

The employment of second generation Turkish and majority group women in
Europe: Influences of country context, origin, and childbearing

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Abstract

Entering and establishing oneself in the labour market are central to the transition to adulthood. Using data from “The Integration of the European Second-Generation” (TIES) survey (N = 1,749), we consider variation in employment of second generation Turkish and majority young adult women. We explore how this relationship varies across four European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden) in order to assess how institutional contexts, migrant background and differential assimilation shape employment among Turkish second generation women relative to their majority-background counterparts. While we observe lower levels of employment among second generation Turkish women as compared to their majority group counterparts, our findings indicate that institutional country context matters for employment of all women in society, regardless of ethnic background. Although motherhood is negatively associated with employment, we do not find evidence that this association varied by ethnicity.

Key Words: Employment, Young Adults, Second Generation, Turks, childbearing, Europe

Introduction

Entering the labour market is a central event in the transition to adulthood. Employment and labour force attachment in early life have implications for career trajectories, skill development and maintenance, future socioeconomic status, and well-being (Blossfeld and Hofmeister, 2006). At the same time, employment is likely associated with other events experienced in the transition to adulthood, for instance entering a co-residential union and childbearing (Aassve, Billari and Piccarreta, 2007; Danziger and Ratner, 2010). However, the degree and direction of this association may vary by individual characteristics as well as by ethnicity. While it is well established for majority-background women, less is known about how women of the second generation, the children of immigrants, negotiate these interrelated transitions. Extending our understanding of how economic participation is linked to other transitions in young adulthood and how this varies by immigrant background is crucial in European societies that are increasingly ethnically diverse (De Valk, Huisman and Noam, 2011; De Valk, Wingens, Windzio and Aybek, 2011). In this paper we consider variation in employment of women across three dimensions: country context, immigrant background, and childbearing. We explore the interaction in the mentioned dimensions in order to better understand work-orientation dynamics across the early family life course and potential ethnic inequality in labour force attachment. Furthermore, we make comparisons across four European countries, Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden, in order to assess how socio-political and normative contexts may differentially shape employment behaviours among women of both the majority group and second generation. Finally, focusing on how childbearing shapes the employment of women of both native and second generation origin across countries provides a more detailed picture of the state of gender equity in Europe.

Our particular focus is on the relative position of second generation Turkish and majority-background women. Turkish immigrants and their descendants constitute the largest single-country origin group in Europe, totalling approximately 4 million individuals (Vasileva, 2010). Large scale migration from Turkey to Western and Northern Europe predominantly started in the early 1960s. This migration flow was enabled and bolstered by bilateral migration agreements between European countries and the Turkish government, active labour recruitment in Turkey on the part of governments and private firms, and the co-migration of family members and social networks. Migrants who came to take up unskilled work in Europe were predominantly male migrants with limited education (Castles and Miller, 2003; Crul and Heering, 2008; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003). The socioeconomic, demographic and regional compositions of labour migrants from Turkey are overall rather similar across European countries of destination. Most migrants came from small rural villages in central Turkey or along the Black Sea (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

After the oil crisis and recession in 1973 and 1974, individual states halted recruitment of these labour migrants. Despite this, many Turkish migrants did not return to Turkey, but rather had their families reunited with them or started families in Europe. Women who joined their husbands in Europe were often low educated, as well, and most did not participating in the labour force. Overall, disproportionately large shares of Turkish families in Europe are in a less favourable socio-economic position than is the case for majority populations. The children of the first generation Turkish migrants, many born in Europe, are now experiencing the transition to adulthood, leaving the parental home, completing education, entering the labour force and forming families (Castles and Miller, 2003; Crul, Schneider and Lelie, 2012; Crul and Vermeulen, 2003).

Our aim in this paper is to deepen understandings of how women of Turkish and majority group origins negotiate employment in different European countries and to disentangle the importance of institutional context, migrant background and childbearing for women's employment behaviour. This is an important issue given the growing shares of second generation young women of Turkish origin who are born and raised in Europe. Family influences, discrimination in education or in the labour market, differential access to employment-related social capital, as well as differential assimilation in public- and private-life-domains, may affect the employment behaviours of Turkish-background young adult women and is, therefore, crucial for their position in society and in their families.

Theory and Hypotheses

Institutional contexts in European countries

Labour force participation of women in Europe has increased dramatically in the past half century and, in many country contexts, participation rates are increasingly similar among men and women (Misra, Budig and Böckmann, 2011). Still, there are marked differences in absolute levels and differentials in employment of women across countries in Europe (Eurostat, 2011). On aggregate, macroeconomic and institutional factors, such as educational systems, and policies governing the labour market, as well as levels of gender equity, are all found to play a role in determining levels of young adult economic activity (Mills and Blossfeld, 2003; Stadelmann-Steffen, 2008).

It has been demonstrated that the labour force attachment of women varies dramatically across country context, and this variation is particularly pronounced when considering attachment at different stages in the family life course (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Misra, Budig

and Böckmann, 2011; Morgan, 2006; Stadelmann-Steffen, 2008; Stadelmann-Steffen, 2011). Social policy influencing women's employment go beyond those governing gender equality and anti-discrimination; rather, a broader range of policies shape gender relations and the family, such as parental leave, childcare, and family planning policies, housing policy, income maintenance and support policies, and even tax policy (Kamerman and Kahn, 1978; Neyer and Andersson, 2008). Policies reflect norms about gender relations, division of labour in the household and employment across the family life-course (Bourdieu, 1996; Neyer and Andersson, 2008). They may influence the extent to which women are able and willing to pursue employment, particularly as their partnership and family circumstances change.

These policies and norms will likely shape the employment behaviour of both women of majority and immigrant background and since both majority and second generation women are exposed to the same institutional contexts (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003), we might expect both groups of women to have similar labour force outcomes. Earlier studies indeed suggested that this shared institutional context may affect those with and without a migrant origin similarly. For instance, in Sweden, Andersson and Scott (2005) and Lundström and Andersson (2012) demonstrated that the relationship between labour market status and fertility was largely similar between first generation migrant and majority populations. One of the explanations provided by these authors is the shared Swedish policy context.

[Figure 1 about here]

At the same time variation in female participation and institutional context exist across the four countries we study. The highest aggregate rates of women's labour force participation

are observed in Sweden (Figure 1), which is often classified as an “Earner-Carer” model, where both men and women are expected to be actively engaged in market and non-market work across the life course (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Misra, Budig and Böckmann, 2011; Misra, Moller and Budig, 2007). High rates of women’s employment are also noted in the Netherlands; however while overall labour force attachment is high, the share of part-time employment is by far the highest in Europe and the vast majority of women work for 28 hours or less, particularly after a first birth (Bierings and Souren, 2011; Morgan, 2006). Consequently, the Dutch economy has been heralded as one of the only “part-time econom[ies] in the world” (Freeman, 1998: 2). This is in contrast with the French situation, where women’s employment represents a Choice model. Women and, in particular, mothers are given the choice to work, but there is no explicit encouragement of employment (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Misra, Budig and Böckmann, 2011; Misra, Moller and Budig, 2007). There is wide-spread public provision of childcare, but women may also opt to reduce working hours to care for children in the home. This hybrid model has led to mixed results for women’s employment overall, and inconsistent labour force attachment over the life course. Finally of the four countries studied here, the lowest rates of women’s labour force participation are observed in Germany, a context often noted for the persistence of the “Male Breadwinner–Female Caregiver” model (Gornick and Meyers, 2003). Limited supports for combining care and market work are paired with a history of gendered norms emphasizing separate spheres for men and women, and women often find that they must choose between paid employment and family (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Kreyenfeld and Hank, 2000; Misra, Budig and Böckmann, 2011; Misra, Moller and Budig, 2007).

Although we cannot explore the differential effects of particular policies or normative context, considering the association between country of residence and labour force outcomes will

provide an indication of the broader country-specific institutional environment as a whole. We expect that employment outcomes of second generation Turkish and majority group women living in the same country will be similar due to the shared institutional context and social policies (Hypothesis 1a). Moreover, we expect that employment outcomes will vary across the four countries for young women of the Turkish second generation and majority group in the same ways: women's odds of employment will be the highest in Sweden, followed by the Netherlands, France and Germany (Hypothesis 1b).

Labour force participation in a context of migration

Although labour force participation has been shown to vary by immigrant origin, most studies focus on the participation of first generation men, newly arriving in their countries of residence. These studies found that labour market entry and the economic position of first generation men is largely determined by individual and community resources (Pichler, 2011; Van Tubergen, Maas and Flap, 2004). In many European countries the second generation is still young and has only recently started to enter the labour market. Emerging evidence regarding the economic position of the second generation relative to that of their parents is mixed, and depends on the settlement country, origin country, and migration history (Less favourable: Algan, Dustmann, Glitz and Manning, 2010; More favourable: Bengtsson, Lundh and Scott, 2005; Pichler, 2011). In nearly all contexts, however, the second generation is still in a less favourable position than majority groups and employment rates lag behind those of majority populations, particularly for women (Algan, Dustmann, Glitz and Manning, 2010; Bean, Brown, Bachmeier, Fokkema and Lessard-Phillips, 2012; Crul, Schneider and Lelie, 2012; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008; Huschek, 2011).

Like for young adults in general, the labour market experience of the second generation may be shaped by parental expectations about the individual life course, transmitted to children through socialisation or observing the behaviour and practices of their parents (Bandura, 1977; De Valk and Liefbroer, 2007; De Valk and Liefbroer, 2007; Robinson and Salamon, 1991; Youniss and Smollar, 1985). Women's employment rates in Turkey are far below those of their Turkish male counterparts (66% vs. 25%, respectively) and below rates observed for women in Europe (Figure 1) (OECD, 2011; World Bank, 2009). First generation Turkish women living in Europe are also disadvantaged in terms of employment relative to both their male first generation and female majority population counterparts (Van Tubergen, Maas and Flap, 2004). Differential norms predominant in (rural) Turkey at the time most parents migrated to Europe may favour separate spheres, with men taking on breadwinning roles and women focusing on household tasks (Copur, Erkal, Dogan and Safak, 2010; Idema and Phalet, 2007). This is also related to their migration histories, as many Turkish women were trailing spouses, migrating for family reunification or formation, joining their husbands who came to Europe for work (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003). Furthermore, women of Turkish origin may be subject to ethnic discrimination in the labour force or in education and training (Hermansen, 2012; Safi, 2010) or have differential access to in employment-related family social capital (Verhaeghe, Li and Van de Putte, 2012). Although we cannot differentiate between the influences of stronger gendered lives, socialisation, discrimination, or social capital deficits, each should exert a negative influence on employment rates. Therefore, we hypothesize that second generation Turkish women will have lower levels of employment than majority background women in each of the countries of our study (Hypothesis 2).

Differential Assimilation

Employment and other life course transitions are linked (Aassve, Billari and Piccarreta, 2007; Danziger and Ratner, 2010). Childbearing, in particular, has a clear impact on the employment of majority group women (Goldin, 1992; Gornick and Meyers, 2003). Although in many European countries women do not fully leave the labour market when they become mothers, many do interrupt their employment or reduce working hours when their children are young, with life-long consequences for economic well-being (Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel, 2007). As with majority populations, childbearing can be expected to be an important event for the labour force participation of second generation Turkish women. Especially when bearing in mind the more gendered lives and socialisation, one could expect it to be more relevant for women of Turkish origin (Bernhardt and Goldscheider, 2007; Diehl, Koenig and Ruckdeschel, 2009; Foner, 1997).

Previous research highlighted the importance of socialisation for life course transitions both in the private (e.g. childbearing (Steenhof and Liefbroer, 2008)) and public domains (e.g. labour force participation (Van Putten, Dykstra and Schippers, 2008)). At the same time, migration scholars have noted that assimilation in the private and public domains may occur at different paces and follow different paths. Adaptation to the majority-group experience or maintaining life course scripts of parental origin need not occur uniformly and in parallel in both domains. It has been suggested that adaptation in the public domain may occur more quickly, while behaviours in the private domain may be bound to strong and persistent family values (Lesthaeghe, 2002). We refer to this phenomenon as differential assimilation.

Second generation women have been shown to outperform men in education and when entering the labour market (Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008), outcomes associated with the public

domain. The advantage in educational outcomes parallels patterns observed among majority-group women in many European countries (OECD, 2012), particularly in country contexts with strong gender egalitarian norms. Indeed, Idema and Phalet (2007) found a distinct shift toward more egalitarian values among second generation Turkish daughters, which was further enhanced among the highly educated. However, familial influences may play a more important role in shaping second generation behaviour relative to the private domain, influencing women's employment as it relates to parenthood, in particular. Once second generation Turkish women begin to form families, their labour force participation behaviour may be governed by different standards and ideals, rooted in more conservative gender-role values (Idema and Phalet, 2007). This leads us to hypothesize that differential assimilation of the second generation will result in no differences in employment between the Turkish second generation and their majority counterparts who are childless. However, among mothers we expect lower levels of employment among second generation Turkish women as compared to majority-group women (Hypothesis 3).

Data and Method

Sample

Data for these analyses come from “The Integration of the European Second-Generation” (TIES) survey (2007-08).¹ TIES is the first cross national survey specifically designed to allow for investigations into the lives of young adults (aged 18-35) of second-generation Turkish, Moroccan and former-Yugoslavian origin as compared to majority group young adults in 15 cities in eight European countries. Second generation respondents were defined as individuals born in the survey country with at least one parent born abroad in one of the three focal

countries. The majority population was characterized as those born in the survey country with parents also born in the survey country.

An urban sampling frame was utilized because migration is primarily an urban phenomenon in Europe and the vast majority of migrants and their decedents live in cities (De Valk, Huisman and Noam, 2011; Huschek, De Valk and Liefbroer, 2011). Careful attention was paid to select country and city contexts where each of the second generation groups shared similar characteristics. While the urban sampling frame was ideal for surveying the second generation across country contexts, it has implications for the sample of majority respondents. The majority subsample is not nationally representative; rather this subsample may have come to the city for employment or education purposes and may, therefore, be more (socio-) economically advantaged. We will give particular attention to the potential compositional differences of the two subsamples in our analyses and will reflect upon implications of these differences for the interpretation of our results in the discussion section.

The survey instrument covered a wide range of issues including: family background; education, employment, and labour market experiences; partnership and childbearing; housing and neighbourhood characteristics; social relations; identity, language, and religion. Although response rates were comparable to other surveys of ethnic minorities in Western Countries (Feskens, Hox, Lensvelt-Mulders and Schmeets, 2006), they were relatively low on the whole, varying between 25 and 50% in each city (Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips, 2012; Huschek, de Valk and Liefbroer, 2011).

We limit our analysis to women in four country contexts where the Turkish second generation was interviewed and full information on employment and family life course histories were available. The cities and countries included: Berlin and Frankfurt, Germany (n = 524);

Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands (n = 519); Paris and Strasbourg, France (n = 465); and Stockholm, Sweden (n = 254). Samples were balanced across migrant background and city. Because our key area of interest is employment, we restrict our sample to those with full information on employment history, thereby excluding 13 individuals (in total constituting 0.6% of available cases). Our analysis sample consists of 1,749 individuals, of whom 52.4% are of Turkish decent.

Method

We estimate logistic regression models predicting the log of the odds of employment at the time of the survey. The model takes the form

$$\ln \frac{\hat{\pi}_i}{1 - \hat{\pi}_i} = \alpha + \mathbf{X}_i \beta \quad (1)$$

Where α is a constant and \mathbf{X}_i is a vector of regression odds ratios on covariates β for individuals i . The error term is suppressed for simplicity. In order to test our three hypotheses we include several covariates and interaction terms. Second generation Turkish status is indicated with a binary variable (Model 1; testing Hypothesis 1a and 2). Country context is captured with a set of categorical variables corresponding to Germany (omitted), the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In order to test our Hypothesis 1b, we allow the association between country context and the log of the odds of employment to vary by second generation Turkish status by interacting each of the categorical country variables with the binary variable on second generation status (Model 2). Finally, we identify women as parents if they report an own child in the household roster.² In order to test our Hypotheses 3 about differential assimilation, we include an interaction between parenthood and second generation Turkish status (Model 3).³

In addition to these key covariates, we include several indicators to take into account differences between women of Turkish and majority group descent. We account for women's age continuously with a second degree polynomial specification (age and age²). We account for whether the respondent has completed tertiary education and whether she is still enrolled in education. Women's labour force participation may be influenced by her mother's employment behaviour. Consequently we account for whether the respondent's mother was employed when the respondent was 15 years old. Finally, we account for respondents' co-residential partnership status, differentiating those with no co-residential partner (omitted) and those in either a non-marital or marital co-residential union.

Results

Table 1 includes descriptive statistics for our dependent and independent variables for majority group and second generation Turkish women. There are some important differences between our two subsamples. Most notably, Turkish second generation women are much less likely to be employed: 75% of women from the majority group are employed at the time of the survey compared with 52% of Turkish background women. It is likely that this pattern is, in part, related to other differences between these two groups. Majority women are, on average, two-and-a-half years older than Turkish second generation women. So too are they more likely to have completed tertiary education (54% vs. 27%, respectively), while the second generation is somewhat more likely to be enrolled in education at the time of the survey. With respect to parental background influences, the mothers of majority group women are about twice as likely to have been working when their daughters were 15 as compared to the mothers of Turkish second generation (63% vs. 33%, respectively).

[Table 1 about here]

Women's economic position is likely to be related to their family situation. However, similar proportions of Turkish- and majority-background women are in co-residential partnerships at the time of the survey. It should be noted that Turkish-background women are more likely to be in marital partnerships (not shown). Although they are younger, on average, the Turkish second generation is more likely to have transitioned to motherhood than their majority counterparts: approximately 25% of majority women have at least one child in the household as compared to 35% of Turkish second generation women.

Majority and second generation subsamples are similarly balanced across the survey countries: about 30% of respondents reside in Germany; 22% and 30% of majority and second generation women live, respectively, in the Netherlands; about 30% live in France; and about 15% of women reside in Sweden.

Table 2 presents coefficients from logistic regressions of the log of the odds of employment for women of second generation Turkish and majority background. The first panel of results (Model 1) tests the direct association between migrant background status and employment, net of other individual characteristics and country context. We find evidence that women of Turkish descent have 42% lower odds of employment relative to their majority counterparts. This finding is consistent with our migrant background hypothesis (2) and runs counter to our first institutional context hypothesis (1a).

[Table 2 about here]

We also were interested to what extent lower odds of employment among the second generation Turkish women are evident consistently and proportionally across all country contexts. We may note in Model 1 that there are striking differences across countries in women's employment. The odds of women's employment are highest in the Netherlands, followed by Sweden and France, relative to Germany. Model 2 (second panel) tests whether this average association across countries is the same for Turkish-background and majority women by interacting country fixed effects with the coefficient on second generation status. A test of the joint significance of the three interaction terms (Wald test: $\chi^2_{(df=3)} = 5.42$; Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.1435$) suggests that we fail to reject the hypothesis that all three interaction terms are jointly zero; however, only the coefficient for the Netherlands reaches marginal significance (Prob > $\chi^2 = 0.0696$). These results suggest that, while women with a Turkish-background are less likely to be employed, this difference is statistically proportional across country contexts (excepting, perhaps, in the Netherlands). In the Netherlands, second generation women do not reach the same high employment levels of their majority counterparts ($\beta_{NL} + \beta_{2ndG} + \beta_{NL*2ndG} = 0.17$ vs. $\beta_{NL} = 1.16$) but still are estimated to exhibit higher log-odds of employment relative to majority (vs. $\beta_G = 0.00$) and second generation women in Germany (vs. $\beta_{2ndG} = \beta_{G*2ndG} = -0.44$) and second generation women France ($\beta_F + \beta_{2ndG} + \beta_{F*2ndG} = -0.06$). Taken together, these results suggest differential socialisation or labour market experiences of majority and second generation Turkish women (again, consistent with Hypothesis 2). At the same time it is clear that institutional contexts play a role in shaping employment behaviour of all women, regardless of ethnic background, consistent with Hypothesis 1b; this influence is proportional for migrant- and majority-background women in Germany, France, and Sweden, but not in the Netherlands.

Finally, in Model 3 (Table 2, panel 3), we test for evidence of differential assimilation: are lower levels of employment among the Turkish second generation largely due to differential employment behaviours among mothers? There is a strongly negative association between parenthood and employment in all models, however, in Model 3 we allow this association to vary for majority and Turkish-background women. While negative, the estimate for the interaction coefficient does not reach statistical significance, suggesting that motherhood is not associated with a larger decrease in the odds of employment for second generation women relative to their majority counterparts. As a result we reject the differential assimilation hypotheses (3).

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper we investigated differences in employment for Turkish second generation and majority-background women in Europe across three dimensions: ethnic background, country context and childbearing. We found evidence supporting the hypothesis that, net of other characteristics, shared institutional contexts, such as country-specific educational and labour market systems, as well as policies governing women's labour market participation and work/family balance, do seem to influence Turkish-background and majority women in similar ways, confirming our Hypothesis 1b. Although this finding points to the relative importance of the institutional context on employment of women, we were here unable to pinpoint the relevant policies. A next step for researchers will be to disentangle the relative influences of different institutional factors on labour market behaviours of ethnic minority and majority women.

At the same time, we found evidence that Turkish second generation women had lower levels of employment as compared to their majority counterparts (Hypothesis 2). This may be

related to different normative expectations and socialisation of women and on their life courses in the parental family among the two origin groups. Even though both majority and Turkish-background women grow up in similar institutional contexts, the second generation may remain distinct due to the influences of their parents' country of origin. These country of descent influences may be transmitted via different parental (or social network) expectations about individual life courses or gender ideology, emphasizing separate spheres with men engaging in market work and women focusing on household work (Copur, Erkal, Dogan and Safak, 2010; Idema and Phalet, 2007). At the same time it may reflect ethnic discrimination in the labour force or in education and training (Hermansen, 2012; Safi, 2010) or differences in employment-related family social capital (Verhaeghe, Li and Van de Putte, 2012). While differences in labour market outcomes do not necessarily indicate the presence of discrimination (Heckman, 1998; Simon, 2005) or social capital deficits, we cannot rule out the possibility that they underlie part or all of the differences observed between Turkish second generation and majority women in this study. Disentangling the independent influences of these factors was beyond the scope of this article, but this may be a promising avenue of research to better understand the special position of the second generation, who must negotiate between the influences of the country context they live in and their links to and the influences of their parents' country of origin.

Differences in the employment of women of ethnic minority and majority background were most pronounced in the Netherlands, and were in contrast to the other country contexts where differences in employment between majority and Turkish-background women were largely proportional. It is difficult to determine, based on these analyses, what is driving this larger difference between these two groups in the Dutch context. Because the TIES survey was specifically designed to study similar groups of second generation young adults across different

European countries, special attention was paid to select country and city contexts with comparable second generation populations. Consequently, we would expect that the influence of migrant-background in shaping women's employment behaviours should be similar across countries. The fact that we find a larger difference between majority group and Turkish women in the Netherlands could be due in part to disproportionately higher part-time employment of majority group Dutch women. Levels of part-time work are particularly high among students and mothers; however, this employment tends to be for few hours and for only a few days a week (Bierings and Souren, 2011; Florquin, 2002; Freeman, 1998; Morgan, 2006). Our data did not allow disentangling this issue further, but distinguishing full-time or part-time status may help to explain the larger differential between migrant-background and majority women found in the Dutch context.

Finally, we tested for evidence of differential assimilation, following other scholars who argue that adaption of behaviours in the public domain, such as labour market, may occur more quickly than those behaviours in the private domain, such as family formation. In this case, we expected lower levels of employment for Turkish-background mothers as compared with their majority counterparts. We found no evidence of differential assimilation by parenthood status; the negative association between motherhood and employment was evident for all women, regardless of ethnic background. This points to the importance of the linkages between life course events for women, irrespective of origin and context of residence.

Although we do not find evidence of differential assimilation with respect to the association between motherhood status and employment, we still believe that the concept may be theoretically useful to scholars of the second generation. It is essential to explore how origin and residential influences operate independently and in interaction with one another to shape the life

courses of young adults of migrant background. Indeed, whether differential assimilation is important for other family-life events or whether it is more important for attitudes and values rather than behaviour remains a subject for further study among the diverse second generation in Europe.

As noted in the discussion of the TIES data, the majority subsample included in the survey is not nationally representative and is (socio-)economically advantaged relative to the second generation: majority respondents were more likely to be highly educated, older, and more likely to have had a mother who worked when they were 15 years old. It is likely that our two subpopulations also differ on other unobserved dimensions. If majority populations are more likely to have come to cities for employment or educational reasons, or have more progressive orientations toward women's employment, combining work and family, and gender role ideologies, we may overestimate the association between Turkish second generation background and employment. Second-generation and majority women may, in fact, be even more similar in their employment rates (all else equal) than we have estimated here. Collecting direct longitudinal measures of gender ideology and work orientation could improve our understanding of the relative position of second generation women in these country contexts. It is clear from our findings, however, that employment decisions are not made in a vacuum. Institutional country contexts matter for the employment of all women in a society, regardless of ethnic background and other individual characteristics. These results suggest that broad-based policy interventions, focusing on gender equity and improving work/family balance, may improve the employment circumstances and economic position of all women in increasingly diverse European labour markets.

Notes

- (1) Additional information about the survey can be found at <http://www.tiesproject.eu>.
- (2) Although we can identify whether the respondent has children living outside the household, we do not have information about that child. This may result in some respondents being misidentified as non-parents; however, because the sample is very young, we expect that few respondents will have children who have grown and moved out of the family home or have experienced the dissolution of a first childbearing partnership.
- (3) We explored different specification of parenthood status, disaggregating mothers by the age of the youngest child (both continuous and a binary specification distinguishing pre- and post-school-age children). However the best fitting model included only an indicator for any children present in the household (regardless of the child(ren)'s age(s)). This may be due to the fact that there is little variation in children's ages; because our sample includes only women under the age of 35, only a few have school-aged children.

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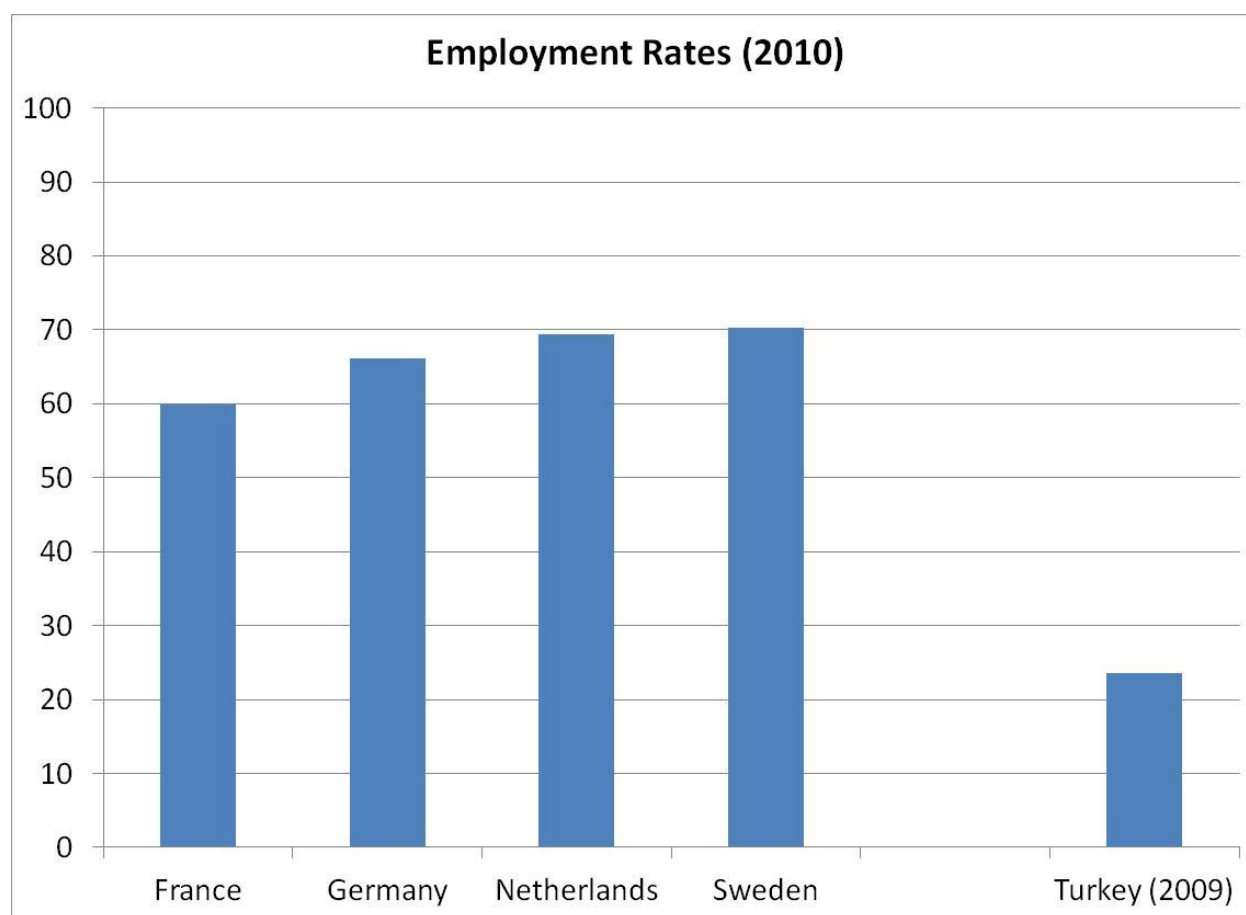
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Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Employment rates of women aged 15 - 64 (2010)



(OECD, 2011; World Bank, 2009)

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

	Majority			Second Generation Turkish		
	Mean	SD	min/max	Mean	SD	min/max
Currently employment	0.75	0.43	0/1	0.52	0.50	0/1
Age	27.48	5.01	18/36	24.94	4.83	18/35
Respondent completed tertiary education	0.54	0.50	0/1	0.27	0.44	0/1
Currently enrolled in education	0.20	0.40	0/1	0.25	0.43	0/1
Mother employed at age 15	0.63	0.48	0/1	0.33	0.47	0/1
Partnership (cohabiting or married)	0.47	0.50	0/1	0.44	0.50	0/1
Parent	0.24	0.43	0/1	0.35	0.48	0/1
Country						
Germany	0.31	0.46	0/1	0.28	0.45	0/1
Netherlands	0.22	0.42	0/1	0.30	0.46	0/1
France	0.31	0.46	0/1	0.28	0.45	0/1
Sweden	0.15	0.36	0/1	0.14	0.35	0/1
N	832			917		

Table 2. Regression coefficients from logistic regression of employment status of second generation and majority group young adult women

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	β	SE	e^{β}	β	SE	e^{β}	β	SE	e^{β}
Constant	-5.32	1.75 **	0.00	-5.37	1.76 **	0.00	-5.66	1.80 **	0.00
Age	0.39	0.14 **	1.48	0.39	0.14 **	1.48	0.41	0.14 **	1.51
Age ²	-0.01	0.00 *	0.99	-0.01	0.00 *	0.99	-0.01	0.00 *	0.99
Respondent completed tertiary education	0.30	0.15 *	1.35	0.29	0.15 *	1.34	0.28	0.15 +	1.33
Currently enrolled in education	-1.80	0.17 ***	0.17	-1.82	0.17 ***	0.16	-1.81	0.17 ***	0.16
Mother employed at age 15	0.22	0.13 +	1.25	0.22	0.13 +	1.24	0.22	0.13 +	1.24
Partnership (cohabiting or married)	0.02	0.16	1.02	0.04	0.16	1.04	0.05	0.16	1.05
Parent	-1.69	0.18 ***	0.18	-1.70	0.18 ***	0.18	-1.58	0.23 ***	0.21
Country of Residence									
Germany	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00
Netherlands	0.82	0.16 ***	2.27	1.16	0.25 ***	3.19	1.16	0.25 ***	3.18
France	0.35	0.17 *	1.42	0.29	0.25 *	1.34	0.29	0.25 *	1.34
Sweden	0.68	0.20 ***	1.97	0.61	0.29 *	1.85	0.60	0.29 *	1.82
Turkish background	-0.55	0.13 ***	0.58	-0.44	0.21 *	0.64	-0.38	0.22 +	0.68
<i>Interactions</i>									
Turkish background * Country of Residence									
Turkish background * Netherlands	-	-	-	-0.55	0.31 +	0.57	-0.55	0.31 +	0.58
Turkish background * France	-	-	-	0.09	0.30	1.09	0.09	0.30	1.09
Turkish background * Sweden	-	-	-	0.12	0.37	1.13	0.14	0.37	1.15
Turkish background * Parent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.19	0.25	0.82
N		1749			1749			1749	
Pseudo R2		0.1891			0.1915			0.1918	
Log-likelihood		-933.21581			-930.45742			-930.16085	
df		12			15			16	
AIC		1890.432			1890.915			1892.322	

+ $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

