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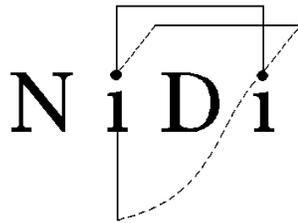
Differences in Labour Force Participation by Motherhood Status among  
Turkish Second Generation and Majority Women across Europe

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**Abstract**

The children of Turkish immigrants are an increasingly important segment of European labour markets. These young adults are entering the prime working ages and forming families. However, we have only a limited understanding of the relationship between labour force participation and the transition to parenthood among Turkish second generation women. Using unique data from the Integration of the European Second Generation survey (2007/2008), we compare the labour force participation of Turkish-second-generation women and their majority-group counterparts by motherhood status in four country contexts. We find evidence that motherhood penalties, with respect to labour force participation, are similar for majority and Turkish second generation women in Germany and Sweden, however there may be a larger penalty for second generation mothers in the Netherlands and France. Findings are consistent with the view that national normative and social policy contexts are relevant for the labour force participation of the second generation.

*Key words:* labour force participation, motherhood, childbearing, motherhood penalty, second generation, children of immigrants, Turkish, Europe

## **Introduction**

Entering the labour market is a central event in the transition to adulthood. Employment and labour force attachment in early life have implications for career trajectories, skill development and maintenance, future socioeconomic status, and well-being (Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). At the same time, economic activity is associated with other events experienced in the transition to adulthood, for instance entering a co-residential union and childbearing (Aassve et al. 2007; Danziger and Ratner 2010). However, the degree and direction of this association may vary by individual characteristics as well as by (immigrant) origin. So far little is known about how women of diverse origins, living in different countries negotiate labour force participation and family life transitions. In this paper we add a crucial comparative perspective to the existing literature and consider variation in the labour force participation of women across three dimensions: origin (second generation), motherhood, and country context. We explore the interplay of these dimensions in order to better understand work-orientation dynamics across the early family life course and potential ethnic differences in labour force attachment. Our study covers young adult women of the majority group and the daughters of Turkish immigrants, i.e. the second generation, living in four European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Sweden) with distinctly different normative, cultural, and political approaches to combining work and family (Gornick and Meyers 2003). Extending our understanding of how economic participation is linked to other transitions in young adulthood and how this varies by immigrant background is crucial in European societies that are increasingly ethnically diverse (De Valk et al. 2011).

Turkish immigrants and their descendants constitute the largest single-country origin group in Europe, totalling approximately 4 million individuals (Vasileva 2010). Large-scale

migration from Turkey to Western and Northern Europe started in the early 1960s. This migration was enabled and bolstered by bilateral migration agreements between European countries and the Turkish government. Many of these Turkish migrants did not return to Turkey, but rather had their families reunited with them or started families in Europe. The children of first generation Turkish migrants, many born in Europe, are now experiencing the transition to adulthood, leaving the parental home, completing education, entering the labour force, and forming families (Crul and Vermeulen 2003).

In order to describe how women of Turkish and majority-group origin negotiate labour force participation across Europe, and to disentangle the importance of motherhood status and country context for women's economic activity, we use data from the Integration of the European Second Generation survey (TIES; 2007/2008). This unique, comparative survey was designed to investigate the lives of the young adult children of immigrants as compared to their majority-group peers. Focusing on how childbearing shapes the labour force participation of women of both majority and Turkish origin across countries provides a more detailed picture of women's economic position in Europe. Furthermore, knowing more about patterns and factors that influence the labour force participation of women of different descent is crucial in light of growing shares of the children of immigrants in European societies.

### **Women and work across the life course**

Labour force participation of women in Europe has increased dramatically in the past half century. The largest growth in participation occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s, among women born after 1944 (Fagan et al. 2004). Currently aggregate participation rates are high and increasingly similar among men and women across European countries (Misra et al. 2011).

However, while men's labour force participation tends to be stable across the life course, women's labour force participation varies at different life stages (Drobnič et al. 1999; Aassve et al. 2007). Although large shares of women do not fully leave the labour market when they become mothers, many do interrupt their employment, reduce their working hours, or shift into mother-friendly jobs when their children are young, with life-long consequences for their economic position (Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel 2007; Gangl and Ziefle 2009). Scholars have postulated that the activities of childcare and "participating in economically productive work" are incompatible in industrialized societies (Brewster and Rindfuss 2000, p. 271).

The negative association between labour force participation and fertility observed at the individual level may be driven by causal influences in either direction, the simultaneous influences of each, or by spurious, exogenous factors, such as wages or social norms (Engelhardt et al. 2004). Evidence for each of these explanations has been well documented (Spitze 1988; Brewster and Rindfuss 2000; Engelhardt et al. 2004), and scholars have identified motherhood penalties with respect to wages, income, hours worked, and labour force participation, more generally (Budig and England 2001; Morgan 2006; Misra et al. 2007a; Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel 2007; Gangl and Ziefle 2009). The size and magnitude of these penalties varies by individual characteristics and institutional (macro-level) context. There is a negative association between parity (number of children) and labour force participation, with larger families associated with lower employment among women (Andersson 2000). The association between union status and women's labour force participation when having children is unclear. On the one hand, the presence of a (married) partner may allow for more flexibility in economic activity and, to the extent that the partner is employed, women may have the opportunity to drop out of the labour force while their children are young. On the other hand, a partner may also be able to

share in the care of the children, allowing women to maintain links to the labour market. While both influences may operate, the former tends to dominate, with larger motherhood penalties found for married (and previously married) women, at least with respect to wages (Budig and England 2001). Women's educational attainment is negatively associated with motherhood penalties in the labour market (Euwals et al. 2011). This may be due to higher opportunity costs for the highly educated (Becker 1991) or different preferences for market work (Hakim 2002).

Both women's fertility and economic behaviour may also be shaped by her family of origin. Socialization and social control mechanisms have been demonstrated to positively link a woman's mother's fertility timing, family size and stay-at-home preferences to her daughter's early transition to parenthood (Barber 2000). While much of the intergenerational (economic) mobility literature focuses on the links between fathers and sons, there is also a clear link between the economic behaviour of mothers and their daughters' outcomes: women whose mothers work are more likely to be in the labour force and to work more hours (Stevens and Boyd 1980). Furthermore, religiosity may indirectly influence work and family life. Views on the role of women in and outside the house, as well as combining parenthood and labour force participation, are often related to religious ideology and may operate via parental socialization and background (Fortin 2005).

Finally, macro-level institutional, political, and normative contexts are associated with women's transition to parenthood, labour force participation, and their interrelation. Across countries there exist differences in the share of women and mothers engaged in the labour force, and the social political approach to facilitating the balance of work and family demands. In this paper we focus on women living in four country contexts: Sweden, the Netherlands, France, and Germany. When comparing women's labour force participation across these four contexts, the

highest aggregate rates of participation across the life-course are observed in Sweden, a countries said to pursue an “Earner-Carer” or universal caregiver model. Both men and women are expected to be actively engaged in market and non-market work across the life course and this expectation is reinforced with policies and norms emphasizing individual (economic) autonomy (Gornick and Meyers 2003; Misra et al. 2007b; Misra et al. 2011; Ciccia and Verloo 2012).

High rates of women’s labour force participation are also evident in the Netherlands. However, while overall labour force attachment is high, the share of part-time employment is by far the highest in Europe: the vast majority of women work for 28 hours or less, particularly after a first birth (Morgan 2006; Bierings and Souren 2011). In the Netherlands maternal care for young children is emphasized (Morgan 2006). Consequently, the Dutch economy has been heralded as one of the only “part-time econom[ies] in the world,” with notable gender differences in labour force participation and hours worked among parents (Freeman 1998, p. 2). This is in contrast with the French situation, where women’s employment represents a pluralist model. For women and, in particular, mothers there is no explicit encouragement of labour force participation as in Sweden (Gornick and Meyers 2003; Misra et al. 2007b; Misra et al. 2011). Although, there is wide-spread public provision of childcare, women may also opt to reduce working hours to care for children in the home. This hybrid model has led to mixed results for women’s employment overall, and inconsistent labour force attachment over the life course. Finally, of the four countries studied here, the lowest rates of women’s labour force participation are observed in Germany, a context often noted for the persistence of the “Male Breadwinner–Female Caregiver” model (Gornick and Meyers 2003). New parental leave policies modelled after Nordic policies were introduced in January 2007 in Germany (Spiess and Wrohlich 2008). At the same time, a host of other policy mechanisms favouring a gendered division of labour in the

market and household within couples remained in place after parental leave reform (Dearing et al. 2007) and there continues to be a socio-cultural and socio-historical privileging of the “Male Breadwinner–Female Caregiver” model (Leitner 2010; Ciccia and Verloo 2012), even though German men have increased their participation in care (Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2011; Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2012). Because our data were collected at the time of the introduction of these policies, it is not possible to capture changes in behaviour driven by the policy change. Taken together, we expect that these varying socio-normative and social policy regimes across the four countries will be strongly related to individual level preferences and the choice sets all women face when navigating labour force participation in the context of parenthood.

### **Economic activity in a context of migration**

While patterns of association between labour force participation across the life-course by individual characteristics and across countries are well established for majority-background women, less is known about how Turkish second generation women negotiate these interrelated transitions. The Turkish second generation, currently coming of age, are by and large the children labour migrants recruited on the part of governments and private firms in the 1960s and 1970s. These migrants who came to take up unskilled work in Europe were predominantly male migrants with limited education (Castles and Miller 2003; Crul et al. 2012). After the oil crisis in the early 1970s and followed by economic recession across Europe, countries halted recruitment of these labour migrants. However, many migrants stayed and formed new families in Europe or were joined by family members from Turkey in the 1970s and 1980s.

Overall, disproportionately large shares of Turkish families in Europe are in a less favourable socio-economic position than is the case for majority populations (Eurostat 2011).

Most studies of economic activity focus on the participation of first generation men, newly arriving in their countries of residence (e.g., van Tubergen et al. 2004; Pichler 2011). However, existing studies suggest that second generation young adults are in a less favourable position than majority youth, and their employment rates lag behind those of majority populations, particularly for women (Heath and Cheung 2007; Heath et al. 2008; Algan et al. 2010). Part of the difference in socioeconomic and other life-course outcomes between the Turkish second generation and majority group has been attributed to differences in individual and parental socio-economic background characteristics, including educational attainment, parental socialization and maternal employment, fertility levels, and family values. For instance, Turkish second generation women are more likely to form families at younger ages (Huschek et al. 2010; Milewski and Hamel 2010). They have poorer educational attainment and qualifications than their majority counterparts (Heath et al. 2008). With respect to socialization and the intergenerational transmission of economic behaviours, the mothers of the Turkish second generation are less likely to have had paid jobs (Euwals et al. 2007; Huschek et al. 2011; Kok et al. 2011).

Differential norms and values predominant in (rural) Turkey at the time the parents of the second generation migrated to Europe may favour separate spheres, with men taking on breadwinning roles and women focusing on household tasks (Idema and Phalet 2007; Copur et al. 2010). Previous research has suggested that these differential norms and values persist and influence the values and behaviour of the second generation (Idema and Phalet 2007). The Turkish second generation is also more likely to have been raised religious (Fleischmann and Phalet 2011) and may live more “gendered lives” than their majority counterparts, with different standards and norms with respect to filial responsibilities (Idema and Phalet 2007; Foner 1997). The influence of more conservative gender-role values may be particularly evident in the context

of childbearing, resulting in greater differentiation in labour force participation between mothers and non-mothers among the Turkish second generation. Consequently, motherhood labour force participation penalties may be higher among Turkish-origin women (Foner 1997; Bernhardt and Goldscheider 2007; Diehl et al. 2009). By accounting for compositional differences across the two subpopulations, we expect to explain part of the differences in economic outcomes, in general, as well as in the context of motherhood.

The normative, cultural, and political approaches to combining work and family across European country contexts will likely shape the employment behaviour of both women of majority and immigrant background. Earlier studies indeed suggested that this shared institutional context may influence those with and without a migrant origin similarly. For instance, in Sweden, Andersson and Scott 2005 and Lundström and Andersson 2012 demonstrated that the relationship between labour market status and fertility was largely similar between first generation migrant and majority populations. One of the explanations provided by these authors is the shared Swedish policy context. Since both majority and second generation women are exposed to the same institutional contexts during their youth and the transition to adulthood (Crul and Vermeulen 2003), we would expect similar cross-country variation in labour force outcomes in the context of motherhood for both groups.

## **Data and Method**

### *Data and Sample*

Data for these analyses came from the Integration of the European Second-Generation survey (TIES; 2007-08). TIES is the first cross-national survey specifically designed for comparative studies of the lives of young adults (aged 18-35) of second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, and

former-Yugoslavian origin, as compared to majority-group young adults in 15 cities in eight European countries. Second generation respondents were defined as individuals born in the survey country with at least one parent born abroad in one of the three focal countries. About 90% of second generation respondents had two immigrant parents. The majority population was characterized as those born in the survey country with parents also born in the survey country.

An urban sampling frame was utilized because migration is primarily an urban phenomenon in Europe and the vast majority of migrants and their decedents live in cities (De Valk et al. 2011). While the urban sampling frame was ideal for surveying the second generation across country contexts, it has implications for the sample of majority respondents. The majority subsample was not necessarily nationally representative. Rather this subsample may have come to the city for employment or education purposes and may, therefore, be more (socio-) economically advantaged, on average. We give particular attention to the potential compositional differences of the two subsamples in our analyses and reflect upon implications of these differences for the interpretation of our results in the discussion section.

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

We limited our analysis to women in four country contexts where the Turkish second generation was interviewed and full information on labour force participation and family life course histories were available. The cities and countries included: Berlin and Frankfurt,

Germany (n = 524); Paris and Strasbourg, France (n = 465); Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands (n = 519); and Stockholm, Sweden (n = 254). Samples were balanced across migrant background status and city. We excluded women who report that their main economic activity was education or who combined education and employment (n = 395), because labour force activity and attachment among those enrolled in education may be different from those who have left school. Because the TIES survey covered young adult women between the ages of 18 to 35, the children of these women were quite young and few respondents had school-aged children. However, because we were particularly interested in differences in labour force participation of women with young children, we excluded a small number of women whose youngest child was over the age of 7 (n = 46). Finally, we restricted our sample to those respondents with full information on employment history, thereby excluding 13 individuals. Our analysis sample consisted of 1,308 individuals, of whom 50.2% are of Turkish descent.

### *Method and Variables*

We estimated logistic regression models, predicting the log of the odds of participating in the labour force at the time of the survey. Because of the small number of higher-order units (7 cities; 4 countries) we were unable to estimate multilevel models. We used the standard definition of labour force participation, or economic activity, including those in both full- and part-time paid work, those who owned their own businesses, were self-employed or were working in a family business, those engaged in an apprenticeship, as well as those who were unemployed but were actively looking for work. The economically inactive included those who were unemployed and were not looking for work, those who were looking after children of

family members, and those who were sick or disabled. The largest share of the economically inactive reported that they were looking after children or family members (80.8%).

In order to examine the associations between parenthood and labour force participation for second generation Turkish and majority women across the four countries, the key independent variables constituted interacted categorical variables capturing second generation Turkish origin, motherhood, and country context. In order to explore two- and three-way interactions, for ease of interpretation we constructed a four category variable indicating majority-background non-mothers (reference), majority-background mothers, Turkish-background non-mothers, and Turkish-background mothers. We identified women as parents if they reported an own child in the household. Although we could identify whether the respondent had children living outside the household, we did not have additional information about such children (e.g. age). This may have result in some respondents being misidentified as non-parents; however, because the sample was young, few respondents would have had older children who had moved out of the family home already and, in the case of union dissolution, it is uncommon for young children to live away from their mothers. We explored different specifications of parenthood status, disaggregating mothers by the age of the youngest child and parity. Specifying the age of the youngest child did not improve the fit of the model. This is unsurprising since there was little variation in children's ages in our sample: the vast majority of children were pre-school age and the subsample of mothers was limited to those women whose youngest child was under the age of 7. Model fit was improved by including an indicator for women with two or more children.

In order to study the influence of country of residence, we allowed the association between Turkish-background and motherhood status and the log of the odds of labour force

participation to vary across country context, by interacting the four-category variable identifying Turkish-background and parenthood status with a set of categorical variables corresponding to Germany (reference), the Netherlands, France and Sweden. Because interpreting this interaction and comparing the log-odds of labour force participation relative to a single comparison category (i.e. majority-background non-mothers living in Germany) is conceptually complex, we calculated predicted probabilities of labour force participation for Turkish and majority-background non-mothers and mothers living in each of the four countries.

We first modelled the associations between the key interactions and labour force participation (Model 1), and then we modelled the associations net of covariates to account for differences between subsamples of mothers and non-mothers, and those of Turkish and majority-group descent, in line with our theoretical expectations (Model 2). We accounted for women's age continuously with a second degree polynomial specification (age and age<sup>2</sup>). To account for differences in family structure, we included respondents' co-residential partnership status, differentiating those with no co-residential partner (reference) and those in either a non-marital or marital co-residential union. Women with more children may face greater constraints on their ability to be economically active. Therefore, as previously mentioned, we incorporated an indicator distinguishing women with two or more children, conditional on parenthood status. This variable can be interpreted as the average association between larger families and women's labour force participation.

We included respondent's highest level of education completed: less than secondary or secondary education (reference) versus tertiary education. Although, ideally we would specify each educational group separately, the group with less than a secondary education constituted less than 4% of the total sample. Finally, women's decisions about labour force participation

may be influenced by exposure to her mother's own employment and her values regarding women's roles. Therefore, we accounted for whether the respondent's mother was employed when the respondent was 15 years old and whether the respondent reported that she was raised in a religious family. While this second measure is not a perfect proxy measure for values regarding women's roles, an exploratory bivariate analysis showed that being raised in a religious family was associated with a 50% lower odds of labour force participation.

## **Results**

Table 1 includes descriptive statistics for our dependent and independent variables for majority-group and second-generation-Turkish women. There are some important differences between the two subsamples. Turkish second generation women are less likely to participate in the labour force: 89% of women from the majority group are economically active at the time of the survey compared with 74% of Turkish-background women. This pattern is likely to be related in part to other differences between the two groups. Majority-group women are, on average, two-and-a-half years older than Turkish second generation women. About equal shares (53%) of Turkish- and majority-background women report that they are in a co-residential relationship at the time of the survey. Second generation women are more likely to have started childbearing (42.5% vs. 28%). While about equal shares of women have one child, about 25% of Turkish-background women have two or more children as compared to only 12% of their majority counterparts.

[Table 1 about here]

Majority-background women are more highly educated: 48% have completed tertiary education versus only 16.5% of Turkish-background women. With respect to background characteristics, 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 (62% vs. 29%, respectively). Finally, Turkish-background women are more likely than their majority-background counterparts to report that they were raised religious: 84% vs. 44%, respectively.

The majority and second generation subsamples are balanced in the full sample and across the survey-country subsamples: about 35% of respondents reside in Germany; 19% and 24% of majority-group and second-generation women, respectively, live in the Netherlands; nearly 30% live in France; and about 15% of women reside in Sweden.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 presents coefficients from logistic regressions of labour force participation for women of second-generation-Turkish and majority-group background. The first panel of results (Model 1) tests the direct association between migrant background and parenthood status and labour force participation across country contexts. Because of the complexity of the interpretation of the three-way interaction, we present predicted probabilities of labour force participation (with 95% confidence intervals) for women by second-generation-background and parenthood-status across country contexts in the top panel of Table 3 and graphically in Figure 1. It is clear that in all country contexts, there is a motherhood penalty in labour force participation. All mothers, regardless of country of residence or origin, have lower levels of labour force

participation than non-mothers, although the difference between mothers and non-mothers does not reach conventional levels of statistical significance ( $p < 0.05$ ) for majority-group women in France and Sweden and for Turkish-second-generation women in Sweden. As expected, the largest penalty is observed in Germany, followed by the Netherlands, France, and Sweden.

[Table 3 about here]

[Figure 1 about here]

In all countries, we also observe lower levels of labour force participation among Turkish-background women relative to their majority-background counterparts, although this difference is not always large or statistically significant. There are notable differences by ethnic background in the motherhood penalty in labour force participation across country contexts. In Germany and Sweden, the difference in activity between mothers and non-mothers by origin is quite similar. In Germany, the probability of labour force participation is 54-percentage points lower for Turkish-background mothers versus non-mothers, and 53-percentage points lower for majority-background mothers versus non-mothers. In Sweden, the motherhood labour force participation penalty is 6- and 9-percentage points for Turkish- and majority-background women, respectively. However, in France and the Netherlands, we observe greater divergence in the magnitude of the motherhood penalty in labour force participation by Turkish-background status. In the Netherlands, the motherhood labour force participation penalty for Turkish-second-generation women is 38-percentage points, but only 21-percentage points for majority-group women. In France, the motherhood penalty is 35-percentage points and 13-percentage points for Turkish- and majority-background women, respectively.

In the second analytical step we account for compositional differences between majority- and Turkish-background women (Model 2, Table 2). There is not a statistically significant association between age at interview and the log-odds of labour force participation, net of other characteristics. With respect to family situation, we do not find evidence of a statistically significant association between living in a marital or non-marital co-residential partnership and labour force participation, however, on average, having a larger family (2 or more co-resident children) is associated with a lower odds of labour force participation. Tertiary educated women have a higher odds of labour force participation than women without a tertiary degree (but only reaching marginal statistical significance at the 10%-level). Women whose mothers were employed when they were age 15 have a 52% higher odds of labour force participation. Being raised religious is not associated with labour force participation, net of other individual and background characteristics.

[Figure 2 about here]

Again, because of the complexity of interpretation of the three-way interaction, we present predicted probabilities of labour force participation (with 95% confidence intervals) for women by second-generation-background and parenthood-status across country contexts in the bottom panel of Table 3 and graphically in Figure 2. As expected, accounting for compositional characteristics reduces differences between Turkish- and majority-background women, mothers and non-mothers, and Turkish- and majority-background women by motherhood status. Interestingly, when comparing models without (1) and with (2) covariates, the motherhood penalty among majority-background women is only marginally reduced, while the reduction in

the motherhood penalty is more marked for Turkish-background women. Although women still face the most sizable motherhood penalty in labour force participation in Germany, this penalty is now estimated to be 6-percentage points smaller for Turkish-second-generation women as compared to their majority peers. In Sweden, differences in labour force participation by motherhood status among Turkish women all but disappears, whereas majority mothers still face an 8-percentage point penalty in their labour force participation (although the difference is not statistically significant). While the numerical estimates of differential motherhood penalties for Turkish- and majority-background mothers in the Netherlands (26- and 18-percentage points, respectively) and France (25- and 14-percentage points, respectively) remain, they no longer reach conventional levels of statistical significance ( $p < 0.05$ ).

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

In this paper we investigated differences in labour force participation among Turkish-second-generation and majority-background women in Europe across by motherhood status across four country contexts. We found evidence of a negative association between labour force participation and Turkish-background origin among both mothers and non-mothers, in all four countries. However, these differences were attenuated to a large degree once controlling for individual and background characteristics. Parity was a strong predictor of labour force participation: mothers of two or more children were less likely to be economically active as compared to mothers of one child and non-mothers. Education was positively associated with labour force participation, consistent with economic theories that emphasize the higher opportunity costs associated with withdrawing from the labour market among the highly educated. Finally, socialization, through women's experience of their own mother's

employment, played a role in determining women's labour market activity. We did not find evidence that being raised in a strongly religious household was associated with labour force participation. It may be that household religiosity in childhood is only a weak proxy for gender role values or that the measure in our study was too limited to capture the diversity of religious upbringing and related values.

Differences in the labour force participation of mothers across countries were as expected, overall. In Germany we found the largest penalties whereas in Sweden, the difference in labour force participation between mothers and non-mothers was the smallest. Labour force participation penalties for mothers in France and the Netherlands fell in between these two extremes. However, an interesting pattern of cross-country variation in women's labour force participation by motherhood and Turkish-background was evident. In models excluding covariates, motherhood penalties in labour force participation were very similar for Turkish- and majority-background women in Germany and Sweden. However, an added penalty for Turkish second generation mothers was evident in the Netherlands and France. Some of this additional disadvantage could be attributed to compositional differences across subpopulations; however, in models containing covariates, the penalty for labour force participation of Turkish-second-generation mothers remained 8- and 11-percentage points larger than for majority mothers in the Netherlands and France, respectively.

While these differences net of other characteristics were only moderate and did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance ( $p < 0.05$ ), the residual disadvantage among Turkish mothers in the Netherlands and France, but not in Germany and Sweden, is interesting. Part of this may be related to the fact that in Germany and Sweden there are clear normative patterns regarding female labour force participation before and after childbearing. In Germany, the

tendency toward separate spheres for men and women may dominate among both majority-group and Turkish-origin families, resulting in similar economic behaviour within the context of childbearing for both origin groups. On the other hand, the pervasive policy and normative emphasis on individuation and independence, and support for men's and women's continued economic activity through the provision of parental leave and high quality childcare for pre-school aged children may influence the behaviour of both Swedish- and Turkish-background women living in Sweden. Even if Turkish second generation women are exposed to more gendered norms through parental or country-of-origin socialization, the strong normative influence and the equalizing influence of the Swedish welfare state regime may play a dominant role in shaping women's economic behaviour within the context of childbearing (Lundström and Andersson 2012). The institutional and normative contexts in the Netherlands and France afford women a choice between remaining marginally attached to the labour market or withdrawing fully when children are small. It may be that in these more fluid normative contexts, where the emphasis does not fall strongly on the side of labour force attachment (e.g. in Sweden) or labour force withdrawal (e.g. in Germany), marginal preferences for labour market withdrawal are more easily exercised. If Turkish-background women with young children disproportionately favour economic inactivity as compared to their majority counterparts in the Netherlands and France (Idema and Phalet 2007; Copur et al. 2010), we would indeed expect a larger gap in the labour force participation motherhood penalty in these countries.

As noted in the discussion of the TIES data, the majority subsample included in the survey is not nationally representative and is (socio-)economically advantaged relative to the second generation: majority respondents were more likely to be highly educated, older, and more likely to have had a mother who worked when they were 15 years old. It is likely that our two

subpopulations also differ on other unobserved dimensions. If majority populations are more likely to have come to cities for employment or educational reasons, or have more progressive orientations toward women's labour force participation, combining work and family, and gender role ideologies, we may overestimate the negative association between Turkish-background status and labour force participation. However, bearing this potential selection in mind, our finding of only small differentials in labour force participation and in the motherhood penalty between Turkish- and majority-background women is even more striking. Second-generation and majority women may, in fact, be even more similar in their labour force participation (all else equal) than we have estimated here.

Our analyses point to the importance of national context for the labour force participation of Turkish-origin women, even though our data do not allow for an investigation of the unique mechanisms or institutional barriers to work for Turkish-second-generation women within individual countries. In addition to differing normative and policy contexts, underlying our findings may be differing levels of ethnic discrimination in the labour force or in education (Hermansen 2012), or differences in employment-related social capital (Verhaeghe et al. 2012) across country contexts. While differences in labour market outcomes do not necessarily indicate the presence of discrimination or social capital deficits, we cannot rule out the possibility that they underlie part or all of the differences observed between Turkish-second-generation and majority women in this study. A next step would be to disentangle the relative influences of different institutional factors on labour market behaviours of ethnic-minority and majority-group women. Expanding analyses to women of other second-generation origins would further illuminate how specific cultural, socio-economic, and labour market mechanisms operate differently by origin and improve our understanding of the economic position of the second

generation. Moreover, the inclusion of more country contexts and time periods would allow for more sophisticated multilevel analyses in order to explore the possible mechanisms driving these cross-country differences.

It is clear from our findings that employment decisions are not made in a vacuum. Institutional and socio-normative contexts matter for the economic activity of all women in a society, regardless of origin and individual characteristics. These results suggest that broad-based policy interventions, focusing on gender equity and improving work/family balance, may improve the employment circumstances and economic position of all women in increasingly diverse European labour markets.

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## Tables

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

	Majority		Turkish Second Generation	
	n	Per cent	n	Per cent
Participating in the labour force	582	89.3	483	74.1
Parity				
0	468	71.8	375	57.5
1	107	16.4	114	17.5
2+	77	11.8	163	25.0
Country of residence				
Germany	240	36.8	232	35.5
Netherlands	121	18.6	157	24.1
France	189	29.0	171	26.2
Sweden	102	15.6	92	14.2
Age (mean, years)	28.6		25.9	
In a partnership (cohabiting or married)	346	53.1	350	53.7
Respondent completed tertiary education	312	47.9	107	16.5
Mother employed at age 15	405	62.1	191	29.3
Raised religious	289	44.3	546	83.7
N	652		656	

*Source:* The Integration of the European Second-Generation survey (2007/08).

Table 2. Regression coefficients from logistic regression of labour force participation of Turkish second generation and majority young adult women

	Model 1			Model 2				
	$\beta$	SE	$e^{\beta}$	$\beta$	SE	$e^{\beta}$		
Constant	3.12	0.36	***	22.62	-1.87	2.96	0.15	
Turkish-background x parenthood status (main effect)								
Majority non-parent	0.00			1.00	0.00		1.00	
Majority parent	-3.40	0.46	***	0.03	-3.45	0.50	***	0.03
Turkish non-parent	-1.32	0.43	**	0.27	-0.89	0.45	*	0.41
Turkish parent	-3.87	0.44	***	0.02	-3.41	0.49	***	0.03
Country of residence (main effect)								
Germany	0.00			1.00	0.00		1.00	
Netherlands	0.15	0.58		1.16	-0.09	0.60		0.91
France	0.57	0.80		1.77	0.17	0.82		1.18
Sweden	0.27	0.80		1.30	0.00	0.83		1.00
Turkish-background x parenthood status x country of residence								
Netherlands								
Majority non-parent	0.00			1.00	0.00		1.00	
Majority parent	1.25	0.72	+	3.50	1.53	0.74	*	4.63
Turkish non-parent	0.25	0.72		1.29	0.47	0.73		1.60
Turkish parent	0.70	0.67		2.02	0.99	0.69		2.69
France								
Majority non-parent	0.00			1.00	0.00		1.00	
Majority parent	1.41	0.96		4.10	1.63	0.97	+	5.09
Turkish non-parent	0.86	1.02		2.37	1.15	1.03		3.14
Turkish parent	0.62	0.87		1.86	0.99	0.88		2.69
Sweden								
Majority non-parent	0.00			1.00	0.00		1.00	
Majority parent	1.99	0.98	*	7.28	2.17	1.00	*	8.78
Turkish non-parent	-0.01	0.94		0.99	-0.14	0.96		0.87
Turkish parent	2.04	0.94	*	7.67	2.24	0.95	*	9.37

Table 2. *continued*

	Model 1			Model 2		
	$\beta$	SE	$e^{\beta}$	$\beta$	SE	$e^{\beta}$
Age	-	-	-	0.28	0.22	1.32
Age <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	0.00	0.00	1.00
Partnership (cohabiting or married)	-	-	-	-0.24	0.25	0.78
Two or more children	-	-	-	-0.77	0.23	*** 0.46
Respondent completed tertiary education	-	-	-	0.45	0.26	+ 1.57
Mother employed at age 15	-	-	-	0.42	0.20	* 1.52
Raised religious	-	-	-	0.02	0.22	1.02
N	1,308			1,308		
Pseudo R2	0.2457			0.2736		
Log-likelihood	-470.26766			-452.88036		
df	16			23		
AIC	972.5353			951.7607		

<sup>+</sup> $p < 0.10$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

Source: As for Table 1.

Table 3. Predicted probabilities from logistic regression of labour force participation of Turkish second generation and majority young adult women (95 per cent confidence intervals)

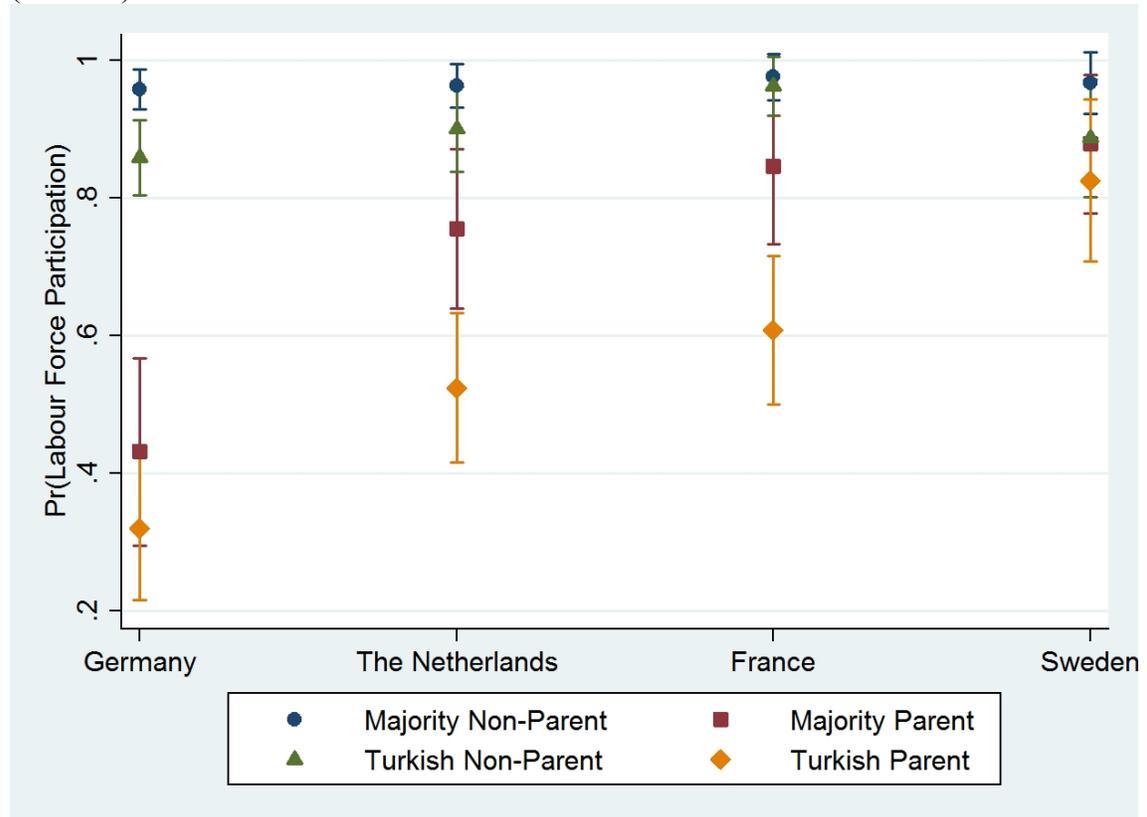
Model 1	Majority		Turkish-background	
	No Children	Children	No Children	Children
Germany	0.96 (0.93 - 0.99)	0.43 (0.30 - 0.57)	0.86 (0.80 - 0.91)	0.32 (0.22 - 0.42)
Netherlands	0.96 (0.93 - 0.99)	0.75 (0.64 - 0.87)	0.90 (0.84 - 0.96)	0.52 (0.42 - 0.63)
France	0.98 (0.94 - 1.00)	0.85 (0.73 - 0.96)	0.96 (0.92 - 1.00)	0.61 (0.50 - 0.72)
Sweden	0.97 (0.92 - 1.00)	0.88 (0.78 - 0.98)	0.89 (0.80 - 0.97)	0.83 (0.71 - 0.94)
Model 2	Majority <sup>a</sup>		Turkish-background <sup>a</sup>	
	No Children	Children	No Children	Children
Germany	0.96 (0.93 - 0.99)	0.45 (0.28 - 0.63)	0.92 (0.86 - 0.97)	0.47 (0.30 - 0.63)
Netherlands	0.96 (0.92 - 1.00)	0.78 (0.64 - 0.92)	0.94 (0.89 - 0.99)	0.68 (0.55 - 0.81)
France	0.97 (0.92 - 1.00)	0.83 (0.69 - 0.97)	0.98 (0.95 - 0.1.00)	0.73 (0.61 - 0.86)
Sweden	0.96 (0.91 - 1.00)	0.88 (0.76 - 1.00)	0.90 (0.82 - 0.99)	0.89 (0.80 - 0.98)

<sup>a</sup>Additional covariates set to: age 27, secondary education or less, parity less than 2, in a partnership, mother employed at age 15, raised religious.

Source: As for Table 1.

## Figures

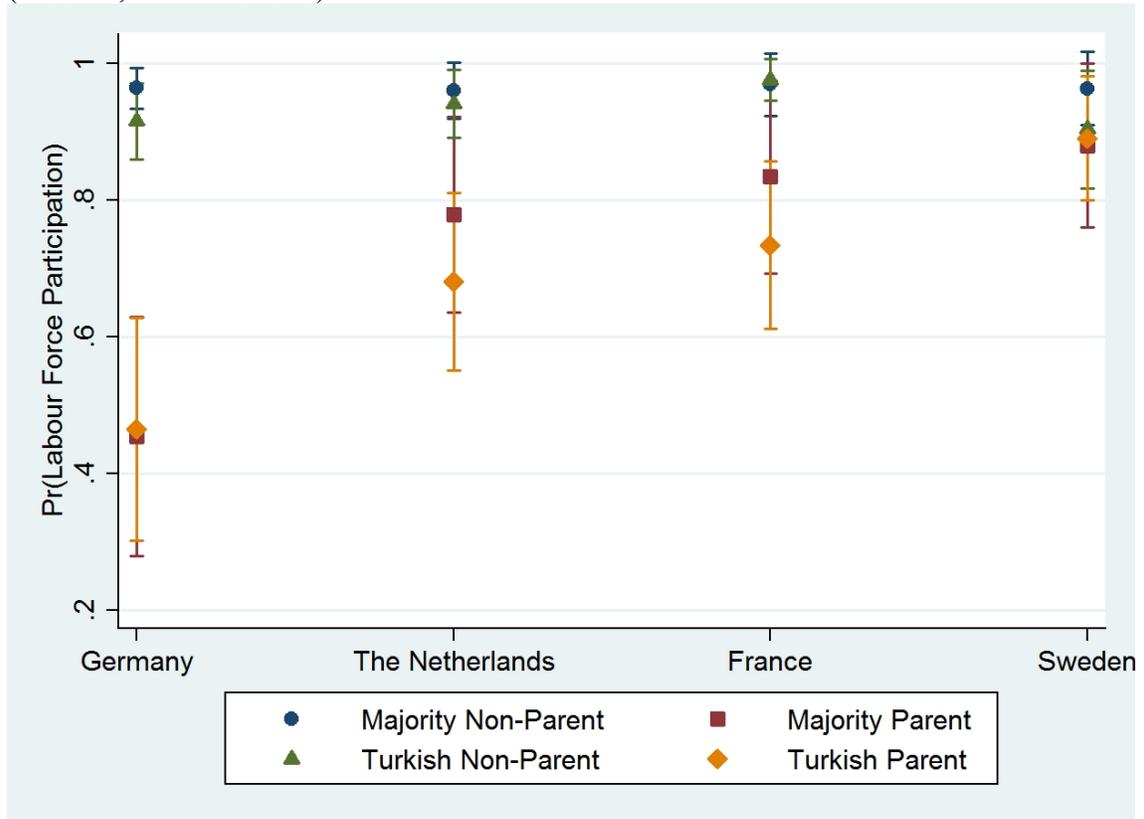
Figure 1. Predicted probabilities from logistic regression of labour force participation of Turkish second generation and majority young adult women, 95 per cent confidence intervals (Model 1)



*Note:* additional covariates set to: age 27, secondary education or less, parity less than 2, in a partnership, mother employed at age 15, raised religious.

*Source:* As for Table 1.

Figure 2. Predicted probabilities from logistic regression of labour force participation of Turkish second generation and majority young adult women, 95 per cent confidence intervals (Model 2, with covariates)



Note: additional covariates set to: age 27, secondary education or less, parity less than 2, in a partnership, mother employed at age 15, raised religious.

Source: As for Table 1.

The children of Turkish immigrants are an increasingly important segment of European labour markets. These young adults are entering the prime working ages and forming families. However, we have only a limited understanding of the relationship between labour force participation and the transition to parenthood among Turkish second generation women. Using unique data from the Integration of the European Second Generation survey (2007/2008), we compare the labour force participation of Turkish-second-generation women and their majority-group counterparts by motherhood status in four country contexts. We find evidence that motherhood penalties, with respect to labour force participation, are similar for majority and Turkish second generation women in Germany and Sweden, however there may be a larger penalty for second generation mothers in the Netherlands and France. Findings are consistent with the view that national normative and social policy contexts are relevant for the labour force participation of the second generation.

The Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) is an institute for the scientific study of population. NIDI research aims to contribute to the description, analysis and explanation of demographic trends in the past, present and future, both on a national and an international scale. The determinants and social consequences of these trends are also studied.

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