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Research Article

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Table of Contents

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Abstract

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

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1. Introduction

The children of the Turkish labor migrants who came 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 their future life course (Corijn and Klijzing 2001). Having grown 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 the 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 patterns of second-generation Turks seem to differ from that of their native peers. Second-generation Turks are more likely to marry without a period of unmarried cohabitation and a substantial proportion 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 enter their first union relatively early compared to native young adults (Bernhardt et al. 2007; De Valk 2006; Lievens 1999; Milewski and Hamel 2008; Nauck 2002a, 2002b). However, variation in timing may exist among the second generation within as well as between countries. This paper examines the extent to which parents and peers influence the timing of a first co-residential union among the Turkish second generation in Europe. Additionally, we study whether parental and peer influence differ according to the institutional context in which second-generation Turks live.

The timing of entry into union depends upon 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 reflected 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 play an important role in timing decisions, the role of close friends and other peers[4] should not be overlooked. During adolescence, same-age peers become much more influential while children mature and develop their own identities. Studies document the importance of peers in many different aspects of adolescent life (Harris 1995; Shah and Zelnik 1981). Despite their possible relevance in union formation choices, their influence has hardly been studied. Studying the influence of peers is particularly interesting 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 networks consist of many peers from outside their own ethnic group – or 'non-coethnics'. If these non-coethnic young adults – on average – enter into union later, then having many non-coethnic friends or going to a school attended by many non-coethnic students can be expected to result in a later transition to union formation for the second generation when compared to 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 have allowed migrant families to uphold their values, norms and traditions. Based on these patterns, one could expect that in countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden – with traditionally 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 was used. The TIES data sampled second-generation Turkish youths in thirteen cities in seven European countries using similar survey instruments, for the first time enabling this type of analyses on second- generation immigrants in Europe.

[4] Peers can refer to both (a) youths' best and closest friends as well as to (b) members of a 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.

2. Background

Turks are the largest single migrant group in Europe. Approximately four million people of Turkish descent live in countries throughout Europe. The largest proportion – around two thirds – live in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2007: 2,744,800 (2005)), followed by the Netherlands (CBS 2009: 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 original Turkish migrants are characterized by their relatively recent migration (late 1960's), mainly rural origins and low educational attainment. In the receiving countries, Turks are concentrated in old industrial urban areas, demonstrate 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, Rothon, and Kilpi 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, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008).

The Turkish second-generation not only differs from the native population insofar as socio-economic outcomes are concerned, but also with regard to family formation behavior. Whereas family formation patterns in most European countries have changed since the 1970's, reflected in e.g. postponement of marriage and childbearing, increases in 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 second-generation Turks: around 95% 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 overall are below 10% (Çelikaksoy 2006; De Graaf and Distelbrink 2005; Reniers 2000). Traditionally, Turkish parents take great interest in their children's union formation, because marriage not only links two people, but two families. Thus, family compatibility is often more important than spousal compatibility. As a result, arranged marriage often occurs at earlier ages than those in which the marriage is initiated by the couple (Fox 1975; Nauck 2001). 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. The role of parents

Parents are found to influence many of their children's life course decisions through socialization (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 to norms, and respect of elders (Kagitçibasi 1996; Nauck 2002b). Parents of the second generation may also put more effort into socializing their children because of their minority status. These parents may try to tie their children to the values and cultural norms of their 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 second-generation Turkish migrants (Nauck 2002a; Phalet and Schönpflug 2001; Verkuyten 2001).

Previous research has shown that what is transmitted from parent to child depends on the 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 who 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, Goldscheider, and Speare 1992; Mulder, Clark, and Wagner 2006). These general mechanisms may apply to Turkish immigrant parents, as well. For parents of second-generation Turks, a good knowledge of the language of the host country will offer them better chances in both the social and work spheres. These parents may have higher educational and occupational aspirations for their children, which could delay their children's entry into union. On the other hand, low levels of parental education, strong religious commitment, 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 entry into union. Parents of the second generation who have grown up in rural areas are more likely to have traditional family attitudes. In these areas, studies show much less behavioral change when compared to more industrial coastal regions with the large main cities (Hortaçsu and Oral 1994; Nauck 2002b; Wilpert and Gitmez 1987).

Thus, our first hypothesis is that second-generation Turkish 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.

4. The role of peers

During adolescence, parental influence weakens as peers become more important (Prinstein and Dodge 2008). Age-peers share the same types of experience 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 et al. 2006). In addition, value transmission among close friends may occur due to the 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 the modeling of behaviors (social learning), whereas parents do so more through value transmission. The relative influence of parents versus peers may also depend on the issue under study. Behaviors where peers were found to be influential include 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). With regard to 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, offering 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 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. Through 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 2008). 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 second-generation Turkish young adults with few non-coethnic peers (H2).

5. Integration policies and welfare state regimes

Although parents and peers may be of importance for the timing of union formation among 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, follow an integrative policy approach. They choose to retain relatively high barriers for migrants to become full citizens, make residence rights dependent on labor market performance and absence of criminal records, and leave little room for cultural difference. France followed an assimilative policy approach which implied relatively easy access to citizenship 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), follow a more multicultural approach, giving migrants easier access to full citizenship rights, security of residence and state support. In these latter countries, migrants enjoy relatively broad opportunities to live according to their cultures of origin and form ethnic organizations and institutions.

Koopmans (2008) suggests 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 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. Germany exhibited the lowest rate of ethnic retention, according to the authors, since 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 in both 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 contact with 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 in 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 larger extent. Therefore we hypothesize that:

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

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 first union, we will also examine individual characteristics that have been found to be important. A range of studies has shown that timing of 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 level of educational attainment means a longer period of enrollment in education, thus resulting in delayed union formation, as union formation is usually seen as incompatible with

educational enrollment both from an economic and a normative standpoint. Also for the Turkish second generation education can be expected to be crucial for starting a first union.

Recent decades have been marked by a delay in family formation in all European countries (Corijn and Klijzing 2001). For second-generation Turks, we expect that younger cohorts are more likely to postpone union formation than older ones. Finally, a range of studies has 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.

7. Data, methods and variables

7.1 Data

Our data come from "The Integration of the European Second-generation" (TIES) survey[5]. TIES is the first large-scale European comparative survey focusing exclusively on second-generation migrants. The TIES survey documents the lives of second-generation migrants from Turkey, Morocco and the former Yugoslavia as well as a native control group[6] in 15 cities in eight 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 Basle (Switzerland) and Vienna and Linz (Austria)[7].

[5] 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.

[6] 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 select group, and thus are not considered representative of the native young adult population as a whole.

[7] Madrid and Barcelona (Spain) were excluded, because no second-generation Turks were interviewed.

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. Intermarriage in the parental generation is low. In our sample 98% of fathers and 94% of 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 using phone books were used. This method was chosen, because in France only information on a person's country of birth is available and not on that of the parents, while in 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 throughout Europe live in cities (urban centers). In the Netherlands, for example, 65% of the Turkish second generation lives in urban agglomerates, with Amsterdam and Rotterdam being the cities with the largest number of second-generation Turkish youth (CBS 2009). In Sweden, Turks are also mainly concentrated in urban areas, with over 50% living in the Stockholm region (Westin 2003). In Germany, 61% of 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 2008; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003; Wanner 2004).

7.2 Methods

Event history methods are used to study the timing of union formation among 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). 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 interview if they have not entered a union yet.[8]

[8] Given the small number of higher-order units (seven countries or 13 cities), we refrain from presenting multilevel models, but include dummy codes by country to control for country differences.

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 were observed (718 women, 576 men).

The independent variables are grouped in order of the hypotheses presented above and descriptive information by country is provided in Table 1.

Three variables are used as indicators of modern parental attitudes.

- *Level of parental human capital* is a factor score which was estimated using principal-component factor analysis and comprised of the following variables: educational level of mother and father (none=1, basic=2, medium=3, high=4), literacy of mother and father (no=0, yes=1), mother and father's knowledge of host language (none=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.

Table 1: Description of independent variables by country, mean and SD

		Total		Netherlands		Belgium		Sweden	
	n	3,188		438		578		251	
	Range	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
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
parent grew up in Anatolia	0/1	0.60	0.49	0.57	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.54	0.50
family size	0–6	2.62	1.43	2.86	1.49	3.20	1.50	2.96	1.42
Peer factors									
contact non-coethnic peers	-3.00–1.14	0.00	1.00	-0.21	0.82	-0.05	0.96	-0.01	1.13
% natives sec school	1–5	3.29	1.06	2.81	1.14	3.18	1.00	3.24	1.03
Control variables									
woman	0/1	0.51	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.44	0.50	0.51	0.50
age at interview	18–35	24.92	4.91	24.68	4.34	25.81	4.86	26.75	4.52
birth cohort	1–4	2.99	0.98	2.86	0.94	2.89	1.00	2.84	0.93
completed level secondary education	1–4	2.67	0.92	2.21	0.76	2.82	0.90	3.10	0.78

Table 1: (Continued)

		France		Germany		Switzerland		Austria	
	n	500		502		463		456	
	Range	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Family factors									
human capital parents	-3.44–1.50	-0.07	0.95	-0.33	1.01	-0.35	0.85	0.30	0.91
parent grew up in Anatolia	0/1	0.59	0.49	0.63	0.48	0.63	0.48	0.66	0.47
family size	0–6	2.46	1.40	2.41	1.39	2.10	1.19	2.39	1.24
Peer factors									
contact non-coethnic peers	-3.00–1.14	0.26	0.82	-0.21	1.21	0.28	0.95	-0.06	0.99
% natives sec school	1–5	3.14	0.98	3.40	0.78	3.49	1.16	3.77	1.03
Control variables									
woman	0/1	0.56	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.48	0.50	0.54	0.50
age at interview	18–35	23.60	4.65	25.83	5.18	24.46	5.10	23.93	4.76
birth cohort	1–4	3.23	0.91	2.83	1.03	3.04	1.01	3.18	0.94
completed level secondary education	1–4	2.75	0.91	2.73	0.79	2.14	0.91	3.03	0.87

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

- *Parent grew up in Anatolia* is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent's mother or the father had lived mainly in an Anatolian province before they were 15 years of age. Usually both parents come from this region (90 %). The variable is used as a proxy for traditional parental family behavior and attitudes (Nauck 2002b).
- *Family size.* The respondents were asked how many older and younger siblings they had. 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 using 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 signifies an increase in contact with non-coethnic peers.

- *Proportion of 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% (=2), approximately 50% (=3), up to 75% (=4), or almost all native students (=5). The models also includes 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 treated as the reference category (=0).

In addition, a number of individual socio-demographic characteristics that are known to influence the timing of first union are included in the models.

- *Woman.* A dichotomous dummy variable with men=0, and women=1.
- A*ge.* 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 special education (=1), a lower secondary education degree (=2), a degree of higher secondary education in a vocational track (=3) or a degree of a general higher secondary level (=4). We selected this indicator rather than highest educational attainment, 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 in which of the 7 countries under study the respondent resides: the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria[9].

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

8. Results

8.1 Descriptive results

Table 2 presents the median age of entry into a first union by city and country[10]. On average, second-generation Turkish women's median age of entering a first union is 23.3 years, compared to 25.3 years for men. Women thus enter into union approximately two years earlier than men. In general, this age gap is found in all countries and cities.

Table 2: Median age at first union among the Turkish second generation by gender, city and country

Country		Median	
		women	men
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

[10] 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 city differences in a single country, we will refer to specific cities.

The countries cluster into two groups: one characterized by early union formation and one characterized by late union formation. The median age for both sexes 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 in the same country are found in France and Switzerland for women and in Germany and Switzerland for men. For example, women's median age of entry into first union is 27 years in Paris, but only 23 in Strasbourg. For both men and women, we find that in Zurich the second generation's median age is higher than in Basle. The difference is 2.5 years for women and 4 years for men.

Table 3 provides an overview of the percentage of second-generation Turks who have entered a union at ages 20, 25 and 30 years. By age 20, 22% of second-generation Turkish women have entered a union. Five years later, 62% have already entered a union. By contrast, only 10% of second-generation men are in a union by age 20, and only 48% at age 25. Although the transition of second-generation Turkish men starts somewhat later than that of women, this gap disappears by age 30. By this age 78% of second-generation Turkish women and 75% of the men 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% – 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% of women have entered into union in the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden, compared to 63% in France and Austria and 50% in Germany and Switzerland. Between the ages of 25 and 30, the "late" countries catch up and show a higher age-specific 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% of the women have entered a union by age 30, compared to approximately 80% in Belgium, Sweden and France. In Germany and Austria 74% of the women have entered their first union at this age compared to 65% in Switzerland.

Table 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

Compared to women – the majority of whom have entered a union between the ages 20 and 25 –, union formation of second-generation Turkish men is more equally distributed between the ages 20 and 30. Only Austria shows a pattern of early union formation among men. In Linz, more than 60% of the men were already in a union by age of 25. The largest share of men, approximately 80%, 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% of the men have entered a union by age 30.

Cities within a single country generally show quite comparable patterns, with the exception of France where the differences between Paris and Strasbourg are substantial[11]. The differences in Switzerland are less pertinent. Even though we find a two year difference between the median ages in Zurich and Basle, Turks in both cities still experience this transition rather late.

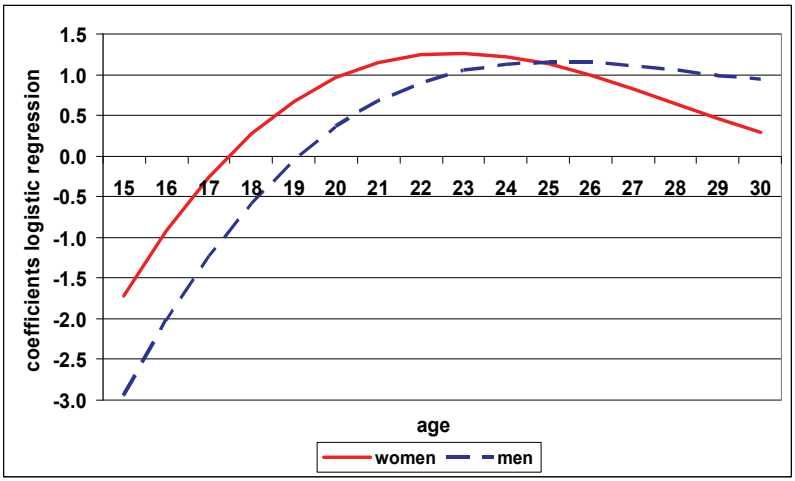
[11] Paris as a student city with expensive housing conditions showed later entry into a union compared to the more industrial Strasbourg, but this difference disappeared once we controlled for parental and peer factors.

8.2 Multivariate results

The results of the logistic hazard regression models are presented in Table 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 young adults in the Netherlands, while the other countries show no significant differences compared to the second generation in the Netherlands.

All control variables are highly significant and effects are in line with our expectations. Those individuals belonging to a younger cohort are significantly more likely to postpone union formation. The odds of entering a union is delayed by 30 per cent per 5-year birth cohort. Men and women show quite different age patterns. Figure 1 illustrates the age effect by gender. The probability of entering a union increases through age 23 for women and through age 25 for men and begins to slowly decline afterwards. Given that results for these control variables remain the same in all models tested, we will not comment on them in discussing results from other models.

Figure 1: Age effects for women and men



The country effects in Model 1 are in line with descriptive findings presented in Tables 2 and 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.

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 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 of entering a union decreases 9% for each unit increase in the factor score of human capital. Having a parent who grew up in Anatolia and larger family size – both indicators of a traditional parental background – are associated with an earlier entry into union. These results indicate that parental background is indeed an important factor when studying the age at 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 educational attainment reduces the rate of entry into union (Model 3, Table 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 child's education suggesting that at least part of the family factors operate indirectly via the level of education of the child. Family size and parents' Anatolian background still have statistically significant effects. These latter findings underscore the importance of these indirect measurements of parental attitudes.

The results in Model 3 also show that the pattern of country differences changes significantly with the inclusion of educational attainment. This suggests that the initial timing differences result, at least partially, from country differences in educational attainment among second-generation Turks. After controlling for educational attainment, rates of entry into 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 4) we test whether there is a significant relationship between contact with non-coethnic peers and timing of union formation. Our findings 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 9% lower for every unit increase in the non-coethnic factor score for peers.

Table 4: Logistic hazard regression for transition to first union

		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Family factors	N						
human capital parents	*factor score*			0.91	**	0.94	
parent grew up in Anatolia				1.16	*	1.15	*
family size	*continuous*			1.17	***	1.14	***
Peer factors							
peers	*factor score*						
% natives sec school	*continuous*						
% nat sec school * % nat sec school							
Multicultural policies							
multicultural policies							
multicultural policies*family size							
multicultural policies*peers							
Control variables							
woman		2.14	***	2.07	***	2.14	***
woman*age		0.99	***	0.99	***	0.99	***
age		1.04	***	1.04	***	1.04	***
age*age		1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
age*age*age		1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
birth cohort	*continuous*	0.70	***	0.72	***	0.72	***
secondary education level	*continuous*					0.72	***
Context variables							
country	Netherlands	1.00		1.00		1.00	
	Belgium	1.08		1.02		1.29	*
	Sweden	0.88		0.91		1.21	
	France	0.69	***	0.75	**	0.87	
	Germany	0.59	***	0.65	***	0.76	**
	Switzerland	0.62	***	0.76	**	0.74	**
	Austria	1.08		1.23	*	1.65	***
Log likelihood		-4906.6		-4856.7		-4811.2	

Table 4: (Continued)

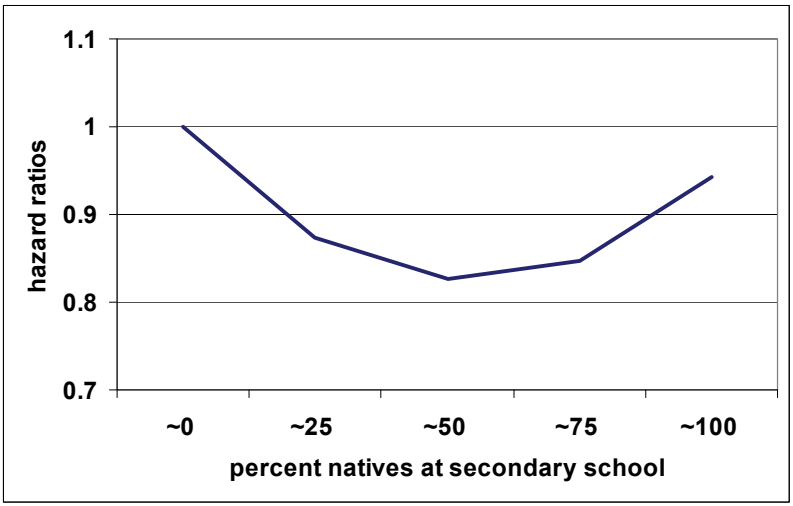
		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
Family factors	N						
human capital parents	*factor score*	0.96		0.96		0.96	
parent grew up in Anatolia		1.14	*	1.11		1.12	*
family size	*continuous*	1.14	***	1.21	***	1.16	***
Peer factors							
peers	*factor score*	0.91	***	0.91	***	0.91	**
% natives sec school	*continuous*	0.72	*	0.69	**	0.70	**
% nat sec school * % nat sec school		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	***	2.11	***	2.10	***
woman*age		0.99	***	0.99	***	0.99	***
age		1.04	***	1.04	***	1.04	***
age*age		1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
age*age*age		1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
birth cohort	*continuous*	0.72	***	0.74	***	0.74	***
secondary education level	*continuous*	0.73	***	0.79	***	0.79	***
Context variables							
country	Netherlands	1.00					
	Belgium	1.33	**				
	Sweden	1.21					
	France	0.93					
	Germany	0.78	**				
	Switzerland	0.76	**				
	Austria	1.62	***				
Log likelihood		-4802.4		-4831.9		-4835	

Notes: *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001. N personyears 24,434. N persons 3,188
Source: TIES data 2007-2008

The ethnic composition of the secondary school attended by the respondent is also related to timing of union formation. However, our findings suggest that the effect of number of natives in secondary school is not linear but rather U-shaped, as shown in Figure 2. The earliest transition to a first union is found among Turkish young adults who attended a school with almost no native pupils. Entry into union is delayed with an increasing proportion of native students in the respondent's secondary school. However,

when natives represent the majority of the student population, the observed age at union entry declines.

Figure 2: Effect of percent native at secondary school



Due to the fact that being in higher educational tracks increases the likelihood of encountering individuals of non-Turkish decent, we tested whether the peer variables interacted with the educational level. In all cases, the interaction term was not significant (results not shown). This suggests that contact with non-coethnic peers is important for the timing of a first union irrespective of whether one pursues 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 among the Turkish second generation.

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), while 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 was included into our models in lieu of the country variables. In addition, interaction effects between the policy dummy variable and family and peer factors were tested. Model 5 was designed to test H3, while Model 6 tests H4. The main effect of the policy dummy suggests that in countries with

predominantly multicultural integration policies (the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden) Turkish young adults enter a union significantly earlier than in countries with assimilative or integrative policies. 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 do we find a significant effect, however the effect is in an unexpected direction: 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 4) we expected a smaller influence of contact with non-coethnic peers in countries with multicultural policies. 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.

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 in the study of 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 a single country were overall negligible with the exceptions of France and Switzerland. Possible explanations for timing differences between the cities in one country may be related to both composition effects of the Turkish group as well as to city-specific characteristics. For instance, 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 the establishment of a co-residential union. This, in addition to

the socio-economic differences existing between these two cities, may explain differences in timing between Paris and Strasbourg.

In line with our first hypothesis, we found that characteristics of parental modernity are related to a delayed entry into union among the Turkish second generation. Having parents with lower of human capital, coming from a larger family and having a parent with an Anatolian background resulted in significantly higher rates of union formation. The influence of parental human capital, however, disappeared once we accounted for the respondent's own educational attainment. 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 of education. This may indirectly determine choices related to schooling, neighborhood, and housing. As peers are chosen from these contexts, parents are also influencing the choice of peers to some extend, as well. We did not observe this indirect effect in the data; 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 with non-coethnic peers results in postponement of starting a first union. Postponement of union formation is more likely among Turkish young adults with a higher proportion of non-coethnic friends. 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 significant effects for more distant acquaintances, measured 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, the effect of school ethnic composition was not linear, but rather 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, forming a more insular group, whereas an intermediate number of second-generation students may result in more mixed ethnic friendships in schools. If there are almost no native students, there will again be few mixed ethnic friendships, because the native population is now in a minority position and may form a more closed group by default. Both minority / majority situations reduce opportunities for contact between the groups that offer access to alternative behavior (Granovetter 1973).

A drawback of our data on peer contacts is that they do not provide detailed information on the relationships and peer networks of young adults. Still, even after controlling for parental characteristics we found evidence of 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 examined the role played by the social 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 these types of policies enable Turkish migrants to maintain their own cultural practices. However, this explanation fails to explain why the second generation in Austria also enters unions early. Additionally, we found no support for our hypotheses that parents would have more influence 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 and not integration policies are important determinants of union formation choices among the second generation. While the original country classification indirectly accounts for the accessibility of welfare provisions (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 welfare provisions, countries that allow young adults to start their own household and find affordable housing could assist the second generation in 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, thus reducing 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 in setting 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 our findings are explained by country

differences in welfare policies directed at young adults rather than by integration policies or welfare regimes, in general.

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 at the city or country level or 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 is still achieved mainly through union formation.

Our study is the first to examine the importance of parents and peers in union timing decisions among 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, further research is needed to examine this issue. In addition, our analyses focused exclusively on the timing of union formation. 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 allows for the comparison of second-generation Turks living in different European cities, our measures of policies and 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 has grown up. Having more detailed information on the neighborhood - e.g., 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.

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