regional residential school for kibbutz children.

The currents study focuses on the experience of the parents, as their relatively young adolescent children leave home. Very little research has addressed parents' reactions toward normative early home leaving, as studies focused on leaving under adversity (Bruns, 2000; Sjöblom, 2006). In the current study we wish to broaden our understanding of parents' experience on this issue, focusing on normative families whose children leave their houses early, simply because their education system defines the age of 15 as the age of home leaving. More specifically our research focuses on difficulties and benefits related to early home leaving. The research questions are:

1. Do parents face any difficulties while they cope with their teenage children's early home leaving?
2. Do parents see benefits of their teenage children's early home leaving?

2. Method

2.1 Participants

The participants in this qualitative study were 15 parents (8 mothers, 7 fathers) from different families. They all lived on kibbutzim in the north of Israel, and had at least one child age 15-18 who had moved, as is the kibbutz norm at age 15, to a residential school. All were secular Jews, of middle socioeconomic status, age 50-40 ($M = 47.93$; $SD = 2.74$). Of the 8 women, 7 had an academic degree, as did 3 out of the 7 men. Most of the participants (11 out of 15) were native Israelis, 2 were born in South America, 1 in Morocco, and 1 in Russia; each of the non-natives had lived in Israel for over 20 years at the time of the research. All the participants had 2-4 children ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.58$), most of them (11 out of 15) were married to the parent of the adolescent child, 4 were separated or divorced. Seven of the participants were interviewed after their youngest child left home, and 8 still had a child – age 9-15 – at home. All participants worked full time, 4 women worked in secretarial jobs, 3 women in education, 5 men worked in agriculture, and 2 men in maintenance positions.

2.2 Research Tool

The research tool used was a semi-structured open interview, which followed a two-question research protocol. The protocol, developed specifically for this study, was based on previous research in this field (Ackerman, Rosen, & Zosky, 2002; Buck & Scott, 1993; White & Edwards, 1990). The semi-structured open interview allows interviewees to expand

and clarify their answers, and provides an opportunity to give examples. It also offers the flexibility to ask new questions based on the participant's answer. The two-question research protocol was: (1) Are there any special difficulties you cope with because your adolescent child left home? (2) Do you see any benefits from your child's early home leaving?

Data analysis was based on Strauss and Corbin's (1990) constant-comparative method, seeking to derive distinct themes for each of the questions. Two researchers worked to establish thematic reliability, and began by separately searching for systematic, recurring, visible, and direct content. Each then referred back to this content by frequency of appearance and his or her interpretation of their significance to the interviewees. During the interpretation process, the researchers divided the content (which they had agreed upon) into groups, identified prominent themes, and named each theme.

2.3 Sampling Method, Procedure, and Data Collection

Participants were recruited using the snowball method. The initial inquiry yielded 3 participants, and they referred the researchers to other possible participants, of whom 12 agreed to participate. Participation was voluntary, and participants were guaranteed confidentiality, and were also told that they could withdraw from the study at any stage. Most of the one-on-one, 45-85 minute interviews took place in the participants' homes, at their convenience, and three at the participants' workplace. The interviews were audio recorded with participants' permission. Pseudonyms were assigned to maintain anonymity.

3. Results

The findings underwent content analysis, and the themes for each interview question were listed in the order in which the questions were asked (in some cases, the interviewees gave more than one answer). Table 1 presents the themes identified in each question, by participants' gender.

Table 1. Themes identified in every question, by participants' gender. N=15

Question	Theme	Women N=8	men n=7
Difficulties	Worries, confusion, and concern	5	1
	Loss of control over the child	6	1
	Self-blame and blame	4	0
	Sense of redundancy	3	1
	Child's independence	8	7
	Less domestic conflict and lower domestic expenses	5	4
Benefits	New intergeneration relationships	7	6
	Reevaluation of relationship with partner	6	2
	Normal development of the child	2	5

Note: Most of the interviewees suggested more than one theme per question.

3.1 Question 1 – Are there any special difficulties you cope with because your adolescent child left home?

As seen in Table 1, four themes were identified for this question: *Worries, confusion, and concerns* (6 participants: 5 women, 1 men); *Loss of control over the child* (7 participants: 6 women, 1 men); *Self-blame* (4 participants: 4 women); *A sense of redundancy* (4 participants: 3 women, 1 men).

3.1.1 Worries, confusion, and concerns.

Some participants expressed worries that their son/daughter are not old enough to manage on their own, felt confused over the appropriate way to stay involved in the child's life, and were angry with the kibbutz for directing teenagers toward early home leaving. Dana expressed her feelings and said, "I was worried. I knew that my daughter is independent and knows her way around, but nevertheless I was concerned that she might need me and I won't be there for her." Rinat another mother, described her confusion toward the change in the family life: "I remember I wanted my son to come home more often, I didn't know if I could tell him that or maybe talk to one of the instructors, it seemed to me that they all knew how it should be and I had to learn how to accept whatever that was." Parents seem to have expressed loneliness, and in the transition of their children from home felt that their parental role was not as clear to them as it had been. They were left with open questions regarding their own parenting.

3.1.2 Loss of control over the child

The parents spoke about their difficulties when they had to step back and to trust their children to manage on their own.

They were worried that they might lose their connection with their children, and concerned that, unbeknownst to them a problem might arise and their child would need them: One mother, Evelyn, felt "like I'm losing her. I remember other parents who thought I was too tense, maybe thought I was problematic, and all I thought was – how am I going to protect my child?" Orit, too, described her difficulties with the move: "It's hard to accept that the children have to be on their own. I didn't like not to know what is going on with him, what he does, if he learnt well, ate well? Slept enough? Knew how to get away from troubles? They tell you less and less, and you just need to adjust."

The parents felt that their children were still children, and the way they were expected to let go, was too intense for them. When the parents considered everything that the children had to manage on their own (nutrition, academic chores, hygiene, proper sleep, etc.) some felt that they lost control over the children.

3.1.3 Self-blame and blame

The interviews revealed two types of blame – self-blame and blaming the child for the early home leaving. (1) Self-blame: Some parents felt as if they had not been good enough parents, not sensible enough to reach to the child's needs. Although the home leaving is normal, arranged and expected in the kibbutz, it does not prevent the parents from blaming themselves for not protecting their children sufficiently from the system that drives them away from home at an early age. Einat made it clear: "I felt as if I wasn't a good mother, maybe my son lacked something at home and chose to leave. I was grappling with that issue for quite a long time." (2) Blaming the child: The parents who blamed the children felt that their children were not grateful to them, although they had done their best as parents; they wondered whether they had done enough, and whether it was their shortcomings that caused the child to leave. Efrat spoke about anticipating her son's leaving: "I knew it was coming, but somehow I couldn't accept the early home leaving. My son had everything at home. Everything he possibly needed and yet he chose to leave? I felt as if I was abandoned."

Both types of blame were expressed by the parents who at the same time acknowledged that leaving home at adolescence is a structured process, and is dependent on the child's desire to leave home. In other words, while the parents knew that this was the home leaving stage for all children at their children's age, it did not prevent some of them from feeling blame that maybe this leaving was somehow related to their own parenting.

3.1.4 Sense of redundancy.

The parents felt that their parental role might have been terminated, or that they were no longer needed. With no other children to look after at home, a sense of redundancy prevailed immediately following the child's home leaving. Efrat "... was hurt as a parent. It felt like I was underestimated, I felt empty, no children at home and suddenly they no longer need me." All the parents who expressed the sense of redundancy were those whose last child had left home. They also mentioned that until the beginning of that period the taking care of their children was at the center of their lives.

3.2 *Question 2: Do you see any benefits from your child's early home leaving?*

Five themes were identified for this questions: Child's independence (15 participants: 8 mothers, 7 fathers); Less domestic conflict and lower domestic expenses (9 participants: 5 women, 4 men); New intergenerational relationships (13 participants: 7 women, 6 men); Reevaluation of the relationship with the partner (8 participants: 6 women, 2 men); and Normal development of the child (7 participants: 2 women, 5 men).

3.2.1 Child's independence

The parents described an accelerated emotional and social development that their children had undergone. Following the home leaving, the parents noted that the children had higher levels of responsibility and independence, and a better ability to manage their own personal lives than they did when they lived at home. The parents felt proud and connected this positive development to the way they brought up their children and contributed to their reaching that impressive ability Danny said about his son: "I'm sure that the significant benefit is the independence. I saw my son's ability to make important decisions, to take responsibility for the consequences of his actions. I was surprised to see how he had shown responsibility over issues I was not even aware he could." Moshe, another father, echoed this idea: "I noticed a higher level of self-discipline. I watched my son and learned how he made demands on himself." Independence was described by the participants with different aspects, including earning and spending money responsibly, being employed part time and showing maturity, maintaining their household by doing different chores in their living area (i.e. cleaning, cooking), and in general proving that they are indeed capable of living on their own.

3.2.2 Less domestic conflict and lower domestic expenses

The parents mentioned a sense of relief as the amount and level of arguments over daily issues had significantly decreased. In addition, the parents felt more comfortable financially after the home leaving of the adolescent and that also brings more calmness to the family. When the children leave for their communal residence, part of their curriculum is to do 4-8 hours of paid work a week (agriculture, laundry, childcare, etc.) for which they get paid. They use this

money for their expenses, reducing the family burden. Sigal recalled how she felt: "I remember a wonderful feeling of freedom, there was much less tension at home." And Yair, one of the fathers, said: "There's no doubt that there is less work at home, you don't have to look after the children as intensely as before. The house is much quieter. Less to cook, less money to spend. It's a big change." Arguments over keeping the room tidy, getting up on time to school, doing school assignments, were not part of everyday life since the leaving home of the children. The decrease in conflicts and the lowering of family expenses enabled the parents to focus more on the younger children who still lived at home, or to focus more on themselves, in a quieter and less tense atmosphere.]

3.2.3 New intergenerational relationships

Most of the participants referred to a significant and a positive change that followed the adolescent's home leaving – the development of a new relationship with their child. This developed when the children came home for visits, and the parents described the relationship as positive and pleasant. Missing the child and knowing that the child misses the family, gave the family a greater appreciation of their own relationship. No longer dealing with discipline and boundaries, the parents gained a new perspective on their child, beginning to view the child more as the grown individual he or she was becoming. Einat said that after her son left home "each time we met him, we all are so happy. We felt so connected." And Danny said, "Each time we get together we have quality time, we don't waste it on arguing about tidying up the room or any other thing we used to argue about. We can really talk about interesting issues."

3.2.4 Reevaluation of the relationship with the partner

The interviewees, especially those whose youngest child had left home (the child who was the last to leave) were aware of the extra free time that they had with their partner when their children were no longer at home. Some were content with their relationship with their partner, and mentioned fewer conflicts with the partner over their adolescent child's education. They also mentioned more quality time with their partner, contributing to their feelings of togetherness, and in general positive change in the atmosphere that bring more calmness to the relationship. Einat spoke about her relation with her partner, and said "We suddenly spent more time together as a couple, dared to travel more, visit friends... we felt that it's OK not to be at home in the evenings." Doron described his relationship "We now have more time together, we can go to a movie or a restaurant without having to plan in advance. We can be more spontaneous and it's fun." However, if a couple's relationship was tense prior to the child's home leaving, the tension became more intense, and the couple found it more difficult to manage the relationship after the child had left. Lina said that "when our youngest boy left, there was suddenly lots of free time. All sorts of kid-related stuff were no longer center stage. It became so quiet at home, you had to get used to it, feeling loneliness everywhere. I know couples who got divorced after their children left home." It seems that the couple's relationship is seriously tested when the children leave their parents' house. The change can refresh and rejuvenate a relationship, or, conversely, bring to the forth difficulties that had not been addressed as long as the children lived at home and the parents acted more as parents than as a couple.

3.2.5 Normal development of the child

In discussion the child's early home leaving, the participants referred to the fact such a move is the norm in the kibbutz. This transition was experienced naturally and quite positively by the parents who expected it to occur at that stage. Eyal referred back to his own adolescence: "It seemed totally normal to me. I also moved out at an early age, you get used to everything." Doron concurs, "I think it's good, I remember how proud I was when I left home as a teenager, could manage my life on my own." Einat, too, saw the home leaving as a normal process – "It's the way the world works. It's natural. That's how it should be." Home leaving symbolized normality, and the parents viewed it as an expression of a healthy transition which they were ready to experience. In some ways, they were proud of their children who showed good adjustment and ability to live according to the norms in their society.

By observing the different themes derived from the two main questions in the current study, it seems that the early home leaving of kibbutz adolescents evokes both difficult and positive feelings in their parents. However there are unique characters of the parents' reaction to the children's home leaving, in relation to the relatively early age of that leaving, and these will be addressed in the Discussion.

4. Discussion

The current study focused on the experience of the parents of adolescent who left home at the relatively young age of 15. The aim was to evaluate whether there are distinct characteristics of parents' reaction to children's home leaving when this leaving occurs during adolescence and is normative in that society.

The participants in the current study live on kibbutzim, where the children are expected to leave their parents' home when they reach the age of 15, and live in a regional residential school. The themes derived from the two research questions revealed both the difficulties and the significant benefits that parents experiences with this change in their children's domicile.

While the findings reveal that parents' reaction to the home leaving of their adolescent children is similar to that of parents' reaction toward their young adult children's leaving, there are aspects that are unique to the latter. The research literature regarding parents' reaction toward the empty nest process, focuses on the leaving of young adults (people in their twenties or thirties), and describes a combination of difficult feelings together with positive ones (Ackerman et al., 2008; Crawford & Hooper 1973; Hobdy et al., 2007; Gorchoff et al., 2008; McQuaide, 1998). Similarly, findings in the current study show that those feelings, both positive and negative, are shared by the parents of adolescents who leave home. The participants in this study described worries and confusion, fear to lose control over the child, blame, and a sense of redundancy. At the same time they conveyed their perception of a normal and positive development of their child, they pointed out a decrease in domestic conflicts and a lowering of domestic expenses, acknowledged a new intergenerational relationship with their children, and reevaluated their relationship with their partner. However, our findings also revealed some unique characteristics of feelings regarding early home leaving.

First, knowing that the children are still minors adds a concern, as the parents were not confident that their children could cope properly without them. They were worried about their children's nutrition, hygiene, sleeping, and learning habits and in some cases had their concerns whether it was for the benefit of their child to live outside their home at that age, with no constant and close parental guidance and supervision.

Second, adolescence is the time when personal identity is formed (Erikson, 1968). This knowledge made some of the parents to be concerned about their children's ability to cope on their own, facing the psychological challenges of adolescence. Adolescents face such issues as moral choices, forming world views, personal appearance, romantic partners, friends, hobbies and decision making, and some of the parents were concerned that being far from their children at this stage might be too confusing for the children who are not grown up yet, and are highly influenced by their peers at this stage of life (Dahi & Zalk, 2014; Veenstra & Dijkstra, 2011). The parents were concerned that peer pressure might have a negative influence on their children, at this sensitive stage of their development. If things were to go wrong, they are worried that they will lose control over their children and would not be aware from a distance of the need to correct/handle matters.

Finally, it was apparent from the findings that in the eyes of some of the parents at years of 15 the children were still very young to leave. A possible feeling that the parents described regarding this matter was that they had not gotten all that parenting had to offer, as if their time as parents was too short.

Researches on parents who cope with the empty nest outcomes mainly focused on young adults in their twenties and thirties who leave the parents' home. At this age the children are in many aspects grownups. All parents whose children leave home experience a wide range of feelings, some quite challenging (Beaupr  t et al., 2006; Dare, 2011; Dennerstein et al., 2002). However, with older children, concerns, fear of a fragile age or a feeling that they had not fully fulfilled their parenting role are not the main characteristics of those feelings. In fact, in some cases parents wish that their young adult children would make the move and live on their own. When young adults live with their parents, there is often a heavy burden that families bear (Settersten & Ray, 2010), and not all families can afford to support another adult at home, financially and emotionally. Parents whose adolescent children leave home share many of the feelings of parents of young adults who cope with the children's' home leaving such as stress, emptiness, loneliness, blame). However, they are also worried and may not be totally sure, that letting their children go at this stage, is the right thing to do, viewing their children as being at a fragile age. Unlike the individual home leaving of young adults, kibbutz adolescents leave home leave as a group. They leave with the friends with whom they grew up, and the parents all know each other. That is a characteristic that probably provides comfort for parents in their experience of their children's home leaving. The familiarity is accompanied by the fact that the home leaving is a natural part of kibbutz life, proof of a good and healthy development of the child. The ensuing opportunity the parents get to have a new kind of intergenerational relationship with their adolescent children may add to their ability to accept this transition more naturally with a sense of strength and satisfaction with their own functioning as parents.

4.1 Research limitations

The first limitation to be noted is that, as a qualitative research with a small sample, caution should be exercised in generalizing these results. Second, the participants in this study live on kibbutzim (representing 2% of the Israeli population); there are other populations whose children leave home at an early age (e.g., religious adolescents who go to residential school and those who go to specialized residential schools). Interviews with parents of these adolescents could yield different results. Third, for the participants, early home leaving was a normative part of the collective lifestyle, consistent with the expectations in the various kibbutzim; they did not leave due to an adverse home situation. Finally – this is a sensitive topic, and although participation was voluntary, perhaps not all participants felt comfortable enough to open up completely. Nonetheless, we hope that the participants were honest in their answers to the interviewers' questions. It is their authentic voices that are the backbone of the current study of parents' coping with the

empty nest period.

References

- Ackerman, L., Rosen, E., & Zosky, D. (2008). The sibling empty nest syndrome. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 6, 65-80.
- Arieli, M., Kashti, Y., & Shlasky, S. (1983). *Living at school: Israeli residential schools as people processing organizations*. Tel Aviv: Ramot.
- Arnett, J. J. (2001). Conceptions of the transition to adulthood: Perspectives from adolescence through midlife. *Journal of Adult Development*, 8, 133-143.
- Arnett, J. J. (2003). Conceptions of the transition to adulthood among emerging adults in American ethnic groups. *New Directions for Child & Adolescent Development*, 100, 63-76. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/cd.75>
- Arnett, J. J. (2004). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Beaupré, P., Turcotte, P., & Milan, A. (2006). When is junior moving out? Transitions from the parental home to independence. *Canadian Social Trends*, 82, 9-15.
- Borland, D. C. (1982). A cohort analysis approach to the empty-nest syndrome among three ethnic groups of women: A theoretical position. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 44, 117-129. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/351267>
- Bruns, D. A. (2000). Leaving home at an early age: Parents' decisions about out-of-home placement for young children. *Mental Retardation*, 38(1), 50-61.
- Buck, N., & Scott, J. (1993). She's leaving home, but why? An analysis of young people leaving the parental home. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 55, 863-874. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/352768>
- Cassidy, M. L. (1985). Role conflict in the postparental period: The effects of employment status on the marital satisfaction of women. *Research on Aging*, 7, 433-454. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0164027585007003007>
- Cooper, K. L., & Gutmann, D. L. (1987). Gender identity and ego mastery style in middle-aged, pre and post empty nest women. *The Gerontologist*, 27, 347-352. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/geront/27.3.347>
- Crawford, M. P., & Hooper, D. (1973). Menopause, ageing and family. *Social Science and Medicine*, 7, 469-482. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0037-7856\(73\)90013-9](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0037-7856(73)90013-9)
- Dahi, V., & Zalk, M. (2014). Peer networks and the development of illegal political behavior among adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 24(2), 399-409. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jora.12072>
- Dare, J. S. (2011). Transitions in midlife women's lives: Contemporary experiences. *Health Care for Women International*, 32, 111-133.
- Dennerstein, L., Dudley, E., & Guthrie, J. (2002). Empty nest or revolving door? A prospective study of women's quality of life in midlife during the phase of children leaving and re-entering the home. *Psychological Medicine*, 32, 545-550.
- Duvall, E. M., & Miller, B. C. (1985). *Marriage and family development* (6th ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Erickson, J. J., Martinengo, G., & Hill, E. J. (2010). Putting work and family experiences in context: Differences by family life stage. *Human Relations*, 63, 955-979. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0018726709353138>
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Feeney, J., Peterson, C., & Noller, P. (1994). Equity and marital satisfaction over the family life cycle. *Personal Relationships*, 1, 83-99. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.1994.tb00056.x>
- Finer, L. B., & Henshaw, S. K. (2006). Disparities in rates of unintended pregnancy in the United States, 1994 and 2001. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 38, 90-96. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1363/3809006>
- Glenn, N. D. (1975). Psychological well-being in the postparental stage: Some evidence from national surveys. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 37, 105-110. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/351034>
- Gorchoff, S. M., John, O. P., & Helson, R. (2008). Contextualizing change in marital satisfaction during middle age. *Psychological Science*, 19, 1194-1200.
- Hagen, J. D., & DeVries, H. M. (2004). Marital satisfaction at the empty-nest phase of the family life cycle: A longitudinal study. *Marriage and Family: A Christian Journal*, 7, 83-98.
- Hershberger, B. (1982). Living in the freedom there is. *Activities, Adaptation and Aging*, 2, 51-58.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J016v02n01_07

- Hiedemann, B., Suhomlinova, O., & O'Rand, A. M. (1998). Economic independence, economic status, and empty nest in midlife marital disruption. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60, 219-231. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/353453>
- Hobdy, J., Hayslip, B., Kaminski, P. L., Crowley, B. J., & Riggs, S. (2007). Family transition for young adult women in the context of a changed Germany: Timing, sequence, and duration. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 44, 1899-1917.
- Isralowitz, R. E., & Palgi, M. (1992). Work attitudes and behaviors of kibbutz parents with familial and communal child sleeping arrangements. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 132(1), 121-123. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224545.1992.9924694>
- Lippert, L. (1997). Women at midlife: Implications for theories of women's adult development. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 76, 16-22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1997.tb02371.x>
- McQuaide, S. (1998). Women at midlife. *Social Work*, 43, 21-31.
- Moskovich, Y., & Achouch, Y. (2013). From collectivism to capitalism: Cultural change in a kibbutz factory in Israel. *Journal of Rural Cooperation*, 41(1), 80-95.
- National Council for the Child (2013). *Children in Israel-2013*. (Hebrew.) Retrieved from <http://www.children.org.il/Files/File/SHNATON/%20%202013.pdf>
- Ragsdale, K., Bersamin, M. M., Schwartz, S. J., Zamboanga, B. L., Kerrick, M. R., & Grube, J. W. (2014). Development of sexual expectancies among adolescents: contributions by parents, peers and the media. *Journal of Sex Research*, 51(5), 551-560. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2012.753025>
- Raup, J. L., & Myers, J. E. (1989). The empty nest Syndrome: myth or reality. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 68(2), 180. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.1989.tb01353.x>
- Savin-Williams, R. C., & Berndt, T. J. (1990). Friendship and peer relations. In S. S. Feldman & G. R. Elliott (Eds.), *At the threshold: The developing adolescent*, 277-307. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Settersten Jr., R. A., & Ray, B. (2010). What's going on with young people today? The long and twisting path to adulthood. *Future of Children*, 20(1), 19-41.
- Sheriff, M., & Weatherall, A. (2009). A feminist discourse analysis of popular-press accounts of postmaternity. *Feminist and Psychology*, 19, 89-108. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0959353508098621>
- Shulman, S., & Ben-Artzi, E. (2003). Age related differences in the transition from adolescence to adulthood and links with family relationships. *Journal of Adult Development*, 10, 217-226.
- Sjöblom, Y. (2006). Leaving Home Early: Passing from Girlhood to womanhood. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 23(4), 432-457. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10560-006-0062-9>
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Veenstra, R., & Dijkstra, J. K. (2011). Transformations in adolescent peer networks. In B. Laursen & W. A. Collins (Eds.), *Relationship pathways: From adolescence to young adulthood*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Weinstock, H., Berman, S., & Cates, W. (2004). Sexually transmitted diseases among American youth: Incidence and prevalence estimates, 2000. *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 36, 6-10. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1363/3600604>
- White, L., & Edwards, J. N. (1990). Emptying the nest and parental well-being: An analysis of national panel data. *American Sociological Review*, 55, 235-242. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2095629>



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/).