



THE EMPLOYMENT OF TURKISH SECOND GENERATION WOMEN IN EUROPE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

JENNIFER A. HOLLAND AND HELGA A.G. DE VALK

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Abstract

Over the next 50 years, population aging will contribute to a dramatic decline in the European working age population. One important question for policy makers is to what extent an increase in labour force participation of migrants, their descendants, and women can compensate for the decline in labour supply. Thus it is relevant to know more about the factors which can encourage participation of these groups. In this report we examine the employment of second generation (children of immigrants) Turkish and young adult women from the majority population. We focus on the Turkish group since it is the largest single origin country group who also settled in different European countries allowing for examining differences among the second generation across countries of residence by using unique data allowing for this for the first time. This report covers four European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden) in which the largest share of the total Turkish population in Europe live. We give special attention to the effect of motherhood on employment. Our findings show that policy and institutions matter for the employment of all women in society, irrespective of migrant origin. Still, levels of employment are lower for the Turkish second generation compared to women from the majority group in all countries. Being a mother has a negative impact on employment, but we do not find this association to vary by origin. Furthermore we find clear differences across the countries studied but again these differences are similar for women of the majority population and those of Turkish origin. Although we are unable to pinpoint the exact policies and institutional arrangements it seems to be the case that these are related to policies across the life course starting from educational to family policies. Findings make clear that policymakers must give special attention to the unique economic position and potential of women in general and the growing share of children of immigrants among them, whose employment behaviours will be essential to bolstering the European labour force in the future.



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1. Introduction

Aging is a central demographic and economic challenge for European countries. Due to increased life expectancy and lower birth-rates, the median age of European populations has risen from 35.2 years in 1990 to 40.9 years by 2010. Eurostat population projections suggest that the median age will rise further to 47.6 years by 2060 (Eurostat 2011c). The changing age structure of European populations has major implications for the size of the working age population, which is predicted to decline from 67.0% to 56.2% of the total European population between 2010 and 2060 (Eurostat 2011c). This labour force transformation will have extreme consequences for the revenue and expenditure of European governments, labour markets, individuals, and their families. Although a decline in the size of the working age population seems unavoidable, the magnitude of the decline can be, at least partially, managed by facilitating labour force entry and attachment of members of population subgroups with lower aggregate labour force participation today. As the size of the European working age population declines, the labour force participation of migrants, their descendants, and of women will become increasingly important for both economic growth and the support of European welfare states (see also NEUJOBS WP DEL 18.2). Thus, it is important to know the extent to which these subgroups are active in the labour market, as well as the factors that can encourage their participation further.

In this report, we focus on variation in employment among second generation Turkish women and their majority population counterparts. The second generation are the children of immigrants who are born in Europe, with one or two parents of Turkish origin. Given the very low levels of intermarriage among the parental generation (less than five per cent; see also Huschek 2011), the majority of the Turkish second generation have two parents born in Turkey. The share of the children of immigrants in the migrant population of European countries is increasing and is expected to further increase in the future (Eurostat 2011b). Turkish immigrants and their descendants constitute the largest single-country origin group in Europe, totalling approximately 4 million individuals (Vasileva 2010). Modern-day, large-scale migration from Turkey to Western and Northern Europe began in the early 1960s. This migration flow was

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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 and had limited education (Castles & Miller 2003; Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Crul & Heering 2008). The socioeconomic and demographic compositions of labour migrants from Turkey are generally speaking rather similar across the European countries where they have settled. Most migrants came from rural villages in central Turkey or along the Black Sea (Crul & Vermeulen 2003). After the oil crisis and recession in 1973 and 1974, most European countries 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 were not participating in the labour force. Given the fact that the Turkish migration was substantial to different European countries it allows for a cross national comparison which is not possible for many other origin groups given the very different migration histories across Europe. Furthermore, the share of children of these first generation Turkish immigrants, i.e. the second generation, entering the transition to adulthood is already substantial especially compared to several other more recent immigrants groups. In recent years they have started experiencing demographic transitions in the private domain (e.g. leaving the parental home and forming families), as well as transitions in the public domain like completing education and entering the labour force (Castles & Miller 2003; Crul & Vermeulen 2003; Crul et al. 2012). In the future, the share of second generation who are entering the labour market will increase further. In addition, this transition is clearly related to other experiences and adapting to adult roles.

While men's labour force participation tends to be quite stable over the life course, family life transitions are strongly related to working life behaviours among women (Goldin 1992, 1997). In particular, the transition to parenthood is a key moment in the life course when women drop out of the labour force. A gap in participation exists between women with and without minor children, though the size of this gap varies across countries, and may be particularly sensitive to both normative and policy influences (Morgan 2006; Misra et al. 2007a). While the relationship between working and family life 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. In particular those from one of the largest immigrant origin groups across Europe those of Turkish origin whose mothers did participate only to a limited extent. 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 societies that are increasingly ethnically diverse (De Valk et al. 2011).

Finally, the labour force participation of women varies across Europe. This has often been linked to the policies, institutions and norms, reflected also in welfare state arrangements (Bourdieu 1996; Neyer & Andersson 2008;). In this report we compare four European countries in order to assess how policies and institutions may differentially shape employment behaviours among women with and without children, of both majority and Turkish minority background. This will provide a more detailed picture of potentially effective strategies for promoting the employment of

women at different stages in early family life. We investigate differences in employment among women of the Turkish second generation and those from the majority population in Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden. While we are unable to identify political or socio-cultural mechanisms, this report will provide insights into the general success of different countries in activating young women's labour force participation in the phase of life where they are also start forming families.

We show that women of Turkish origin are less likely to be employed as compared to their majority counterparts. Mothers are also found to have lower odds of employment; however, Turkish-background mothers are not disproportionately likely to be unemployed. Our findings demonstrate the importance of policies and institutions for the employment of all women in society, regardless of ethnic background, suggesting that both socio-cultural climate and policies can improve employment outcomes of second generation and majority-background women.

2. Background

2.1 *The labour market position of the second generation*

The Turkish second generation is born and raised within Europe. Many are European citizens, and they grow up exposed to the same educational systems and labour markets as their majority-background counterparts. Emerging evidence regarding the economic position of the second generation relative to that of their parents is mixed in different settlement countries and depends on origin and migration history (Less favourable: Algan et al. 2010; More favourable: Bengtsson et al. 2005; Pichler 2011). Still, in nearly all countries, the second generation is in a less favourable position than majority groups and employment rates lag behind those of majority populations, particularly for women (Heath & Cheung 2007; Heath et al. 2008; Algan et al. 2010; Huschek 2011; Bean et al. 2012; Crul et al. 2012).

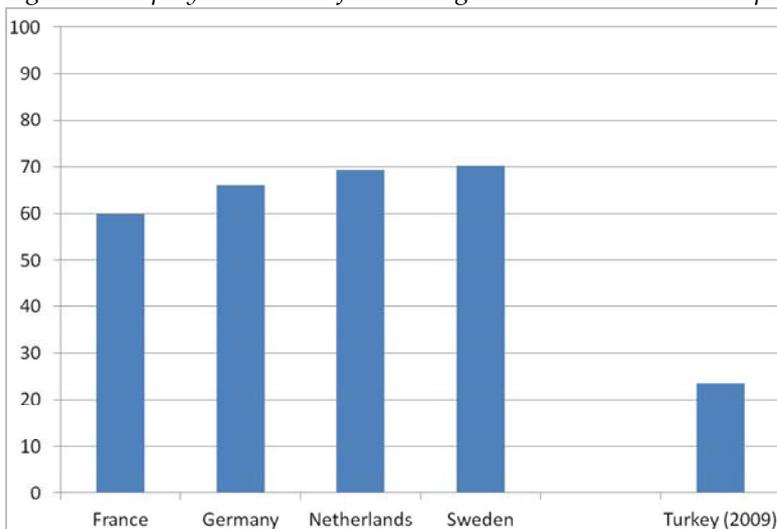
Although the mechanisms for migrant-background disadvantage have been explored, research has predominantly focused on newly arriving, first generation migrants. Most studies focus on men only and/or do not give attention to diversity in migrant origins and generations (for example, see Rubin et al. 2008 on migrant women). It has been found that labour market entry and the economic position of first generation men are largely determined by individual and community resources (Van Tubergen et al. 2004; Pichler 2011). In addition, studies have indicated that those with an immigrant background may face ethnic discrimination in the labour force or in education and training (Safi 2010; Hermansen 2012). Women of immigrant origin may face a double disadvantage on the labour market as has been suggested (Boyd 1984; Adsera & Chiswick 2007). Compared to men, (second generation) women may have a more difficult position entering and staying in the labour market and their immigrant status may add to this. In particular, in north western Europe it has been shown that women are disadvantaged compared to migrant men as well as compared to native women (Rubin et al. 2008). Beyond direct discrimination, immigrants and their descendants may lack social capital or knowledge about educational and labour market institutions in their countries of residence (Verhaeghe et al. 2012). Taken together, these influences will likely result in lower levels of employment among second generation Turkish women as compared to their majority background counterparts in Europe.

2.2 Family, parenthood and work

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 socialization or observing the behaviour and practices of their parents (Bandura 1977; Youniss & Smollar 1985; Robinson & Salamon 1991; De Valk & Liefbroer 2007). First generation Turkish migrants were socialized within a context of divergent employment behaviours for men and women and strict separation between male and female spheres in the public and the private domains (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2008). In Turkey, women's employment rates are far below those of their male counterparts (66% vs. 25%, respectively) and below rates observed for women in Europe (Figure 1) (World Bank 2009; OECD 2011). 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 et al. 2004). This is attributable both to individual characteristics (e.g. educational level) and selection related to migration histories, as many Turkish women migrated for family reunification or formation, joining their husbands (Crul & Vermeulen 2003).

Differential norms predominant in (rural) Turkey at the time most parents of the second generation migrated to Europe may also favour separate spheres, with men taking on breadwinning roles and women focusing on household tasks (Idema & Phalet 2007; Copur et al. 2010). Strong and persistent values emphasizing separate spheres remain particularly pronounced with regard to family and childbearing (Lesthaeghe 2002). Earlier work on employment of women in Turkey showed that having (young) children reduced levels of labour market participation (Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits 2008). Also in Europe, research on majority group women has demonstrated a strong negative association between the transition to motherhood and employment (Goldin 1992; Gornick & Meyers 2003). And even if women do not fully leave the labour market, many do interrupt their employment or reduce working hours when their children are young, with life-long consequences for economic well-being (Sigle-Rushton & Waldfogel 2007).

Figure 1. Employment rates of women aged 15-64 in selected European countries and Turkey, 2010



Sources: World Bank 2009; OECD 2011.

Especially when bearing in mind the more gendered lives and socialization, one could even expect it to be more relevant for women of Turkish origin (Foner 1997; Bernhardt & Goldscheider 2007; Diehl et al. 2009). A study on first generation migrant women originating from outside Europe showed that those with (in particular, young) children less often combined work and having a (young) family and had lower levels of employment (Rubin et al. 2008). In light of these findings we can expect that childbearing is also an important event for the labour force participation of second generation Turkish women.

2.3 *The importance of country contexts*

Broadly, the labour force participation of women in Europe has increased dramatically in the past half century and, in many countries, participation rates are increasingly similar among men and women (Misra et al. 2011). Still, there are marked differences in absolute levels and differentials in employment of women across countries in Europe (Eurostat 2011a). On aggregate, macroeconomic and institutional factors, such as educational systems, and policies governing the labour market, influence levels of young adult economic activity (Mills & Blossfeld 2003; Stadelmann-Steffen 2008). Women's employment in early young adulthood, when women may be simultaneously navigating labour market entry and family formation, is particularly sensitive to social policies affecting gender relations in the family, such as parental leave, childcare, and family planning policies, housing policy, income maintenance and support policies, and even tax policy (Kamerman & Kahn 1978; Blossfeld & Hofmeister 2006; Neyer & Andersson 2008). These policies influence both women's willingness and ability to pursue employment, particularly as their partnership and family circumstances change.

There is variation in both female labour force participation and policies and institutions across the four countries assessed here. 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 & Meyers 2003; Misra et al. 2007b; Misra et al. 2011). High rates of women's employment are also observed in the Netherlands; however while overall labour force attachment is relatively high, the share of part-time employment is by far the highest in Europe, with the vast majority of women working for 28 hours or less, particularly after a first birth (Morgan 2006; Bierings & Souren 2011). Consequently, the Dutch economy has been heralded as one of the only "part-time econom[ies] in the world" (Freeman 1998, p. 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 & Meyers 2003; Misra et al. 2007b; Misra et al. 2011). 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 & Meyers 2003). Limited supports for combining care and market work paired with a history of gendered norms emphasizing separate, gendered spheres, women often must choose between paid employment and family (Kreyenfeld

& Hank 2000; Gornick & Meyers 2003; Misra et al. 2007b; Misra et al. 2011). Although we cannot explore the differential effects of particular policies, institutions or societal norms, 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.

Second generation Turkish and majority-group women living in the same country are exposed to the same institutions and social policies (Crul & Vermeulen 2003). If institutional factors play a role in shaping women's economic outcomes, employment outcomes should vary across the four countries for young women of the Turkish second generation and majority group in the same ways. 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 the *first generation* migrant and Swedish majority population. One of the explanations provided by these authors is the shared Swedish policy context of both the minority and majority population. We might expect a common pattern of cross-country variation in employment, by parenthood status, to be even more evident when comparing women of the *second generation* to their majority counterparts, since these groups are exposed to the same policies and institutions across their entire life courses.

3. Data and method

3.1 Sample

Data for the analyses in this report come from “The Integration of the European Second-Generation” (TIES) survey (2007-08).¹ This is the first European cross national survey specifically aimed at the second generation. The aim of TIES was to study children of immigrants across Europe in terms of their educational, labour market careers as well as family life transitions. The focus was on young adults aged 18-35 of the largest origin groups of children of immigrants in Europe those of Turkish, Moroccan and former-Yugoslavian descent as compared to majority group young adults. Second generation respondents are those 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 two parents born in the survey country. Eight European countries were included in the survey and children of immigrants and majority populations in the indicated age range were sampled in 15 cities within these countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland). Given the diverse migration histories to each of the countries in the study, in principle, two of the three second generation groups were sampled in each of the eight European countries.

An urban sampling frame was applied because a majority of migrants and their decedents live in cities in the European countries under study (De Valk et al. 2011; Huschek et al. 2011). While the urban sampling frame was ideal for surveying the second generation across countries, it does have implications for the sample of majority respondents. The majority subsample is not nationally representative; rather this

¹ Additional information about the survey can be found at <http://www.tiesproject.eu>.

subsample may have come to the city for employment or education purposes and may, therefore, be more (socio-) economically advantaged. 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 et al. 2006), they were relatively low on the whole, varying between 25 and 50% in each city (Huschek et al. 2011; Groenewold & Lessard-Phillips 2012).

For the Turkish origin group we have most options for a unique cross national comparison as they were sampled in seven out of the eight study countries whereas the other second generation origin groups were sampled in maximum three sides (that also not always covered full family and employment histories). Also for the analyses of Turkish second generation women data for Austria, Belgium, and Switzerland could not be included for the purpose of our study due to data limitations. We had to limit our analysis to women in four countries of residence where the Turkish second generation was interviewed and full information on employment and family life histories were available. The cities and countries included are: 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 city and by Turkish versus majority group origin. 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). The analysis covers 1,749 women, of whom 52.4% are of Turkish decent and the remaining share belongs to the majority group in the study countries.

3.2 Method

We estimate logistic regression models predicting the log of the odds of employment at the time the young adult was interviewed. We distinguish between second generation Turkish and majority group young women with a binary variable. We identify women as mothers if they report an own child living in the household.² To explore whether the association between motherhood and employment varies by immigrant background, we include an interaction term between the second generation Turkish background and parenthood indicators. Country context is captured with a set of categorical variables corresponding to Germany (omitted), the Netherlands, France and Sweden. Since we are also interested to know if patterns of employment across countries vary for women of majority-group and immigrant-background we include terms interacting second generation Turkish background status and country context.

In addition to these key covariates, several indicators relevant for female participation and capturing potential differences between women of Turkish and majority group descent are included in the analyses. We account for women's age continuously, allowing for non-linear relationship between age and employment (age and age²). We account for whether the respondent has completed tertiary education and whether she

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.

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.

4. Results

Table 1 includes descriptive information on our dependent and independent variables for majority group and second generation Turkish women separately. There are some important differences between women in the two origin groups. Most notably, fewer Turkish second generation women are 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 that we note about 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. 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	

Sources: Authors' calculations; TIES (2007-08).

Similar proportions of Turkish- and majority-background women are in co-residential partnerships at the time of the survey. However, it should be noted that Turkish-background women are more likely to be in marital partnerships (versus a non-marital cohabiting union; tabulations not shown). Although they are younger, on average, Turkish second generation women are 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 three in ten respondents reside in Germany; 22% and 30% of majority and second generation women live, respectively, in the Netherlands; around 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 analysis includes only the main effects of the characteristics of the woman without taking into account the differential associations between parenthood and country by ethnic background (Model 1). We find evidence that women of Turkish descent have 42% lower odds of employment relative to their majority counterparts. Parenthood status is associated with dramatically reduced odds of employment (82% lower). There are striking differences in the odds of women's employment across countries. The odds of women's employment are highest in the Netherlands, followed by Sweden and France, relative to Germany. This is largely consistent with our expectations, although we did expect that women in Sweden would exhibit the highest odds of employment.

Table 2. Regression coefficients from logistic regression of employment status of second generation

	Model 1			Model 2		
	β	SE	e^{β}	β	SE	e^{β}
Constant	-5.32	1.75 **	0.00	-5.66	1.80 **	0.00
Turkish background	-0.55	0.13 ***	0.58	-0.38	0.22 +	0.68
Parent	-1.69	0.18 ***	0.18	-1.58	0.23 ***	0.21
Turkish background * parent	-	-	-	-0.19	0.25	0.82
Country of residence						
Germany	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00
Netherlands	0.82	0.16 ***	2.27	1.16	0.25 ***	3.18
France	0.35	0.17 *	1.42	0.29	0.25	1.34
Sweden	0.68	0.20 ***	1.97	0.60	0.29 *	1.82
Turkish background * country of residence						
Turkish background * Netherlands	-	-	-	-0.55	0.31 +	0.58
Turkish background * France	-	-	-	0.09	0.30	1.09
Turkish background * Sweden	-	-	-	0.14	0.37	1.15
Age	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
Respondent completed tertiary education	0.30	0.15 *	1.35	0.28	0.15 +	1.33
Currently enrolled in education	-1.80	0.17 ***	0.17	-1.81	0.17 ***	0.16
Mother employed at age 15	0.22	0.13 +	1.25	0.22	0.13 +	1.24
Partnership (cohabiting or married)	0.02	0.16	1.02	0.05	0.16	1.05
N		1 749			1 749	
Pseudo R ²		0.1891			0.1918	
Log-likelihood		-933.216			-930.161	
df		12			16	
AIC		1890.432			1892.322	

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

Sources: Authors' calculations; TIES (2007-08).

In the second analysis, we consider whether the associations between employment and motherhood status and between employment and country contexts are different by immigrant background. Model 2 (second panel, Table 2) allows for the interaction between Turkish second generation status and the motherhood indicator. The direct association between parenthood and employment remains strongly negative, as found in Model 1. At the same time we find no evidence that Turkish second generation

mothers face a higher employment penalty than their majority counterparts: while negative, the estimate for the interaction coefficient does not reach statistical significance.

Model 2 also includes interactions between second generation Turkish background and country of residence. The results suggest that, while women with a Turkish-background are less likely to be employed, this difference is largely proportional across countries, except, perhaps, in the Netherlands, although the interaction coefficient only reaches marginal significance. Second generation women in the Netherlands do not reach the same employment levels as their majority counterparts but still are estimated to exhibit higher odds of employment relative to their second generation Turkish and majority counterparts in Germany and second generation women France. In other words, the pattern of association between country contexts and employment is the same for women of majority and migrant background, even if the differences between countries are not proportional between the two groups.

5. Discussion

In this report we investigated differences in the employment of women from the Turkish second generation and those from the majority population in Europe. We focused on the importance of family formation (childbearing) and the country of residence. Our results suggest that second generation Turkish women's labour force experience is different from their majority counterparts. Even though both majority and Turkish-background women grow up exposed to the same policies and institutions, the second generation has lower levels of employment. This can be the result of 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 (Idema & Phalet 2007; Copur et al. 2010). It may just as well be related to the amount social capital available in families (Verhaeghe et al. 2012). Increased social mobility combined with a prolonged stay in the country of residence may enhance the position of the second generation. At the same time policies informing parents about possibilities for education in particular in tracked educational systems may be needed to further enhance the educational position of the second generation. Early tracking and fewer school contact hours have been shown to be related to worse educational outcomes in particular for socio-economic disadvantaged as well as children of immigrants (De Valk & Crul 2008; Baysu & de Valk 2012). Furthermore, discrimination against Turkish women in the labour force or in education and training (Safi 2010; Hermansen 2012) may contribute to differences between second generation and majority-background women. Employers should be more aware that recruiting from groups that are currently less present in the labour market (women, migrants, older persons) will be crucial for the future labour market. Policies aiming at facilitating work and family life as well as flexible work hours may have an additional positive effect of enhancing participation. Still also children of immigrants face legal barriers in many European countries when it comes to for example citizenship and taking up positions in the public sector (see also NEUJOBS WP DEL 18.1). So where on the one hand European labour markets will need children of immigrants more and more to keep the economy running on the other hand these young adults face difficulties related to entering and maintaining in the labour market. Policies that can reduce this hindrance for children of immigrants

should be considered better as these young adults are in Europe to stay and will and need to make an important contribution to the European economies. Policymakers must pay special attention to addressing the disadvantaged position of (Turkish) second generation women in the labour market as the findings for the Turkish women in this report may just as well apply to other third country nationals in Europe that come from similar backgrounds and with similar migration histories. It is ever more important since employment and labour force attachment in early life have implications for career trajectories, skill development and maintenance, future socioeconomic status, and wellbeing (Blossfeld & Hofmeister 2006) of the women themselves but also that of their families.

In addition, we find that childbearing has a clear and significant association with women's employment, consistent with earlier studies that found this life course transition to be crucial for female employment. The negative association between motherhood and employment was evident for all women, regardless of immigrant background. This finding clearly points to the importance of the linkages between life course events for women, irrespective of origin. Scholars and policy makers must give attention to the relationships between different life course events and employment, and particularly the ways they may interact. This is further underscored by the finding that the association between country context and employment is similar for migrant- and majority-background women in Germany, France, and Sweden. Only in the Netherlands does the experience of the second generation seem to be (somewhat) distinct. Shared institutions, such as country-specific educational and labour market systems, as well as policies governing labour market participation and work/family balance, play a crucial role in shaping employment behaviour of all women, regardless of immigrant background. Although this finding points to the relative importance of policies and institutions for employment of women, we were unable to pinpoint the exact relevant policies. A next step for researchers will be to disentangle the influences of different institutional factors on labour market behaviours of second generation and majority group women.

It is worth reflecting on the larger difference between the employment outcomes of second generation and majority women in the Netherlands. Because the TIES survey was specifically designed to study similar groups of second generation young adults across European countries, special attention was paid to select countries and cities with comparable second generation populations. Consequently, we would expect that the role socialization in shaping young migrant-background women's employment behaviours should be similar across countries. The fact that we find a larger difference between majority group and Turkish-background women in the Netherlands could be due 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 resulting in still low levels of economic independence of women in the Netherlands (Freeman 1998; Florquin 2002; Morgan 2006; Bierings & Souren 2011; Misra et al. 2011). Differentiating levels of employment by full-time or part-time status may help to explain the larger differential between migrant-background and majority women found in the Netherlands. These insights are needed to pinpoint potential useful policies to further female participation and economic independence across all groups.

It is clear from these findings that employment decisions are not made in a vacuum. They are shaped by family influences, life course transitions, and institutional settings, irrespective of parental origin. Indeed, up to recently there were no data available to study these influences in more detail for young adults of the second generation and majority group origin. TIES data provide us unique insight into structural factors affecting the employment of women of Turkish origin and those of the majority group. Because these data were collected immediately before the onset of the economic crisis of 2008, we are in a unique position to identify the influence of institutional factors on employment rather than the differential pace in the onset of the economic recession. A replication or follow up on the TIES survey would provide useful comparison of the pre- and post-recession circumstances of young women in these country contexts, and giving insight into the relative importance of institutional context in the face of economic instability and uncertainty for young adult women of different origin.

Policymakers concerned with bolstering the European labour force against the tides of population aging must give attention to the unique economic position and potential of women. Young women must be willing but also able to enter and remain attached to the labour force over their life courses, regardless of how their family situations change. Parental support policies can help to support parents, both women and men, as they balance their working and family lives, as well as to counteract social norms that might deter mothers' employment. So too is it essential to recognize the diversity in European populations, acknowledging the special position of the second generation, who must negotiate between the influences of the institutions, policies and norms where they live, as well as their links to and the influences of their parents' country of origin. Although this report is limited to the Turkish second generation these findings provide some initial insights into the factors that differentially shape the employment of second generation and majority-background women, groups whose labour market participation will be essential to the continued economic and social wellbeing of European populations.

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ABOUT NEUJOBS

“Creating and adapting jobs in Europe in the context of a socio-ecological transition”

NEUJOBS is a research project financed by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme. Its objective is to analyse likely future developments in the European labour market(s), in view of four major transitions that will impact employment - particularly certain sectors of the labour force and the economy - and European societies in general. What are these transitions? The first is the **socio-ecological transition**: a comprehensive change in the patterns of social organisation and culture, production and consumption that will drive humanity beyond the current industrial model towards a more sustainable future. The second is the **societal transition**, produced by a combination of population ageing, low fertility rates, changing family structures, urbanisation and growing female employment. The third transition concerns **new territorial dynamics** and the balance between agglomeration and dispersion forces. The fourth is a **skills (upgrading)** transition and its likely consequences for employment and (in)equality.

Research Areas

NEUJOBS consists of 23 work packages organised in six groups:

- **Group 1** provides a conceptualisation of the **socio-ecological transition** that constitutes the basis for the other work-packages.
- **Group 2** considers in detail the main drivers for change and the resulting relevant policies. Regarding the drivers we analyse the discourse on **job quality**, **educational** needs, changes in the organisation of production and in the employment structure. Regarding relevant policies, research in this group assesses the impact of changes in **family composition**, the effect of **labour relations** and the issue of financing transition in an era of budget constraints. The regional dimension is taken into account, also in relation to **migration** flows.
- **Group 3** models economic and employment development on the basis of the inputs provided in the previous work packages.
- **Group 4** examines possible employment trends in key sectors of the economy in the light of the transition processes: energy, health care and goods/services for the **ageing** population, **care services**, housing and transport.
- **Group 5** focuses on impact groups, namely those vital for employment growth in the EU: **women**, the **elderly**, immigrants and **Roma**.
- **Group 6** is composed of transversal work packages: implications NEUJOBS findings for EU policy-making, dissemination, management and coordination.

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