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Union formation and partner choice of the second generation of Turkish origin in Europe: the influence of third parties and institutional context

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Chapter 3

First union timing among second-generation Turks in Europe: The role of parents, peers and institutional context

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Abstract

This study examines influences of parents and peers on first union timing among the Turkish second generation in Europe using pooled data from the TIES survey. Additionally, cross-national differences in the importance of parents and peers are assessed by comparing countries with different integration policies and welfare regimes. Analyses show that both parents and peers are relevant: more modern parental characteristics and contacts to non-coethnic peers result in postponement of entering a union. Furthermore, their influences are found to be rather similar in all seven countries despite variety in integration policies. Actual timing differences between countries may rather be caused by welfare state provisions directed at young adults.

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

The children of the Turkish labor migrants coming to Europe in the 1960s are now entering young adulthood. This period is marked by a variety of transitions in education, work and family life that heavily influence the future life course (Corijn and Klijzing, 2001). Given their situation of growing up between the influences of two different cultures – that of their parents and that of the country in which they were born – it is particularly interesting to examine how this largest non-western group in Europe is making the transition to adulthood.

One event of major interest during young adulthood is the entry into a union. Union formation pattern of second-generation Turks seems to differ from that of their native peers. They are more likely to marry without a period of unmarried cohabitation and a substantial share still marry a partner who lived in Turkey before the wedding. So far, most attention has focused on this last aspect of partner choice (Çelikaksoy, 2006; Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2006; Haug, 2005; Kalmijn and Van Tubergen, 2006; Lievens, 1999). Much less is known about other aspects of union formation. Previous research suggests that the Turkish second generation enters their first union rather early compared to native young adults (Bernhardt, et al., 2007; De Valk, 2006; Lievens, 1999; Milewski and Hamel, 2010; Nauck, 2002a, 2002b). However, variation in timing may exist among the Turkish second generation within one country as well as between countries. This paper examines to what extent parents and peers influence the timing of a first co-residential union among the Turkish second generation in Europe. Additionally, we study whether influences of parents and peers differ by the institutional context in which second-generation Turks live.

The timing of entry into a union may depend on individual characteristics, but may also depend on contacts with other social actors such as parents and peers. The role of the family in union formation decisions is well established both in general (Starrels and Holm, 2000; Thornton, 1991), and for the Turkish second generation (De Valk and Liefbroer, 2007; DiCarlo, 2007; Fuhrer and Uslucan, 2005; Haug, 2005). Intergenerational transmission of beliefs, values and family characteristics are mirrored in the timing of union formation. For example, children of parents with more traditional family values and low educational attainment or socio-economic status are likely to marry earlier (Axinn and Thornton, 1992; South, 2001). Given the general applicability of these processes, the same parental influences can be expected for the Turkish second generation.

While the family can be expected to be of importance for timing decisions, the role of close friends and peers⁷ should not be overlooked. During adolescence, same-age persons become much more influential while children mature and develop their own identity. Studies document the importance of peers for many different aspects of adolescent life (Harris, 1995; Shah and Zelnik, 1981). Despite their possible relevance for union formation choices, their influence has hardly been studied. Studying the influence of peers is particularly interesting

⁷ Peers can refer both to (a) youths' best and closest friends as well as to (b) members of the broader friendship network. If 'peers' is used without specification in this study it refers to best friends and acquaintances of a person, otherwise it refers only to the broader friendship network.

among second-generation Turks as they are likely to be exposed to ideas about union formation that might be quite different from those of their parents, particularly when their peer network consists of many persons from outside their own ethnic group – what we call ‘non-coethnics’ hereafter. If these non-coethnic young adults – on average – enter into a union later, having many non-coethnic close friends or going to a school with many non-coethnics can be expected to result in a later transition to union formation for the second generation than for those second-generation young adults with few contacts outside their own ethnic group.

Although parents and peers may exert an important influence on the timing of union formation of second-generation Turks across Europe, their relative importance may vary across countries. Koopmans (2008) discussed how living in different integration regimes and welfare states resulted in different socio-economic integration of migrant groups. A combination of multicultural policies and a generous welfare regime has led to higher levels of segregation, less out-group contact and lower levels of labor market participation compared to countries with more integrative or assimilative policies and less developed welfare systems. In particular, multicultural oriented policies allowed migrant families to uphold their values, norms and traditions. Based on these ideas, one could expect that in countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden – that traditionally have had multicultural policies and generous welfare systems – parents will have more influence on their children’s timing decisions than in more integrative societies such as France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

To examine the influence of both parents and peers on the timing of first union formation among the Turkish second generation and how this influence varies across Europe, new data from the TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) survey are used. The TIES data sampled Turkish second-generation youths in thirteen cities in seven European countries using similar survey instruments, and for the first time allows this type of analyses on the second generation in Europe.

3.2 BACKGROUND

Turks are the largest single migrant group in Europe. Approximately four million people of Turkish descent live in various European countries. The largest number of them – around two thirds – live in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 2,744,800 (2005)), followed by the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands: 373,000 (2007)) and France (INSEE, 2008: 222,000). Other European countries with former guest worker programs and relatively large Turkish communities are Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden. The Turks in Europe are characterized by their relatively recent migration (end 1960’s), mainly rural origins and low educational attainment of the original migrants, concentration in old industrial urban areas in the host, a cohesive community structure, and strong ties to Turkey (Lievens, 2000). At the same time, immigrants from Turkey are no homogenous group: they are comprised of diverse groups defined by ethnicity, religion, and region of origin. Clear dividing lines and little social interaction exist between these communities (Wilpert and Gitmez, 1987). Across Europe,

research on the second generation shows their disadvantaged position in education, labor market access and occupational attainment compared to other immigrant groups and natives (for an overview see Heath, et al., 2008). However, despite the weak socio-economic position of the Turkish second generation, they are doing better than their parents and are experiencing upward social mobility (Heath, et al., 2008).

The Turkish second generation does not only differ from the majority populations as far as socio-economic outcomes are concerned, but also with regard to family behavior. Whereas family formation patterns in most European countries have changed since the 1970's, reflected in e.g. postponement of marriage and childbearing, increasing cohabitation and divorce, and low fertility (Corijn and Klijzing, 2001), the few available studies on union formation among the Turkish second generation suggest this is less the case for this group. Marriage is still the major type of union among the Turkish second generation: around 95 percent of Turkish women marry, usually in their early twenties and without prior unmarried cohabitation (Nauck, 2002b). Approximately two-thirds of the second generation marry a partner from Turkey. Marriage to another second-generation Turk seem to be less common and intermarriage rates are overall below 10 percent (Çelikaksoy, 2006; De Graaf and Distelbrink, 2005; Reniers, 2000). Traditionally, Turkish parents take a great interest in their children's union formation, because a marriage does not only link two persons, but two families. Thus, family compatibility is often more important than spousal compatibility. As a result, this type of marriage often occurs at earlier ages than if marriage is initiated by the couple (Fox, 1975; Nauck, 2001a). This traditional, family oriented marriage is particularly widespread among the rural population from the Middle-, North, South- and Eastern Anatolian provinces, as well as among the less educated population from urban areas (Hortaçsu and Oral, 1994; Nauck, 2002b).

3.3 THE ROLE OF PARENTS

Parents are found to influence various life course decisions of their children through socialization as they for example transmit attitudes and role-models to their children (Youniss and Smollar, 1985). This is also observed for union formation timing (Thornton, 1991; South, 2001). The parents of the Turkish second generation may be better positioned to influence their children than native parents, because of the collectivist trust within the Turkish culture that highlights group interdependence, conformity of norms, and respect of elderly (Kagitçibasi, 1996; Nauck, 2002b). Parents of the second generation may also put more effort in socializing their children because of their minority status. They may try to tie their children to values and cultural norms of the own ethnic group in order to provide stability (Harris, Harker and Guo, 2003). Therefore, conformity to parental preferences and expectations is generally supposed to be strong among the second generation of Turkish descent (Nauck, 2002a; Phalet and Schönplflug, 2001b; Verkuyten, 2001).

Previous research has shown that what is transmitted from parent to child depends on characteristics of the parents (Axinn and Thornton, 1992; South, 2001). For instance, parents

with low religious commitment, urban origin, higher education and higher socio-economic status have children that delay union formation. This is attributed to the fact that these parents usually hold less restrictive family formation attitudes. Additionally, the better material environment reduces the motivation to leave home (Avery, 1992; Mulder, Clark, and Wagner, 2006). These general mechanisms may apply to Turkish immigrant parents as well. For parents of the Turkish second generation, a good knowledge of the language of the host country will offer them better chances in both the social and work sphere. These parents may have higher educational and occupational aspirations for their children, which could delay their children's entry into a union. On the other hand, low levels of parental education, strong religious commitment, a gender-specific division of labor in the parental home, and a large family size are characteristics associated with more traditional attitudes towards family formation resulting in earlier union formation. Turkish second-generation parents growing up in rural areas are more likely to have traditional family attitudes. In these areas, much less behavioral change occurred than in the more industrial coastal regions with the main large cities (Hortaçsu and Oral, 1994; Nauck, 2002b; Wilpert and Gitmez, 1987).

Thus, our first hypothesis is that Turkish second-generation young adults whose parents hold relatively modern attitudes towards family formation are expected to postpone entry into a union compared to young adults whose parents hold relatively traditional attitudes towards family formation (H1). Indicators of modern parental attitudes are:

- a) a high level of parental human capital*
- b) small family size, and*
- c) an urban family background.*

3.4 THE ROLE OF PEERS

During adolescence, parental influence weakens while peers become more important (Prinstein and Dodge, 2008). Age-peers share the same type of experiences and may in some situations constitute a more credible source of information than parents, in particular for issues related to social acceptance and sexuality (discussion in Markiewicz, Doyle, and Haggart, 2006). In addition, value transmission among close friends may occur due to high emotional investment and closeness of these relationships (Kohler, 1997). However, parental influence does not disappear, though their influence may differ from that of peers. Biddle, Bank, and Marlin (1980) found that peers mainly exert their influence through modeling of behaviors (social learning), whereas parents do so more through norms (value transmission). The relative influence of parents and peers may also depend on the issue under study. Behaviors where peers were found to be influential are contraceptive decisions, sexual behavior, school attainment, and delinquency (Biddle, Bank, and Marlin, 1980; Billy and Udry, 1985; Haynie and Osgood, 2005; Shah and Zelnik, 1981; Vaquera and Kao, 2008). Also for the timing of union formation we can expect that close friends are relevant both through social learning and value transmission. In addition, more distant acquaintances like co-students in school may also be important. The latter offer new information and contact to

groups that may show different behavior and attitudes regarding union formation (Granovetter, 1973).

For second-generation young adults, peers and particularly close friends are their primary contact to the host country. Their social networks are likely to consist not only of coethnic young adults but also, at least to some extent, of young adults from the host country as well as from other ethnic groups. In contact with these non-coethnic peers, young adults are exposed to different cultural attitudes, values and norms. Friendship with non-coethnics not only tends to increase feelings of cultural closeness and resemblance (Pettigrew, 1998), but also increase feelings of self-esteem and an enhanced taste for autonomy (Reinders, 2003). Non-coethnic friends provide alternative sources of information on union formation behavior and knowledge on arranging school and family life careers, and this may result in changes in the timing of union formation. Indeed, a study on the Turkish second generation in the Netherlands indicated that a higher proportion of non-coethnic friends results in a higher resemblance in union formation patterns between second generation and native young adults (Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer, 2011). *This reasoning leads to the hypothesis that Turkish second-generation young adults with many contacts to non-coethnic peers are more likely to postpone union formation compared to Turkish second-generation young adults with few contacts to non-coethnic peers (H2).*

3.5 INTEGRATION POLICIES AND WELFARE STATE REGIMES

Although parents and peers may be of importance for the timing of union formation of second-generation Turks across Europe, their influence may vary across countries. Different opportunities and constraints at the macro level may mediate the influence of parents or friends. European countries have taken different approaches towards immigration and incorporation of immigrants (Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 2001). Some, like Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, followed an integrative policy approach. They chose to retain relatively high barriers for migrants to become full citizens, made residence rights dependent on performance on the labor market and absence of criminal records, and left little room for cultural difference. France followed an assimilative policy approach which implied relatively easy access to citizenship combined with limited options for persistence of cultural difference. Within this model it is stressed that migrants become French as overt expressions of ethnic, linguistic or religious identity are seen as conflicting with participation in public institutions. Another set of countries, like the Netherlands, Sweden, and Belgium (particularly Flanders; Jacobs and Rea, 2007), followed a more multicultural approach giving migrants easier access to full citizenship rights, security of residence and state support. In these latter countries, migrants enjoyed relatively broad opportunities to live according to their cultures of origin and form ethnic organizations and institutions.

Koopmans (2008) suggested that the combination of multicultural policies and a generous welfare regime leads to higher levels of segregation, less out-group contact and lower levels of labor market participation compared to countries with integrative or assimilative policies

and good but restrictive welfare systems. The German and Austrian welfare state provisions, for example, are quite generous, but access or additional rights depend on labor market performance. By contrast, the Netherlands – at least until fairly recently – and Sweden give encompassing rights including access to welfare state provisions without demanding returns, resulting in no requirements on migrant participation in the host society. In another study, Ersanilli and Koopmans (2009) examined how the integration policies of France, Germany and the Netherlands affect orientation toward both the host-culture and the own ethnic-culture. In this study, ethnic retention was found to be highest in the Netherlands, followed by France. In Germany, however, it was lowest as, according to the authors, participation in various domains of public life is linked to giving up the own ethnic culture and adopting the host-country culture. On the other hand, the study found that orientation toward the host country was highest in the French model and low both in Germany and the Netherlands. The authors argue that in countries with integrative policies and generous but restrictive welfare regimes migrants have to give up more of their own culture, need a higher proficiency of the host country language and have more contact to the host country. This is reflected in the contact to members of the host countries, which is highest in France, lower in Germany and lowest in the Netherlands (Koopmans, 2008).

Applying this line of reasoning to our study on the importance of parents and peers for first union timing, we would expect that in countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden – that traditionally followed the multicultural policies approach and have relatively generous welfare systems – parents will have more influence on their children's timing decisions compared to more integrative societies like France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Multicultural policies allow families in the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden to uphold their values, norms and traditions to a higher degree. Therefore we hypothesize that:

In countries with a predominant multicultural policy approach toward immigrants, parents are expected to be more influential than in countries with more integrative policies (H3).

Furthermore, contact to the host society is expected to be more intensive in countries with more integrative policies, leading to our final hypothesis:

In countries with a predominant multicultural policy approach towards immigrants, non-coethnic peers are expected to be less influential than in countries with more integrative policies (H4).

3.6 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS INFLUENCING THE TIMING OF UNION FORMATION

Although our focus is on the role played by parents and peers in determining the timing of entry into a first union, we will also pay attention to individual characteristics that have been found to be important. A range of studies have shown that timing of the first co-residential union is influenced by educational and occupational experiences. The most crucial factors are educational enrollment and educational attainment (Billari and Philipov, 2004; Blossfeld and Huinink, 1991; Liefbroer and Corijn, 1999). A higher educational degree means a longer

period in education, which results in a delay of union formation, as union formation is usually seen as incompatible with pursuing education both from an economic and a normative point of view. Also for the Turkish second generation education can be expected to be crucial for starting a first union.

The last decades have been marked by a delay in family formation in all European countries (Corijn and Klijzing, 2001). Also for the second generation, we may expect that younger cohorts are more likely to postpone union formation than older ones. Finally, a range of studies have shown that women enter a union earlier than men (Goldscheider and Waite, 1986; Marini, 1978; Teachman, Polonko, and Leigh, 1987). We expect a similar pattern for the Turkish second generation.

3.7 DATA, METHODS AND VARIABLES

3.7.1 Data

Our data come from “The Integration of the European Second Generation” (TIES) survey⁸. TIES is the first large-scale European comparative survey focusing exclusively on the second generation. The TIES survey documents the lives of the second generation from Turkey, Morocco and former Yugoslavia as well as a native control group⁹ in 15 cities in 8 European countries. For the survey 10,000 respondents aged 18 to 35 years were interviewed between 2007 and 2008. An identical questionnaire was used in all cities making it possible to pool the datasets. Our sample includes data from 13 cities with approximately 250 second-generation Turks per city resulting in a total sample of 3,188 respondents (1,628 women, 1,560 men). The cities included in our study are Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Stockholm (Sweden), Paris and Strasbourg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland) and Vienna and Linz (Austria)¹⁰.

Respondents were sampled if they were born in the country where the survey was held and at least one of their parents was born in Turkey. Inter-marriage in the parental generation is low. In our sample 98 percent of the fathers and 94 percent of the mothers were born in Turkey. In the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium the sample frame were the population registers. For France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland surname-recognition techniques

⁸ The TIES survey was carried out by survey bureaus under supervision of the nine national TIES partner institutes: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) and Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, the Institute for Social and Political Opinion Research (ISPO), University of Leuven in Belgium; the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) in France; the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies (SFM) of the University of Neuchâtel in Switzerland; the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO) of the University of Stockholm in Sweden; the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) of the University of Osnabrück in Germany, the Institute for the Study of Migration (IEM) of the Pontifical Comillas University of Madrid in Spain, and the Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Austria. See www.tiesproject.eu for country documentation.

⁹ We do not include comparisons with native young adults living in these cities, as native young adults are often highly educated and constitute a rather selective group, and thus are not representative of the native young adult population as a whole.

¹⁰ Madrid and Barcelona (Spain) were excluded, because no second generation Turks were interviewed.

using phone books were used. This method was chosen, because in France only information on the country of birth of a person and not on that of the parents is available, whereas in the German speaking countries strict data protection laws prevent access to population register data.

An urban sample frame was chosen because most migrants and their descendants live in cities throughout Europe. In the Netherlands, for example, 75 percent of the Turkish second generation live in urban agglomerates, with Amsterdam and Rotterdam being the cities with the largest number of Turkish second-generation youth (Statistics Netherlands). In Sweden, Turks are also mainly concentrated in urban areas, with over 50 percent living in the Stockholm region (Westin, 2003). In Germany, 61 percent of the Turks live in cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, 2002). Similar patterns are found in all countries in our study (Timmerman, Vandenvaeren, and Crul, 2003; Milewski and Hamel, 2010; Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003; Wanner, 2004).

3.7.2 Methods

Event history methods are used to study the timing of union formation of the Turkish second generation. First, the median age of entry into a union and the share of persons having entered a first union by age 20, 25 and 30 years are presented to compare timing patterns by city and country. To test our hypotheses, discrete-time hazard models are estimated using logistic regression analysis of person-years (Yamaguchi, 1991). For the analysis, we transformed the time variable into yearly person-years files. The dependent variable can have two values: transition to a first union in a given year or no transition to a first union. Once a respondent enters a union, he/she is excluded from the risk set. Similarly, respondents are censored at time of the interview if they have not entered a union yet.¹¹

3.7.3 Variables

The dependent variable is the timing of a first co-residential union. This is defined as entry into a first union at a certain age (in years). 1,294 events could be observed (718 women, 576 men).

The independent variables are grouped following the hypotheses and descriptive information by country is provided in Table 3.1.

Three variables are used as indicators of modern parental attitudes. *Level of parental human capital* is a factor score which was estimated by principal-component factor analysis and by using the following variables: educational level of mother and father (no=1, basic=2, medium=3, high=4), literacy of mother and father (no=0, yes=1), knowledge of host language of mother and father (no=0, read=1, read and write=2), and mother had paid work when the respondent was 15 years of age (no=0, yes=1). An increasing factor score indicates an increase in the level of parental human capital.

¹¹ Given the small number of higher-order units (seven countries or 13 cities), we refrain from presenting multilevel models, but include country dummies to control for country differences.

Table 3.1: Description of independent variables by country, mean and SD

	<i>n</i>	Total		Netherlands		Belgium		Sweden		France		Germany		Switzerland		Austria	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
		3,188		438		578		251		500		502		463		456	
	<i>Range</i>																
Family factors																	
Human capital parents	-3.44 - 1.50	0.00	1.00	-0.16	0.97	-0.25	1.10	0.47	0.76	-0.07	0.95	-0.33	1.01	0.35	0.85	0.30	0.91
Parent grew up in Anatolia	0/1	0.60	0.49	0.57	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.59	0.49	0.63	0.48	0.63	0.48	0.66	0.47
Family size	0 - 6	2.62	1.43	2.86	1.49	3.20	1.50	2.96	1.42	2.46	1.40	2.41	1.39	2.10	1.19	2.39	1.24
Peer factors																	
Contact to non-coethnic peers	-3.00 - 1.14	0.00	1.00	-0.21	0.82	-0.05	0.96	-0.01	1.13	0.26	0.82	-0.21	1.21	0.28	0.95	-0.06	0.99
Percentage natives secondary school	1 - 5	3.29	1.06	2.81	1.14	3.18	1.00	3.24	1.03	3.14	0.98	3.40	0.78	3.49	1.16	3.77	1.03
Control variables																	
Woman	0/1	0.51	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.44	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.56	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.48	0.50	0.54	0.50
Age at interview	18 - 35	24.92	4.91	24.68	4.34	25.81	4.86	26.75	4.52	23.60	4.65	25.83	5.18	24.46	5.10	23.93	4.76
Birth cohort	1 - 4	2.99	0.98	2.86	0.94	2.89	1.00	2.84	0.93	3.23	0.91	2.83	1.03	3.04	1.01	3.18	0.94
Completed level secondary education	1 - 4	2.67	0.92	2.21	0.76	2.82	0.90	3.10	0.78	2.75	0.91	2.73	0.79	2.14	0.91	3.03	0.87

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

The second indicator, *parent grew up in Anatolia*, is a dummy variable indicating whether the mother or the father had mainly lived in an Anatolian province before they were 15 years old. Usually both parents come from this region (90 percent). The variable is used as a proxy for traditional parental family behavior and attitudes (Nauck, 2002b). *Family size*. The respondents were asked the number of older and younger siblings. This information was combined to calculate the continuous variable of total number of siblings.

Two variables measure the contact to non-coethnic peers in secondary school. *Peers* is a factor score that was estimated by principal-component factor analysis and constructed from the variable “ethnicity of best friend” (own ethnic group=1, other ethnic group=2, native group=3) and the dummy variable “Natives in wider friend network” (no=0, yes=1). An increasing factor score means an increase in the contact to non-coethnic peers. *Percentage natives in secondary school* gives the ethnic composition of the secondary school attended by the respondent. Respondents indicated whether their secondary school had almost no native students (=1), up to 25 percent (=2), approximately 50 percent (=3), up to 75 percent (=4), or almost all native students (=5). The models also include a squared term of this variable to assess non-linearity.

Multicultural policies is a dummy variable created to distinguish countries characterized by multicultural policies from those characterized by more integrative policies, based on the distinction made by Koopmans (2008). Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden were coded as countries with multicultural policies (=1); the other countries were the reference category (=0).

In addition, a number of socio-demographic characteristics of the individual that are known to influence the timing of the first union are included in the models. *Woman*. A dichotomous dummy variable with men=0, and women=1. *Age*. To control for the time dependency, age is included. Additionally, a squared and a cubed age term are used to assess nonlinearity of the age effect. *Cohort*. Cohort changes in union formation are captured by the inclusion of 5-year birth cohorts (1970-74, 1975-79, 1980-84, 1985-90). *Highest completed level of secondary education*. Respondents have either no completed degree in secondary education or a special education degree (=1), a lower secondary education degree (=2), a degree of higher secondary education in a vocational track (=3) or a degree in a general higher secondary level (=4). We selected this indicator rather than the highest educational level, because it gives information on the period prior to the main union formation years thus avoiding issues of causality (Hoem and Kreyenfeld, 2006). *Country*. A series of dummy variables indicating the respondent’s residence in a city within one of the 7 countries in our study: the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria¹².

¹² We decided to display a country dummy instead of a city dummy, because it will simplify our argumentation on macro-level effects on the country level. In addition, cities within one country show overall similar results, particularly after controlling for basic demographic and parental effects.

3.8. RESULTS

3.8.1 Descriptive Results

Table 3.2 presents the median age of entry into a first union by city and country¹³.

Table 3.2: Median age at first union among the Turkish second generation by gender, city and country

<i>Country</i>		<i>Median</i>	
		<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
Netherlands		22.7	24.6
	Amsterdam	22.7	25.6
	Rotterdam	22.6	24.3
Belgium		21.9	24.8
	Brussels	22.1	25.0
	Antwerp	21.4	24.6
Sweden		23.0	25.4
	Stockholm	23.0	25.4
France		23.8	26.1
	Paris	26.6	26.1
	Strasbourg	22.8	26.1
Germany		25.0	26.0
	Berlin	24.7	25.2
	Frankfurt	25.2	27.3
Switzerland		24.8	25.9
	Zurich	25.8	28.4
	Basel	23.3	24.3
Austria		22.0	23.8
	Vienna	21.2	24.8
	Linz	22.5	23.3
Total		23.3	25.3

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

On average, Turkish second-generation women's median age of entering a first union is 23.3 years, compared to 25.3 years for men. Women thus enter approximately two years earlier into a union than men. This age gap is in general found in all countries and cities.

The countries cluster into two groups: one with an early and one with a late timing of union formation. For both sexes, the median age at entering a union is rather low in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden (22 to 23 years for women and 24 to 25 years for men), and somewhat higher in France, Germany, and Switzerland (24 to 25 years for women and approximately 26 years for men). Within countries, cities generally show the same timing patterns, although there are a few exceptions. The largest differences between cities are found in France and Switzerland for women and in Germany and Switzerland for men. For example, women's median age of entry into a first union is 27 years in Paris, but only 23 in Strasbourg. Furthermore, both for men and women, we find that in Zurich the second generation's median age is higher than in Basel. The difference is 2.5 years for women and 4 years for men.

¹³ Country refers to the combined results for the two cities within one country. For ease of argumentation, we will mainly discuss country differences. In case of large differences between the two cities in one country, we will refer specifically to the cities.

Table 3.3: Percentage of second-generation Turks in a first union by age 20, 25 and 30 by gender, city and country

Country	Women			Men		
	20	25	30	20	25	30
Netherlands	26.2	71.7	89.5	10.0	56.8	80.8
Amsterdam	28.0	78.8	85.7	6.0	48.5	76.8
Rotterdam	25.0	64.9	92.7	14.0	64.3	84.7
Belgium	31.7	74.3	79.0	15.2	52.1	81.0
Brussels	30.0	69.3	78.2	12.0	51.9	73.9
Antwerp	32.0	75.8	79.5	18.0	53.0	86.4
Sweden	23.1	67.1	79.7	5.9	46.9	83.1
Stockholm	23.1	67.1	79.7	6.0	46.9	83.1
France	13.2	62.9	83.4	6.3	30.0	64.2
Paris	7.0	42.7	78.4	1.0	13.9	68.0
Strasbourg	18.0	76.4	87.4	12.0	44.8	63.3
Germany	13.9	50.3	73.9	6.3	39.0	70.2
Berlin	13.6	55.6	80.3	8.5	46.6	72.3
Frankfurt	14.2	46.5	68.8	3.2	29.0	69.4
Switzerland	14.2	50.2	65.2	8.5	43.1	66.3
Zurich	11.0	43.3	60.4	4.0	29.8	55.8
Basel	17.0	56.5	71.8	12.0	55.0	75.0
Austria	29.7	62.8	73.5	13.5	63.8	77.4
Vienna	35.0	64.8	76.3	13.0	52.2	71.3
Linz	22.0	59.7	68.9	14.0	73.5	84.4
Total	21.5	62.2	77.6	9.9	47.5	75.3

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

Table 3.3 provides an overview of the percentage of persons that have entered a union at ages 20, 25 and 30 years. By age 20, 22 percent of the second-generation Turkish women have entered a union. Five years later, already 62 percent of them have entered a union. By contrast, only 10 percent of second-generation men are in a union by age 20, and 48 percent at age 25. Although the transition of the Turkish second-generation men starts somewhat later than that of women, this gap has disappeared by age 30. By this age 78 percent of women and 75 percent of men of Turkish descent have entered a union.

Some variation exists in union formation patterns by city and country. In the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Austria, between a quarter and a third of women are in a union by age 20. This percentage is much lower – around 14 percent – in France, Germany and Switzerland. By age 25 more than half of the Turkish second-generation women in all countries have entered a union. The countries with the highest percentages of second-generation women in a union by age 25 are the same as those with high percentages in a union by age 20, with the exception of Austria. At age 25, approximately 70 percent of women have entered into a union in the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden, compared to 63 percent in France and Austria and 50 percent in Germany and Switzerland. Between the ages of 25 and 30, the “late” countries catch up and show a higher rate of entry into a union. The exceptions are the Netherlands – where the percentage of women entering a union continues at a fast rate –, and Austria and Switzerland where the percentage grows only slowly. Thus, in the Netherlands around 90 percent of the women have entered a union by age 30, compared to approximately 80 percent in Belgium, Sweden and France. In Germany and Austria 74

percent of the women have entered their first union at this age compared to 65 percent in Switzerland.

Compared to women – where the majority entered a union between the ages 20 and 25 –, union formation of the Turkish second-generation men is more equally spread between the ages 20 and 30. Only Austria shows a pattern of early union formation among men. In Linz, already more than 60 percent of the men were in a union by age 25. The largest share – approximately 80 percent – of men who entered a union at age 30 is found in the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Austria. In France, Germany and Switzerland between 65 to 70 percent of the men have entered a union by age 30.

Cities within one country generally show quite comparable patterns, with the exception of France where the differences between Paris and Strasbourg are substantial¹⁴. The differences in Switzerland are less pertinent. Even though we find a two year difference between the median ages in Zurich and Basel, Turks in both cities still experience this transition rather late.

¹⁴ Paris as a student city with expensive housing conditions showed later entry into a union compared to the more industrial Strasbourg, but this difference disappeared once controlled for parental and peer factors.

Table 3.4: Logistic hazard regression for transition to first union

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>
Family factors						
Human capital parents		0.91 **	0.94	0.96	0.96	0.96
Parent grew up in Anatolia		1.16 *	1.15 *	1.14 *	1.11	1.12 *
Family size		1.17 ***	1.14 ***	1.14 ***	1.21 ***	1.16 ***
Peer factors						
Peers				0.91 ***	0.91 ***	0.91 **
Percentage natives secondary school				0.72 *	0.69 **	0.70 **
(Percentage natives secondary school) ²				1.05 *	1.06 **	1.06 **
Multicultural policies						
Multicultural policies					1.66 ***	1.25 ***
Multicultural policies*family size					0.91 *	
Multicultural policies*peers						0.99
Control variables						
Woman	2.14 ***	2.07 ***	2.14 ***	2.14 ***	2.11 ***	2.10 ***
Woman*age	0.99 ***	0.99 ***	0.99 ***	0.99 ***	0.99 ***	0.99 ***
Age	1.04 ***	1.04 ***	1.04 ***	1.04 ***	1.04 ***	1.04 ***
Age*age	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***
Age*age*age	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***	1.00 ***
Birth cohort	0.70 ***	0.72 ***	0.72 ***	0.72 ***	0.74 ***	0.74 ***
Completed level secondary education			0.72 ***	0.73 ***	0.79 ***	0.79 ***
Continuous						

	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>	<i>Model 5</i>	<i>Model 6</i>
Country						
Netherlands	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00		
Belgium	1.08	1.02	1.29 *	1.33 **		
Sweden	0.88	0.91	1.21	1.21		
France	0.69 ***	0.75 **	0.87 **	0.93 **		
Germany	0.59 ***	0.65 ***	0.76 **	0.78 **		
Switzerland	0.62 ***	0.76 **	0.74 **	0.76 **		
Austria	1.08	1.23 *	1.65 ***	1.62 ***		
Log likelihood	-4906.6	-4856.7	-4811.2	-4802.4	-4831.9	-4835
				N personyears 24,434	N persons 3,188	

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

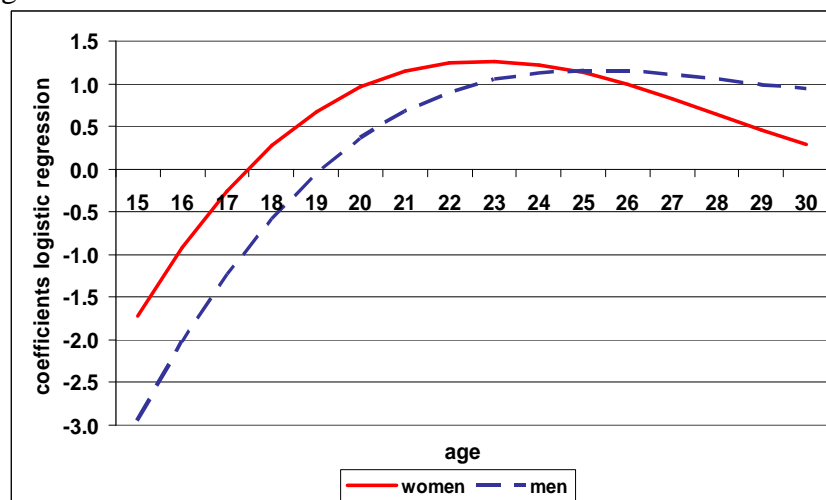
3.8.2 Multivariate results

The results of the logistic hazard regression models are presented in Table 3.4. In Model 1 only control variables and country dummies are included. Turkish young adults in France, Germany and Switzerland are significantly more likely to postpone union formation compared to the second generation in the Netherlands, while the other countries show no significant differences compared to the second generation in the Netherlands.

All the control variables are highly significant and effects are in line with our expectations. Belonging to a younger cohort makes a person more likely to postpone union formation: the odds of entering a union is delayed by 30 percent per 5-year birth cohort. Men and women show quite different age patterns. Figure 3.1 illustrates the age effect by gender. The probability to enter a union increases until age 23 for women and until age 25 for men and slowly declines afterwards. Given that the results for these control variables remain the same in all tested models, we will not comment on them in discussing results from other models.

The country effects in Model 1 are in line with our descriptive findings presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3. Young adults in The Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Austria enter into a first union at a higher rate than young adults in France, Germany and Switzerland.

Figure 3.1: Age effects for women and men



Source: TIES data 2007-08

Parents are expected to influence the timing of starting a first union. We hypothesized that Turkish second-generation young adults whose parents have more modern characteristics are more likely to postpone their first union (H1). The results (Table 3.4, Model 2) show that all three family background characteristics support the hypothesized effect. Higher parental human capital is related to lower rates of entry into a union for the Turkish second generation. The probability to enter a union decreases 9 percent by each unit of increase on the estimated factor score of human capital. Having a parent who grew up in Anatolia and a larger family size – both indicators of a traditional parental background – are associated with an earlier entry into a union. These results indicate that parental background is indeed a factor of importance when studying the age at starting a first union among the Turkish second

generation in Europe. Turkish second-generation young adults whose parents show more modern characteristics were more likely to postpone entering a first union.

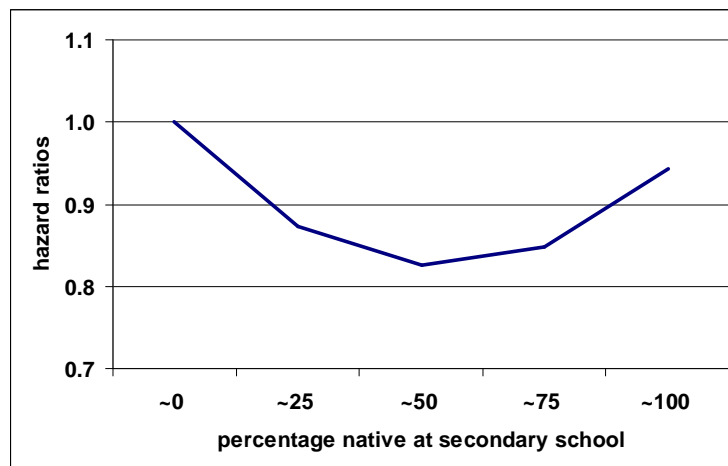
As expected, higher levels of education reduce the rate of entry into a union (Model 3, Table 3.4). However, when the level of completed secondary education is taken into account, the previously observed effect of parental human capital disappears. The latter effect is mediated by education of the child suggesting that at least part of the family factors operate indirectly via level of education of the child. Family size and Anatolian background of the parents still have a statistically significant effect. These latter findings underline the importance of these indirect measurements of parental attitudes.

The results in Model 3 also show that the pattern of country differences changes quite strongly after the inclusion of educational attainment. This suggests that the initial differences in the timing of entry into a union at least partially result from country differences in educational attainment by second-generation Turks. After controlling for educational attainment rates of entry into a union are highest for second-generation Turks in Austria, followed by Turks in Belgium, Sweden, The Netherlands, and France. These rates are still lowest in Germany and Switzerland.

In Model 4 (Table 3.4) we test whether there is a significant relation between contact to non-coethnic peers and timing of union formation. Our findings indeed show that (in line with H2) Turkish young adults with more non-coethnic friends postpone union formation. The rate of entry into a union is about nine percent lower for every unit of increase of the factor score for peers.

The ethnic composition of the secondary school attended by the respondent is also related to timing of union formation of the Turkish second generation. However, our findings suggest that the effect of number of natives in secondary school is not linear but U-shaped, as is shown in Figure 3.2. The earliest transition to a first union is found for Turkish young adults who attended a school with almost no native pupils. The entry into a union is delayed with an increasing number of natives attending the same school. However, when natives represent the majority in school, the second generation enters a union earlier again.

Due to the fact that being in higher educational tracks increases the likelihood of the Turkish second generation to encounter persons from outside their own ethnic group, we tested whether the peer variables interacted with the educational level. However, the interaction term was in all cases not significant (results not shown). This suggests that contact to non-coethnic peers is important for the timing of a first union irrespective of whether one attends a low or a high educational track. Furthermore, the co-existence of parental and peer effects suggest that both types of social actors influence the timing of first union formation of the Turkish second generation.

Figure 3.2: Effect of percentage natives at secondary school

Source: TIES data 2007-08

Our final hypotheses focused on country-differences in the influence of parents and peers. Parents were expected to be more influential in countries with multicultural integrationist policies (H3), whereas peers were expected to be less influential in these countries (H4). To test these hypotheses, a dummy variable indicating the dominant type of integration policy in a country instead of the country dummies was included into our models. In addition, interaction effects between the policy dummy and family and peers factors were tested. Model 5 allows a test of H3, whereas Model 6 allows a test of H4. The main effect of the policy dummy suggests that in countries with predominant multicultural integration policies (the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden) Turkish young adults enter a union significantly earlier than is the case in the other countries. However, contrary to our expectation, the influence of parents is not found to be larger in countries with multicultural policies (Model 5). No significant interaction effects are found for parental human capital and parental rural origin (results not shown). Only for family size, we find a significant effect, but the direction is opposite to our hypothesis: the association between multicultural policies and family size is negative, implying that family size has a stronger influence on the timing of union formation in countries with integrative policies than in countries with multicultural policies.

In Model 6 (Table 3.4) we expected a smaller influence of contact to non-coethnic peers in countries with a multicultural policy. However, no significant interaction effect is found. This indicates that the influences of non-coethnic peers is similar for the Turkish second generation in all the cities under study. Thus, our hypothesis 4 is also not supported by the data.

3.9 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this study, we examined how parents and non-coethnic peers influence the timing of a first co-residential union among the Turkish second generation in Europe. Furthermore, we examined whether the relative importance of parents and peers varies as a result of the different ways in which European societies deal with the integration of migrants. New data

from the TIES survey provided a unique opportunity to apply a cross-national comparison and study the Turkish second generation in 13 European cities.

Our descriptive findings showed that the median age of entering a union for the Turkish second generation is 23.3 years for women and 25.3 years for men. In the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Austria, the second generation enters into a union earlier than in France, Germany and Switzerland. Differences between cities within one country were overall negligible with the exception of France and Switzerland. Possible explanations for timing differences between the cities in one country can be related to both composition effects of the Turkish group as well as to city-specific characteristics. For instance, the parents of the Turkish second generation in Zurich come mainly from the Marmara province (Istanbul) and other urban areas in Turkey. This urban parental background may be a reason for the second generation's postponement of union formation. Additionally, there may be more university students in one city; or the housing markets may differ in price and availability of space for young couples thus facilitating or hindering them to find affordable housing. This may explain the differences in timing between Paris and Strasbourg, in addition to the socio-economic differences existing between these two cities.

In line with our first hypothesis, we found that characteristics of parental modernity are related to a delay in the entry of a union among the Turkish second generation. Having parents with a lower level of human capital, coming from a larger family and having a parent with an Anatolian background resulted in significantly higher rates of starting a union. The influence of parental human capital, however, disappeared once we took the respondent's own educational level into account. This suggests that the influence of parental human capital is at least partly mediated by the child's own educational attainment. Furthermore, respondents whose parents have a lower level of human capital may be more likely to live in more segregated areas compared to those whose parents have a higher level. This may indirectly determine choices related to schooling, neighborhood, and housing situation. As peers are chosen from these contexts, parents therefore to some extent influence the choice of peers as well. We did not observe this indirect effect in the data, though. However, this could be due to the varying levels of segregation in the observed cities.

We also found support for our second hypothesis which suggested that contact to non-coethnic peers results in postponement of starting a first union. Postponement of union formation is more likely, the more non-coethnic friends the Turkish young adult has. This suggests that having or choosing these friends either reflects one's own – more modern – attitudes of union formation or gives second-generation young adults access to more options and knowledge of alternative behaviors.

In addition, we found effects of more distant acquaintances, indicated by the ethnic composition of the secondary school. Going to school with natives resulted in slower rates of entry into a union for the Turkish second generation, indicating that being in constant contact with natives in school results in interactions which influence union formation behaviors (Hallinan and Smith, 1985; Mollenhorst, Völker, and Flap, 2008). However, this effect of ethnic school composition was not linear but U-shaped. Second-generation young adults who

attended a secondary school where children of immigrants were neither a small minority nor a large majority postponed union formation. However, when the secondary school was composed of very few or a majority of Turkish peers, second-generation Turks were more likely to enter a union early. In schools with few minority students, second-generation youth might stick together and form a more closed group, whereas an intermediate number of second-generation students results in more mixed ethnic friendships in schools. If there are almost no native students, there will again be few mixed ethnic friendships, because the majority population is now in a minority position and may form a more closed group. Both minority-majority situations reduce the building of contacts between the groups that offer access to alternative behaviors (Granovetter, 1973).

A drawback of our data on peer contacts is that they do not provide detailed information on relationships and networks of the young adult. Still, even after controlling for parental characteristics we found peer effects, indicating that both parents and peers are important actors influencing the timing of union formation among the Turkish second generation. It is thus worthwhile to go beyond parental influence and study the importance of peers in the transition to adulthood as well. Future studies should shed more light on this issue.

We also paid attention to the role played by the societal context by studying the effects of different integration regimes. The descriptive findings indicated that early union formation is particularly likely in countries with more multicultural policies (the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden), suggesting that this type of policies enables Turkish migrants to stick to their own cultural preferences. However, we cannot explain in this way why the second generation in Austria also enters early into a union. Additionally, we found no support for our hypotheses that parents would have more and peers less influence on the timing of union formation in countries with more multicultural policies. On the contrary, the multivariate analysis showed that the effect runs in the opposite direction: in countries with multicultural policies the influence of the family was smaller, although this effect was only significant for the family size indicator. The effects of peers were not found to differ between countries with different integration policies.

One possible interpretation of the finding that parents were found to be less influential in some countries than they were in others is that welfare state policies rather than integration policies are important for union formation choices of the second generation. While the original country classification indirectly takes the accessibility to the welfare provisions into account (e.g. more restrictive access to welfare in countries with an integrative approach), the distinction may not be specific enough. Rather than general access to the welfare arrangements provisions, the ones allowing young adults to start their own household and find affordable housing could be important for starting a union at an early age. Such support is relatively generous in countries like Sweden, the Netherlands, and Belgium – in particular Flanders (Esping-Andersen, 1999). In these countries, young adults leave home at rather young ages (Mayer, 2001) and the independence of young people is encouraged, each of which may reduce parental influence. The availability of these welfare state arrangements allow the Turkish second generation to enter a union at an early age. Countries like France,

Germany, Switzerland and Austria offer less support to young adults to set up their own households. In these countries union formation may be delayed, because it is less affordable to start a family early. In addition, the stronger material dependence of the second generation in these countries may result in more parental influence on union formation decisions. To conclude, it could be that country differences in welfare policies directed at young adults rather than in integration policies or welfare regimes in general explain our findings.

The Austrian Turkish second generation from Linz and Vienna is characterized by a rather peculiar pattern of very early union formation. First, unobserved group characteristics could play a role. Second, opportunity structures on the city or country level or majority population patterns of union formation and/or home leaving may influence this early pattern. For example, Corijn and Klijzing (2001) found that Austria (similar to the Netherlands) still belongs to early-home leaving countries at least for the 1960 cohort. While union formation is not automatically linked to leaving home anymore, for the Turkish second generation, this early home leaving trend may mainly be achieved through union formation.

Our study is the first to examine the importance of parents and peers for union timing decisions of Turkish young adults in a cross-national setting. Beside the advantages of this study, some limitations should be mentioned as well. Our study focused on the Turkish second generation only. Although we may expect that parents and peers are important for second-generation youth of other ethnic origins as well, further research is needed to examine this issue. In addition, our analyses focused on the timing of union formation only. Expanding the scope to other aspects of family formation could provide new insights. It would, for example, be interesting to see whether those who enter a union at an early age are more likely to choose a partner from the country of origin of the parents. Furthermore, although our data allow to compare the second generation living in different European cities, our measures of policies and the local context are limited. Our context measure taps the political dimension only and may not reflect actual societal organization. It would be worthwhile to have more information on the local setting in which the second generation grows up. Having more detailed information on the neighborhood - for example segregation levels - as well as on the context in which peers are met, would enhance our understanding of union formation choices of the second generation.

