Chapter 9
Linked Life-Events. Leaving Parental Home in Turkish Immigrant and Native Families in Germany

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This study analyses the leaving of the parental home by native Germans and immigrants from Turkey. By elaborating on the concept of "linked-life events", which describes the synchronicity in timing of two different transitions in adolescent life, I expect that the synchronicity of marriage and leaving parental home has substantially declined in post-war Germany as a result of trends in modernization, secularization and individualization, especially since the late 1960s. The question of whether such a decline occurred also in the group of Turkish immigrants will be tested empirically by using data from the German Gender & Generations Survey Program. In the first step of this article, the idea of linked events in the life-course and normative bonding in communities will be discussed. Subsequently, it will be elaborated on why the timing of leaving home might differ between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany. It will be argued that patterns of normative bonding differ between both groups particularly with regard to gender. In the first part of the empirical section, religiosity and family-related norm orientations of the two groups will be compared. A comparison of survivor functions of different subgroups will then provide first insights into differences in the timing of leaving home. By using the concepts of normative bonding and linked life-events, it will be investigated to what extent the intervening life-event of marriage has an impact on the rate at which respondents leave parental home and whether there are interaction effects of religiosity and norm orientations with regard to gender. It will be examined whether the impact of marriage is noticeably stronger in the Turkish group and if there are additional gender-specific patterns. Finally, by using a competing-risk perspective, birth-cohort effects and processes of "de-linking" of life-events will be investigated in order to compare the processes of individualization of natives and Turkish immigrants.

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9.1 Theory and Research

Elaborating on Granovetter's (1973) idea of weak and strong ties in social networks, Putnam (2000) made the distinction between *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. By referring to Hegel's concept of *Sittlichkeit*, Halpern (2005: 20) used the concept of "*normative bonding*" to describe ties of support and reciprocity within small communities and families. Social integration by normative bonding is in sharp contrast to the self-interested individual rationality when an individual need – like education – is subordinated to the fulfilment of normative expectations of the community. Normative bonding describes a specific form of social capital which is available as long as an actor meets these expectations. To some degree, this is similar to Portes' (1998) concept of negative social capital which can be an obstacle to individual freedom. In conjunction with monitoring and social control in normatively bounded communities, this is what makes the process of leaving the community being an event of high social significance. Families usually re-establish control over their children by combining the life-event of moving out with the event of marriage. Similar phenomena have been described by the concept of "linked lives" in the sociological theory of the life-course. Here, the argument is that close network ties do not only link persons but also their life courses (Giele and Elder 1998: 9p). Life courses of spouses are good examples of linked lives. Important life-course transitions, as employment, migration or retirement, are often closely related between both actors (Drobnič 2003). A generalization of this concept was developed in the Special Research Programme "Status Passages and Risks in the Life Course" at the University of Bremen (see Heinz and Marshall 2003) and pointed explicitly to the *interrelatedness* of life-courses, which depends on institutional regulations and results in specific institutional life-course regimes (Krüger 2003: 242). As Krüger argued (2001: 279), the German male-breadwinner regime, for instance, leads to a specific interrelatedness of life-courses of men and women (Born et al. 2003). It has strong effects on the social construction of male and female life courses, all the more since it reinforces traditional taken-for-granted views on the gender-specific division of housework and employment. In a similar way, values and social norms bond life-events together, which actually belong to different dimensions of the life-course. In the present study, these dimensions are residential autonomy and marriage. Following this institutional paradigm of interrelatedness, the concept of linked life events will be elaborated in the following. It highlights the links between life-events due to institutions and social norms – which brings us back to the concept of normative bonding.

While it is common in research to hint at cultural differences between immigrants and natives (Nauck 1989; Gerhards 2004), yet there are only a few studies linking patterns of leaving parental home to norms and culture (Billari and Liefbroer 2007; Huschek et al. 2010; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). Several interrelated arguments can explain why normative bonding differs between immigrants and natives. High levels of normative bonding result from characteristics of the *specific*

situation of immigrant families in the host country. Immigrants enter a new society and incorporate new information into their stock of taken-for-granted knowledge (Thomas and Znaniecki 1995 [1920], Park 1928; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). For this reason, many immigrant families show a high degree of protectiveness especially towards daughters (Nauck 1989: 260) and exert rigid social control over their children. If children leave home while marrying a co-ethnic partner at the same time, social control is transferred to the partner and shared with his or her family, whereas leaving home without marriage implies a loss of control over children.

This mechanism works especially under the assumption of *differences in values and norms* between immigrants and the native population and the consolidating effect of *ties to the own ethnic community*. While classical assimilation theory predicted a "straight line" assimilation process (Esser 2008) coming along with alienation from home and acculturation to the host culture, the theory of segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997) pointed to processes of upward mobility within the ethnic community. Due to extensive chain migration and evolving migration systems, many immigrants establish or intensify networks to their ethnic community and thereby strengthen basic elements of their home country culture. In addition, new forms of migration and integration into the host society due to new modes of transport and communication (Glick Schiller et al. 1997; Jaworsky and Levitt 2007) facilitated the maintenance of social bonds to the home country. These changing conditions increased the propensity to invest time and effort into co-ethnic and home country capital (Esser 2004).

Arguments referring to cultural differences between Turkish migrants and native Germans should not neglect the large cultural differences *within* the Turkish society (Kagitcibasi and Sunar 1997) and the ongoing conflict between Kemalism and Islamism (Göle 1997). Turkey has a long Islamic tradition and adherence to religion is still widespread. In his analysis of the foundation of economy and society Max Weber (1972: 374) came to the conclusion that Islamic business ethics are the "ultimate contrast" to Puritanism. This in no way means that today's Turkey is incompatible with rationalization, democracy and modern business ethics. However, according to Weber's famous thesis on the historical roots of culture and institutions, religious differences have a formative influence which exists, as Portes and Rumbaut (2006: 301) argue, even in the present. In many industrialized Western countries, materialistic values were successively replaced by post-materialism since the late 1960s (Inglehart 1990). Bottom-up-processes of value change, individualization, and claims to personal fulfillment led to a pluralisation and diversification of lifestyles, life-courses and family structures. During the 20th century Turkey experienced a dramatic social and cultural change as well, when Kemal Attatürk tried to replace the Sharia law of the Ottoman Empire with modern western institutions from "top to bottom", but always had to wrestle with reactionary forces who tried to rebuild the old regime. Some scholars currently observe a "vacuum" created by a de-legitimization of the Kemalist modernization process which was filled by a reviving cultural and political Islam (Karasipahi 2009: 33). It cannot be ruled out that these historical developments explain results of recent comparative analyses of

value orientations in Turkey and other European societies: studies using the World Value Survey still reveal notable differences in average value orientations between citizens of EU member states and Turkey (Gerhards 2004). It has also been shown that family-related norm orientations regarding the "economic value" of children differ greatly between Germany, Turkey and Turkish immigrants (Nauck 1989: 256), although to some degree differences in the normative structure of intergenerational relationships can be explained by educational differences (Nauck 1989: 261). Strikingly, in Nauck's (1989) analysis differences in normative orientations and behavioural practices between Turkish respondents and Turkish immigrants in Germany were rather modest. In a similar manner, Kagitcibasi and Sunar (1997) argue that despite of trends in modernization, family relations in Turkey are still characterised by a high degree of "culture of relatedness".

Diehl et al. (2009: 296) found a correspondence of higher levels of religious adherence with less egalitarian gender roles in the group of Turkish immigrants in Germany, but not in the group of native Germans. Moreover, Diehl and Koenig (2009: 311p) highlighted that levels of religious adherence did not decline for Turkish immigrants in the second generation but even increased in some sub-dimensions. In her study on effects of religiousness on economic and the demographic behaviour in the US, Lehrer (2004: 18) reports results which indicate the highest rates of non-marital cohabitation in groups without religious affiliation, while the lowest rates are found in religious groups where the average level of female education is low – which still is the case with Turkish immigrants in Germany. In an earlier study, she argued that religious groups differ in their attitudes towards gender roles. Fundamentalist Protestants and Mormons emphasize women's role as housewife's and mothers (Lehrer 2000: 230), which indeed corresponds empirically with early entry into marriage. Moreover, Fundamentalist Protestants also show a low likelihood of the first union being a cohabitating relationship (Lehrer 2000: 241).

According to this line of argumentation, I expect significant differences between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany regarding religiosity and attitudes towards marriage. Following from this, several hypotheses can be specified from these considerations.

H1: In line with the two different cultural histories of Western Europe and Turkey, value orientations concerning marriage and religion are "more traditional" in the group of Turkish immigrants compared with native Germans.

H2: When persons with more traditional values and norm orientations have stronger ties to their family, early move-outs in order to achieve pre-marital residential autonomy are less likely. Consequently, more traditional value orientations decelerate the process of leaving parental home.

H3: It has been argued that traditional values and norm orientations correspond with higher levels of "normative bonding" and social control, and, accordingly, with a closer linkage of life-events. Since Turkish immigrants have more traditional attitudes toward family related processes like marriage and leaving home, they might show a stronger association between these events compared with native Germans.

H4: The effect of marriage on leaving home is even stronger when respondents' attitudes towards marriage are comparatively traditional.

H5: Due to far-reaching cultural changes in Western democracies since the late 1960s, one might expect a linear trend in individualization and "de-linking" of life-events over birth-cohorts in the native German sample. However, it is still unclear whether Turkish immigrants in Germany show a similar trend.

9.2 Data and Methods

The empirical analyses presented in this paper are based on the first wave of the German Generations and Gender Survey. The data set consists of two independent random sub-samples which include N = 10,017 German speaking persons and N = 4,045 Turkish citizens who live in Germany as immigrants (Ruckdeschel et al. 2006; Ette et al. 2007: 12). Since the sample of German speaking persons includes also 1st and 2nd generation Turkish immigrants, this group has been defined as Turkish as well. All other immigrant groups have been excluded from the German speaking sample, so Turkish immigrants will be compared with native Germans. Turkish respondents whose move-out events took place in Turkey have been excluded from the sample. The timing of important life-events, like leaving parental home, has been measured by monthly information, so continuous-time event history analysis and the method of episode splitting could be applied. With regard to the event of interest, which is leaving parental home, the risk set begins at the tenth birthday. This procedure captures very early move-outs on the one hand, but excluded processes in the early childhood. Setting the starting point of the risk-period to the age of 14 does not significantly change the results.

Persons who do not have any school degree as well as persons with low levels of secondary education have been defined as having *low education*. Secondary educational degrees qualifying for University admission ("Abitur" or "Fachhochschulreife") were defined as *high education*, intermediate degrees from secondary education (Realschule, mittlere Reife) or other degrees as *medium education*.

The data provides information on fathers' and mothers' occupation and education when the respondent was at the age of 15. This led to categories of the highest available occupational and educational degrees in the parental couple: (1). no employment, (2). blue collar working class, (3). peasants and self-employed, (4). white collar, civil servants, professionals. Parents' highest educational degree has been distinguished in *high degrees* (master craftsmen, Abitur, academic) and *other degrees*. Since the data includes also time-varying information on other life-events, I could include this information into the event-history models as explanatory variables and estimate effects of intervening life-events on processes of leaving home (Konietzka and Huinink 2003). For each subgroup the effect size shows how closely events of moving out correspond with other events like marriage, family formation and general education. Unfortunately, with respect to the timing of general and occupational education we only know the ending time of general

education and the ending time of the highest occupational degree – which is not necessarily the ending time of the first one. Hence, the period in which move-outs due to entry into occupational training or higher education could potentially start 2 months before general education ended, and terminate 38 months later (*training/HE, end school −2/+36 mon*).

Regarding intervening life-events it does not make any sense to model effects of perfect monthly synchronization. Instead, I used a sufficiently long interval, which is long enough e.g. to cover time for transactions, like the organization of a wedding, before and after moving out. Intervals of 12 month length have been used with the dates of marriage and birth of 1st children as midpoints (*marriage period (+/− 6 Mon.)*, *birth 1st child period (+/− 6 Mon.)*). Regarding marriage, it should be noted that in the group of Turkish immigrants more than 90% of all marriages are intra-ethnic, that is, Turkish immigrants chose partners mainly from the Turkish community.

In the following analyses, event-history models are based on Cox-Regressions and a competing risk approach. Competing risks are defined as move-outs with marriage and move-out without marriage. Moving out with marriage means that both life-events occur, more or less, simultaneously. Moving-out without marriage does not necessarily mean that respondents are not married when they move out, but that move-out takes place 6 months before or after marriage. In the vast majority of cases, respondents do not stay in their parents' home for longer than 6 month after marriage. Hence, competing risks are defined by leaving-home either within ("with marriage"), or outside ("without marriage") the marriage period of 1 year Table 9.A.2. (appendix) gives the descriptive statistics of the data.

9.3 Results

Two important value orientations differ significantly between natives and Turkish immigrants in Germany: traditional attitudes towards marriage and religiosity. The Figs. 9.1 and 9.2 illustrate the distribution of factor scores over both populations. These factors have been extracted from the items shown in Table 9.A.1 (appendix) by using principal component analysis. Signs have been reversed so that high factor scores measure traditional norm orientations. It should be noted that this measurement is only cross-sectional, taken at the time of the interview. This is in most cases many years after the move-out, so the causal interpretation is always based on the assumption of rather stable value orientations and "traits".

However, the reliability of the scale "traditional attitude toward marriage" is rather low (alpha = .63, see appendix).[1] Fig. 9.1 shows that the attitude towards

[1]Separate analysis gives an alpha of .57 for Turkish immigrants and .60 for native Germans. The reliability of the religiosity scale (.78) differs between both groups as well (.60 for Turkish immigrants and .84 for native Germans). Nevertheless, the scaling provides an advantage over single item measurements and for this reason these scales have been used in the analysis.

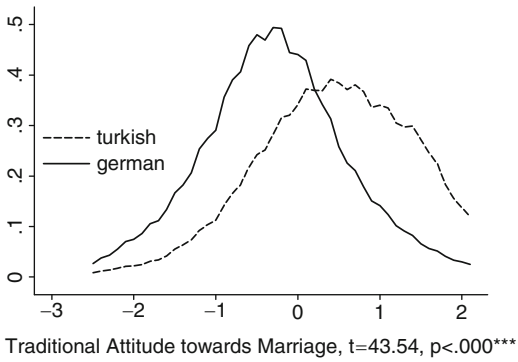

Fig. 9.1 Attitude towards marriage, factor scores N = 12555, Turkish = 3976, German = 8579 (Source: GGS 2006, own computations)

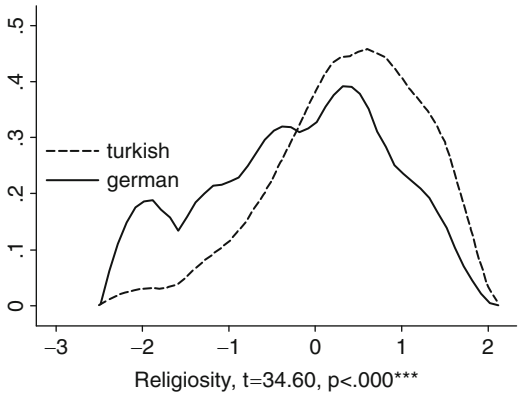

Fig. 9.2 Religiosity, factor scores N = 12555, Turkish = 3976, German = 8579 (Source: GGS 2006, own computations)

marriage is more traditional in the Turkish group, and that Turkish immigrants are also more religious than native Germans. Even if these results provide no clear evidence of the theoretical considerations made in section 2, this result is in line with the expectations: first, both populations differ with respect to religiosity and traditional attitudes towards marriage, secondly, the Turkish population shows a tendency towards more traditional orientations (H1). These remarkable differences motivate the focus on values and norm orientations as determinants of the process of leaving home. Before we test the hypotheses in a multivariate event-history design, the following graphs give a first visual impression of the process. In Figs. 9.3 and 9.4 the time-axis has been rescaled, so that the starting point of the process is the tenth birthday. Move-out events taking place before the tenth birthday have been excluded from the data.

Fig. 9.3 compares the process of moving out between natives and Turkish immigrants. Compared with native Germans, already in younger ages Turkish immigrants move out slower, that is, before the median age of 20 years. Subsequently, the process even accelerates in the German sample more than in the Turkish one, so the Wilcoxon-Test is highly significant (χ^2 (df = 1) = 191.6, p<.000). The same is true for the four survivor functions depicted in Fig. 9.4. Again, native Germans

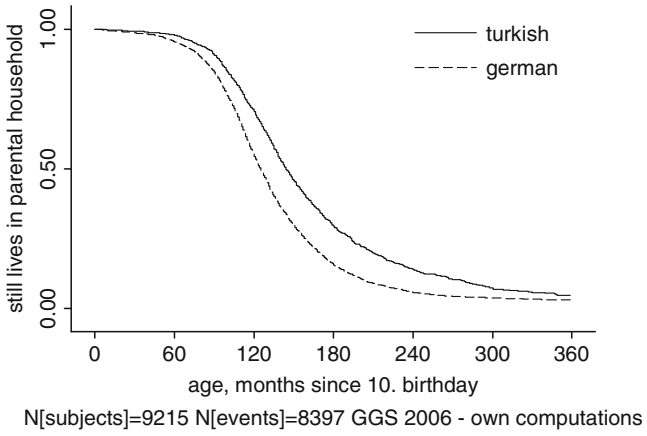

Fig. 9.3 Leaving home, by ethnic group

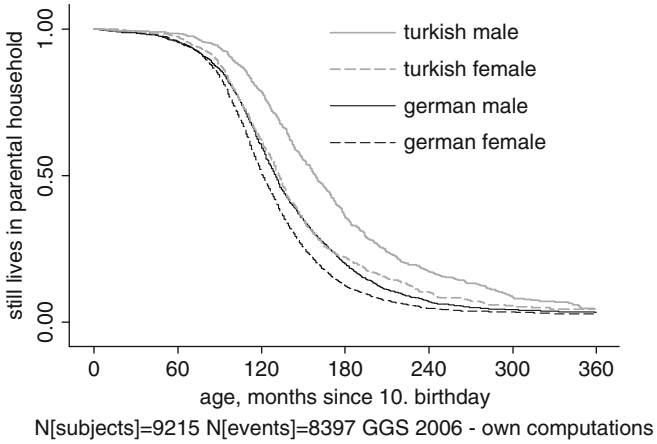

Fig. 9.4 Leaving home, by ethnic group & gender

move out faster than Turkish immigrants, but there are also gender differences. In both groups, women move out earlier than men, which probably results from their younger age of marriage.

Although the obvious strength of presenting Kaplan-Meier survivor functions lies in the clear illustration of the process for different subgroups, the obvious shortcoming is, on the other hand, their limitation in controlling for intervening life-events (but see Billari 2001; Kley and Huinink 2006). As a result, multivariate event-history models will be estimated in order to highlight the relevance of linked life-events and the interaction effects of the marriage period and norm orientations on the process of leaving home. In the first two columns of Table 9.1 effects of Cox Regressions are shown for Turkish immigrants and native Germans. Columns

Table 9.1 Determinants of leaving parental home, cox regression models, relative risk ratios

	Turkish	German	Turkish male	German male	Turkish female	German female
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.954	1.032	1.07	1.005	0.964	1.048
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.983	1.005	0.966	0.924	1.022	1.074
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.162	1.101*	1.256	1.00	1.091	1.180**
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960, older)	0.963	1.136**	0.873	0.966	1.086	1.324***
Female gender	1.312***	1.121***				
Crowding (no. of siblings)	1.015	1.049***	1.055*	1.059***	0.977	1.039***
Low education	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Medium education	0.824**	0.951	0.853	0.96	0.753**	0.932+
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	0.806*	1.049	0.884	1.076	0.663*	1.016
Parents: no employment	0.670*	0.97	0.791	0.921	0.591*	0.988
Parents: blue collar working class	0.701***	0.908**	0.778+	0.905*	0.611***	0.904*
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.859	0.955	0.951	0.946	0.78	0.963
Parents: white collar, civil servants, professionals	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Born in Germany	Reference		Reference		Reference	
Age immigration: 0–10 years	1.107	–	1.033	–	1.167	–
Age immigration: 11–17 years	1.199+	–	1.029	–	1.423*	–
Age immigration: 18+ years	0.612***	–	0.559***	–	0.690*	–

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

	Turkish	German	Turkish male	German male	Turkish female	German female
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	1.069	1.013	1.136	1.090+	1.048	0.968
Marriage period (−6/+ 6 month)	12.177***	7.895***	8.252***	8.000***	17.055***	7.812***
Birth 1st child period (−6/+ 6 month)	2.733***	1.862***	2.610***	1.967***	2.746***	1.833***
Training/HE, end school (−2/+36 month)	1.094	1.359***	1.008	1.288***	1.164	1.404***
Trad. attitude toward marriage	0.920*	0.921***	0.967	0.965	0.812**	0.877***
Trad. attitude toward marriage * marriage period	0.978	1.096*	0.877	1.135+	1.192*	1.078
Religiosity	0.959	0.875***	0.932	0.864***	0.993	0.882***
Religiosity * marriage period	1.165*	1.297***	1.234+	1.231***	1.122	1.333***
Sub-episodes	5,468	20,570	3,029	9,258	2,439	11,312
Subjects	1,653	7,193	894	3,312	759	3,881
Events	1,239	6,819	643	3,092	596	3,727
Ll null model	−8089.17	−54307.0	−3787.30	−22240.78	−3438.45	−27361.25
Ll	−7296.36	−52766.3	−3539.49	−21658.40	−2895.28	−26425.90

+p < =.10; *p < =.05; **p < =.01; ***p < =.001

3–6 show the results of models estimated separately for Turkish and German males as well as for Turkish and German females. At the first sight, cohort effects suggest a clear pattern in the native German sample, but no systematic pattern in the Turkish sample. However, estimating the models separately for gender reveals that German women are the only group in which we find a clear pattern of an accelerating move-out process. The younger the cohort of native German women is, the earlier they leave their parents' home. In the first two models we find a positive effect of female gender on the move-out rate, which is in line with the survivor functions in Fig. 9.4, showing faster transitions for German and Turkish women. In all models, also the number of siblings has been controlled as a rough indicator of household "crowding",[2] that is, many persons share only a limited number of rooms. Surprisingly, crowding increases the move-out rate only in the native German sample, but not in the Turkish sample, although the average number of siblings amounts 1.8 for Germans and 3.3 for Turkish immigrants. If crowding indicates an objective need to move-out due to resource scarcity (room at home), we would expect significant positive effects in both samples, and not only for native Germans. A comparison of the crowding effect between Turkish men and women reveals a gendered pattern. Crowding significantly accelerates the move-out process for Turkish men, but not for Turkish women. Obviously there are other factors in the Turkish sample, especially for Turkish women, which are more relevant than crowding. In addition, we find effects of respondents' education in the Turkish, but not in the German sample. The move-out process decelerates in the Turkish sample with increasing level of education. Again, this pattern is strongly gendered since these effects are significant only for Turkish women, but not for Turkish men. Turkish women stay at home longer if they pursue a higher level of education. Explaining this effect by economic resources only is not comprehensive since the same should be true for Turkish men as well. Hence, there might be other factors which could explain this gendered pattern.

Regarding social background in terms of parental occupational status when the respondent was at the age of 15, we find that working class children move out later than children of white collar, professional, or civil-servant parents, which holds also for most subgroups. With respect to the age of immigration in the Turkish sample the pattern is not clear. Respondents who immigrated at the age of 18 or older have the lowest rates of leaving home, which might indicate a selective subgroup of children who immigrated with their parents in late adolescence.

More interesting than this control variable are the effects of intervening life events. During the *training/HE* period we find significantly increased move-out rates in the German sample, even if we estimate the models separately for men and women. In contrast, there is no effect of training for Turks, neither for men nor for women.

[2]This indicator is limited insofar as we only know the number of siblings in the data, but not how many of these siblings were still living in the parental household when the respondent decides to move out. See, in addition, the conclusion section of this paper.

Before we analyze the results of marriage on leaving home recall that more than 90% of all marriages in the Turkish sample are intra-ethnic. The *marriage period* strongly increases the move-out rate in all subgroups. However, the first two columns show a much stronger effect in the Turkish group (factor 12 vs. factor 8). This means first, that the linking of life events – in this case marriage and leaving parental home – matters for Germans as well as for Turkish immigrants, but it is much more important for Turkish immigrants. Further, gender differences with respect to the strength of this effect are only marginal in the German sample, but remarkably strong in the Turkish sample. During the marriage period, the move-out rate increases by factor 17 for Turkish women, but only by factor 8 for Turkish men. Accordingly, the linking of life-events is much more important for Turkish women, whereas Turkish men do not notably differ from German men and women.

Moreover, there are also effects of norm orientations. A traditional attitude towards marriage decreases the move-out rate, but gender specific models reveal that this holds only for women. In addition, there is also an interaction effect indicating that during the marriage period the negative effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage is significantly diminished, that is, traditional attitudes are less decelerating during the marriage period of Germans. Gender specific models show an effect for German men (significant at the 10% level only) and Turkish women. Only in the latter group, the main effect of traditional attitudes is significant.

Regarding the models in the first two columns of Table 9.1, there is a negative main effect of religiosity on the move-out rate only in the German sample, but a positive interaction with the marriage period in both samples. While there is a negative main effect and a positive interaction effect for German males and females, we only have a slightly significant positive interaction of religiosity and the marriage period for Turkish males. More religious Germans move out later, but this deceleration is diminished during periods of marriage, which again fits well into the framework of linked life-events on the basis of normative bonding.

In sum, we get strong evidence of linked-life events both for Turkish immigrants and native Germans. However, in the Turkish sample we find large gender differences in the strength of the impact of marriage on leaving home. Similarly, also the interaction effect between traditional attitudes towards marriage and the marriage period seems to be more gender specific in the Turkish sample.

Competing-risk Cox Regression models are presented in Table 9.2. The event of leaving home was split up into move-outs without marriage, and move-outs with marriage. Again, "at the same time" means not a perfect synchronicity of marriage and move-out, but a time interval of +/− 6 months around the date of marriage. In the first two columns of Table 9.2 we find parameter estimates for the pooled sample, columns 4–6 show estimates for Turkish immigrants and native Germans separately.

Regarding the pooled analysis, we find interesting birth-cohort effects. While there is no clear trend in effects on move-outs without marriage, the rate of moving-out with marriage tends to decrease in younger cohorts. We gain interesting insights by estimating these models separately for both groups. In the Turkish sample, there is no significant trend over cohorts, neither for move-outs with nor for

Table 9.2 Leaving parental home with and without marriage, competing risk cox regression models, relative risk ratios

	Without marriage	With marriage	Turkish without marriage	Turkish with marriage	German without marriage	German with marriage
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.097*	0.591***	1.112	1.014	1.058	0.559***
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.070	0.517***	0.976	1.101	1.050	0.393***
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.194***	0.599***	1.228	1.438*	1.156**	0.268***
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960, older)	1.116**	0.444***	0.977	0.954	1.181***	0.154***
Female gender	1.050+	2.213***	1.01	3.395***	1.077*	1.821***
Turkish	0.506***	1.820***	–	–	–	–
Crowding (no. of siblings)	1.054***	1.005	1.029	1.001	1.058***	1.014
Low education	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Medium education	0.927*	0.919	0.705***	0.877	0.968	0.976
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	1.029	0.626***	0.733*	0.597**	1.084*	0.650***
Parents: no employment	0.93	0.955	0.631*	0.529+	0.958	1.012
Parents: blue collar working class	0.858***	1.205**	0.579***	0.974	0.882***	1.141+
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.951	0.91	0.770+	1.163	0.969	0.907
Parents: white collar, civil servants, Professionals	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	1.045	0.916	1.033	0.592**	1.026	0.951

(continued)

Table 9.2 (continued)

	Without marriage	With marriage	Turkish without marriage	Turkish with marriage	German without marriage	German with marriage
Born in Germany	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference	Reference
Age immigration: 0–10 years			1.212+	1.536***		
Age immigration: 11–17 years			1.262+	1.583**		
Age immigration: 18+ years			0.629**	0.585**		
Birth 1st child (−6/+ 6 month)	2.614***	5.393***	3.963***	1.368	2.279***	7.286***
Training/HE: end school (−2/+36 month)	1.376***	0.720**	1.067	0.746+	1.394***	0.745*
Trad. attitude toward marriage	0.975	1.162***	0.939	1.139+	0.975	1.292***
Trad. attitude toward marriage * female	0.874***	0.921	0.831*	0.947	0.889***	0.780***
Religiosity	0.872***	1.081+	0.915	1.349**	0.871***	1.071
Religiosity * female	1.024	0.997	1.087	0.933	1.021	0.966
Sub-episodes	26,210	26,210	5,468	5,468	20,570	20,570
Subjects	8,912	8,912	1,653	1,653	7,193	7,193
Events	6,421	1,694	727	512	5,644	1,175
Ll null	−53065.23	13395.70	−4706.10	−3383.06	−45440.62	−8866.46
Ll	−52543.40	−12878.07	−4626.56	−3245.384	−45176.93	−8388.189

+p < =.10; *p < =.05; **p < =.01; ***p < =.001

Table 9.3 Sequence patterns of life events, by ethnic group, in percent

Sequence pattern	Turkish	German	Total
Marriage → move → child	38.16	15.60	20.01
Marriage → child → move	25.83	10.04	13.13
Child → marriage → move	5.22	4.40	4.56
Child → move → marriage	2.22	2.99	2.84
Move → child → marriage	7.31	19.82	17.37
Move → marriage → child	21.27	47.14	42.09
	100.00	100.00	100.00
	N = 1,533	N = 6,313	N = 7,846

Source: GGS 2006, own calculations

move-outs without marriage. Not in line with considerations from individualization and modernization theory, there is even a positive effect on move-outs with marriage in the Turkish cohort 1971–1975. Even if the reference group of Turkish immigrants born in 1960 or earlier, and migrating to Germany together with their parents, might be a special group, there is not any systematic trend among the other cohorts. In the native German sample, on the other hand, we observe higher move-out rates without marriage in younger cohorts. The complementary side of this process is the steady decrease of move-out rates with marriage over the succeeding cohorts. While we observe a clear and steady process of individualization in the native German sample, indicated by a trend of "de-linking" of life events, such trend did not take place in the group of Turkish immigrants.

In the pooled analysis of Table 9.2, the effect of being Turkish immigrant is highly significant. Compared with native Germans, being a Turkish immigrant decreases the move-out rate without marriage by factor 0.50. Complementary to this, in the group of Turkish immigrants the risk of moving out with marrying at the same time increased by factor 1.82.

Once again, this corroborates the result far from Table 9.1 that the life events *marriage* and *leaving parental home* are much more closely linked in the Turkish sample, which can be interpreted as an indicator of a higher degree of normative bonding in this group. The positive effect of crowding found in the pooled analysis in columns one and two of Table 9.2 for move-outs without marriage turns out to be significant in the native German sample in Table 9.3, but not in the Turkish one. Results of the competing risk models are also striking with regard to respondents' educational levels. In the native German group, *high education* (compared with the reference group *low education*) corresponds with higher rates of leaving home without marriage, and leads at the same time to lower rates of leaving home with marriage. This is consistent with what I expected since highly educated respondents often postpone marriage and move out in order to complete tertiary education or other forms of higher education. However, although higher education decreases move-out rates with marriage in the Turkish group, it decelerates move-outs without marriage as well, which means that, contrarily to native Germans, leaving home cannot be considered as an instrument to pursue higher education in the Turkish group.

In both groups, children of blue collar working class parents have lower rates of leaving home than children of higher qualified parents in the reference group. But only native German blue-collar working-class children show slightly increased risks of leaving home with marriage (significant at the 10% level only). Moreover, aside from occupational status, also a high educational level of parents' has an impact, which significantly reduces the risk of leaving home with marriage only in the Turkish sample by factor 0.59. Regarding the low educational levels of Turkish immigrants in Germany (Diefenbach 2007), highly educated Turkish parents might be a special group, which is somewhat different from other Turkish immigrants in values and norm orientations, and that does not strictly follow the norms of linked life events. It is striking, at least, that a highly qualified parental background makes a difference with respect to linked life events in the Turkish sample, but not in the native German one – indicating that the "cultural" difference between the highly educated and others seems to be more pronounced in the Turkish group.

In the pooled sample in columns one and two of Table 9.2, birth of the first child strongly increases both competing risks, but the effect on moving out in conjunction with marriage is much higher (factor 2.6 vs. factor 5.39), which is consistent with common expectations: quite often, the events of marriage and birth of the first child are closely linked to each other. Yet, we find this pattern only in the native German sample, where it occurs in an even more pronounced way (factor 2.27 vs. factor 7.28), but not in the Turkish sample. For Turkish immigrants, the birth of the first child increases the move-out rate without marriage by factor 3.96. That is, the first child has a strongly positive effect *outside* the marriage period, but not inside. Once more, this is a striking difference between natives and Turkish immigrants. We have to recall the coding of both variables in order to understand this result: the period "birth of the first child" is measured as a 1 year interval, with the date of birth as a midpoint. The same logic was applied for defining the marriage period and the competing risks. Giving birth to the first child during the marriage period and moving out at the same time is only likely if conception occurred while the respondent lived unmarried with his or her parents. What we observe in the Turkish sample is a high probability of child-birth after the 1 year marriage period has elapsed. Hence, the insignificant effect of child birth on leaving home in conjunction with marriage in the Turkish sample might result from the fact that pre-marital conceptions rarely occur and the first child is not born before or during the marriage and move-out period, but in most cases afterwards. This is a remarkable difference between native Germans and Turkish immigrants. This might possibly be a result of higher degrees of social control and more traditional norm orientations in Turkish families, which were in line with the arguments given in the theoretical section. I will come back to this point below.

Regarding the remaining effects of the competing risk models in Table 9.2, we could expect that the training period has a positive effect on the rate of leaving home without marriage in the pooled analysis, and a negative effect on the rate of leaving home with marriage. While the negative effects on move-outs with marriage are nearly identical for Turkish immigrants and Germans, the positive effect on moving

out without marriage is not significant and less pronounced in the Turkish group. Hence, moving out in order to pursue educational ambitions is more prevalent in the German sample and it seems that Turkish immigrants arrange their training or higher education with being still under the direct parental supervision by their parents.

Finally, effects of norm orientations and religiosity on the competing risks of moving out as well as their interaction with gender have been estimated. We find that the main effects of traditional attitudes towards marriage, which represents the effect for men,[3] show a similar pattern, even if it is stronger in the native German sample. As expected, it increases the rate of leaving parental home in conjunction with marriage and slightly decreases move-out rates without marriage, even though the latter effects are insignificant in both samples. For Turkish females, the negative effect becomes significant, that is, the decelerating effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage on moving out without marriage and the avoidance of pre-marital residential autonomy seems to be more important for Turkish women than for Turkish men. On the other hand, the effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage does not significantly differ between Turkish men and women regarding move-outs with marriage. We find similar gender-specific patterns in the native German group. However, the accelerating main effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage on move-outs with marriage is countered by the significant negative interaction effect for females. From this it follows that traditional orientations of German women reduce move-out rates in general, which is in line with the results of Table 9.1.

In addition, since the interaction of religiosity and female gender is not significant and always close to one in both cases, we do not find gendered patterns of the effect of religiosity on rates of leaving home, neither in the Turkish nor in the native German group. The higher religiosity is, the higher is the move-out rate with marriage in the Turkish group, while the corresponding effect on move-outs without marriage is not significant. We find a different result in the native German sample, where high religiosity reduces move-out rates without marriage and has no significant impact on move-out rates with marriage. This means that religiosity decelerates the overall move-out process in the German sample, whereas it increases normative bonding in the Turkish sample, which is indicated by the fact that more religious Turkish immigrants tend more to move-outs in conjunction with marriage.

A closer look at the frequency distribution of life-course *sequences* in Table 9.3 corroborates the result presented above, that pre-marital conceptions rarely occurs in the Turkish sample. I used the "sequence concept" of Sackmann and Wingens (2003), which includes an origin state, a destination state, and an intermediate state that can function as a "bridge" between origin and destination state. We find considerable differences between sequences of Turkish and native German respondents. 38.16% of the Turkish group, but only 15.60% in the German group,

[3]This is because in the interaction term $exp(\beta[attitude] + \gamma[female] + \delta[attitude*female])$, only $exp(\beta\ [attitude])$ remains if the dummy $female = 0$.

follow a "*traditional*" sequence of marrying first, then moving out and finally giving birth to the first child. Similarly, 25.83% of Turkish respondents show a sequence indicating *close bonds to the family* even after marriage: first they marry, give birth to the first child and move out afterwards. Respectively, the share of this pattern in the German group is only 10%. Moreover, shares of the sequence *child first* and the two other life-events coming afterwards occur rather rarely in both groups. Finally, two patterns of pre-marital residential autonomy (Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1993) are far more important in the German sample, namely sequences starting with leaving parental home, giving birth to the first child and marriage (7.31% vs. 19.28%), as well sequences starting with leaving parental home, marriage and giving birth to the first child (21.27% vs. 47.14%). Nearly 70% of the native German population (19.82% + 47.14%) had a sequence including a period of pre-marital residential autonomy, while the corresponding share in the Turkish sample is around 28% only. Accordingly, the sequence pattern of detachment from parental home is very different in the population of Turkish immigrants, where periods of pre-marital residential autonomy are rather an exception than the norm.

9.4 Summary and Conclusion

By pointing to the specific situation of immigrants in the host country and ties to the own ethnic community, but also to differences in culture between Turkish immigrants and native Germans especially in values and norms, I argued that the degree of normative bonding should differ between both groups. Political and cultural differences between Germany and Turkey evolved over a period of several 100 years and value change in Germany was quite dynamic in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet, it is not clear whether these different religious, cultural and political developments are responsible for the observed differences in religion as well as in family-related values and norms. Nonetheless, empirical results in the existing literature and also the results of the Gender and Generations Survey in the present article draw a clear picture: Turkish immigrants and native Germans differ significantly in religiosity and attitudes towards marriage. A descriptive overview has shown that also processes of leaving parental home differ between both groups, and show gender-specific patterns as well. However, the net effect of attitudes towards marriage and religiosity appeared to be more pronounced in the native German sample in models controlling for the impact of the marriage-period on leaving home. Although there are still effects of attitudes toward marriage on the rate of leaving home in the Turkish group, most of their predictive power seems to be captured by the strong effect of the marriage period. The impact of marriage on leaving home is very strong and also gender-specific in the Turkish sample, whereas we find negligible gender differences for native Germans. During the marriage period, risks of leaving home are increased by factor 17 in the group of Turkish women, while all other groups have risk ratios around factor 8. This

is one of the most striking results of this article. It does indeed indicate cultural differences between natives and Turkish immigrants. One could argue, however, that strong effects of the marriage period on the event of moving out reveal mainly economic differences between natives and Turkish immigrants. But if economic differences were still effective even after controlling for parental occupational status and education, it would be still an open question why this pattern is gender-specific. Here I argued that differences in marriage-related norms, but also religiosity could explain rates of leaving home. Results indeed corroborated this expectation. Overall, more traditional norm orientations decelerate rates of leaving home in both groups, and show also gender-specific patterns. On the other hand, the effects of marriage on leaving home did not disappear after controlling for religiosity and marriage-related norms. Thus, the linking of life events is not simply a result of norms and values, as measured in this article. Nonetheless, I also found significant interaction effects, indicating that the decelerating effect of high religiosity was counterbalanced during the marriage period for Turkish and German men, German women, but not for Turkish women. In contrast, only in the subsample of Turkish women we found the decelerating effect of traditional attitudes towards marriage be diminished during the marriage period. This means that linked-life events due to traditional attitudes toward marriage are especially important for Turkish women, whose move-out processes are affected by this norm orientation, which unfolds its impact particularly during the period of marriage.

In addition, also the effect of periods of (first) training or first higher education differs between Turkish immigrants and native Germans. It considerably increases move-out rates for German men and women, but does not have any effect in the Turkish group. Accordingly, for native Germans education is a good reason to leave home, but not for Turkish immigrants. Turks seem to arrange their educational biographies in a way that allows them to stay at home and possibly subordinate their educational aspirations to the needs or expectations of their family. A similar pattern is suggested with respect to the effects of crowding. Although crowding indicates an objective need to reduce room scarcity at home by moving out, it has no effect in the Turkish group, but it significantly increases move-out rates of native Germans – even though the average number of siblings is much higher for Turks!

Finally, competing risks models for rates of leaving home with and without marriage revealed striking cohort effects: while rates of moving out in conjunction with marriage steadily decreased over German birth-cohorts, indicating an ongoing process of "de-linking" of life events and individualization, we did not find analogous processes in the sample of Turkish immigrants. In contrast, the Turkish birth-cohort 1971–75 even showed higher rates of leaving home with marriage than the reference group and all other cohorts (which did not significantly differ from the reference group).

Obviously, the empirical analyses in this paper suffer from at least two shortcomings: First, measurements of value orientations are only cross-sectional. This requires the assumption of stable value orientations over the life-course – which cannot be tested by using this data set. Secondly, some measurements are only

proxy-indicators. For instance, the number of siblings as an indicator of crowding is not perfect since it does not take into account the number of rooms or the housing space right before the move-out event. These problems can only be dissolved by using large household panel data proving time-varying measurements.

Aside from these objections, results seem to be in line with the concepts of linked-life events and normative bonding. It might be debatable whether the process of leaving home is a good indicator of acculturation and assimilation or not, but there are clearly remarkable differences between both groups, especially with regard to the gender-specific patterns. In the sample of Turkish immigrants', individualization and "de-structuring", or "de-linking" of life-events, did not take place in the same way as it did for native Germans. Thus, empirical results provided evidence that family-related processes still differ between both groups – and the considerations outlined in the theoretical section possibly make a contribution to explain these differences.

9.A.1 Appendix

Table 9.A.1 Items indicating traditional attitudes towards marriage (−) and religiosity (−)

Traditional attitudes towards marriage
Marriage is an outdated institution.
It is alright for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in marriage.
Marriage is a lifetime relationship and should never be ended. (+)
It is alright for a couple with an unhappy marriage to get a divorce even if they have children.
Cronbach's Alpha = 0.6380
Religiosity
How often, if at all, do you attend religious services, e.g. collective prayers?
It is important for an infant to be registered/baptized in an appropriate religious ceremony.
It is important for couples who marry in public registry offices to have a religious wedding too.
It is important for a funeral to include a religious ceremony.
Cronbach's Alpha = 0.7892

Table 9.A.2 Descriptive statistics of event-history models

	Mean	sd	Min	Max
Subepispodes with event	0.310	0.462	0	1
Birth cohort 1961–65 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.120	0.325	0	1
Birth cohort 1966–70 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.110	0.313	0	1
Birth cohort 1971–75 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.095	0.293	0	1
Birth cohort 1976–88 (ref.: 1960 and older)	0.192	0.394	0	1
Turkish	0.209	0.406	0	1
Female gender	0.528	0.499	0	1
No. of siblings	2.153	1.848	0	17
Low education	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Medium education	0.365	0.481	0	1
High education, (Fach-Abitur)	0.202	0.402	0	1
Parents: no employment (1)	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Parents: blue collar working class (1)	0.036	0.186	0	1
Parents: peasants, self-employed	0.424	0.494	0	1
Parents: white collar, civil servants, professionals (1)	0.123	0.328	0	1
Parents: abitur, master craftsmen, academic (ref.: other)	0.210	0.407	0	1
Marriage period (+/− 6 Mon.)	0.101	0.302	0	1
Birth 1st child period (+/− 6 Mon.)	0.043	0.203	0	1
Training period, end school −2/+36 Mon	0.315	0.464	0	1
Born in Germany	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age immigration: 0–10 years	0.050	0.219	0	1
Age immigration: 11–17 years	0.042	0.200	0	1
Age immigration: 18+ years	0.027	0.161	0	1
Trad. attitude towards marriage	−0.097	0.954	−2.404	2.792
Trad. attitude towards marriage * marriage period	0.019	0.308	−2.404	2.792
Religiosity	−0.057	1.011	−2.056	1.757
Religiosity * marriage period	0.014	0.318	−2.056	1.757

N Subepisodes = 26209, N Persons = 8912, N Events = 8115

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