

**Marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland:
Exploring the causes and the consequences for women and men**

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Abstract: Partner choice of second generation of Turkish origin reflects strong ties maintained between migrant populations in Europe and the place of origin, cultural and traditional norms, economic and socio-demographic situations in Turkey and in the host countries. A preliminary analysis on marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland revealed the high prevalence of “having a newcomer spouse” (i.e. marriages with partner living in Turkey) for second generation men (38.6 percent) and women (37.5 percent). Behind these figures, there is still a need to 1) further investigate the trends regarding family formation behaviour of second generation with a special focus on marriage migration; and 2) model this behaviour in the light of variables such as education, age at arrival and place of residence. Data from Swiss Census 2000 and Central Aliens Register is used for trend and multivariate analysis. Results will be interpreted with the help of qualitative information resulting from in-depth interviews.

Introduction:

People from Turkey² represent, from the 1970s’ on, one of the main groups of migrants in Switzerland. The number of Turkish citizens living in Switzerland with a residence permit raised from 43,000 in 1982 to 74,000 in 2006: according to the Central Aliens Register, no less than 105,000 migrants from Turkey entered the country since 1982, as at the same time the registered number of births for this group was of 38,000.

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² In the text, “migrants/people from Turkey” is generally used in order to include all the ethnicities in Turkey. When “Turkish” is used, it strictly refers to nationality not the ethnicity.

This important flow and the increase of duration of stay were factors explaining the increase in the number of members of the second generation of Turkish origin³.

Migration from Turkey both shows divergences and similarities. Significant differences are observed among migrant communities from Turkey residing in Switzerland with respect to, in particular, their motive of migration (including labour migration, asylum seeking and family reunification, Fibbi et al., 2004). However, networks and personal ties maintained with non-migrants in the place of origin are observed to be an important and common characteristic of these communities and a mean that provoke the chain migration. This mainly resulted in closed communities where first migrants arrived in Switzerland either with a work permit or for asylum, and once installed support the migration and decreased the instalment costs of relatives and fellow townsmen. This trend is expected to have increased with the barriers of migration implemented in host countries, particularly in Switzerland where labour migration is strongly limited.

Partner choice/marriage behaviour of children of Turkish immigrants may reflect not only the above mentioned strong ties, but also cultural and traditional norms, economic and socio-demographic situations in Turkey and Switzerland and overall expectations on the formation of a social institution, marriage, in the context of migration. “For marriages in migrant communities much more is at stake than just love or the ambition to establish a harmonious household; it is often about the possibility of entering promised land, about economic and social benefits for the family of the one who is marrying and moving to Europe, about reviving the bonds with region of origin, about loyalties and debts between families who wish to improve their socio-economic position and about young people that are dissatisfied with their current situation in the society” (Timmerman, 2008).

Among the alternative family formation of second generation, “having a newcomer spouse” is a strategy which can lead to secondary migration of a partner. This choice of partner deserves more attention due to its integration implications in terms of culture and labour market participation.

In this context, this paper aims at 1) further describing the family formation of second generation and partner choice with a special focus on marriage migration; and 2) modelling the behaviour regarding the choice of partner in the light of variables such as education, work status, age at arrival and place of residence. This will provide a better understanding of the motives of marriage behaviour of second generation. In our attempt to understand the cause and effect relations, this study employs international migration/network theory and theories on intermarriage as theoretical framework⁴. Moreover, all the above hypotheses can only be verified and deeply understood if accompanied by qualitative approach.

³ Second generation is defined as youth of Turkish origin born or scholarized in Switzerland.

⁴ Swiss Census 2000 data and data from Central Aliens register are used for trend and multivariate analysis. For further information on data, please see Topgul and Wanner (2008).

Newcomer partner choice of second generation and possible factors affecting this choice:

A preliminary analysis of the 2000 Census data regarding marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland revealed the high prevalence of the phenomenon for the second generation (Topgül and Wanner, 2008). Among the alternative partner choice behaviour, having a newcomer spouse was found to be the most common one of second generation men (38.6 percent) and women (37.5 percent) (table 1). Moreover, according to Swiss Central Aliens Register, among the other reasons, subsequent immigration of the spouse constitutes the reason for almost half of the immigrants from Turkey to Switzerland in the period of 2002-2004.

Table 1 displays the overall picture regarding the partner choice of second generation men and women and its change with the year of marriage. Percent of marriage migrants among alternative partner choices seem to be stable for both women and men; four out of ten married second generation chose their partners from Turkey. Otherwise, it is difficult to talk about a trend in terms of type of union except an increase in Swiss spouse of men and second generation spouse of women in the last five year period.

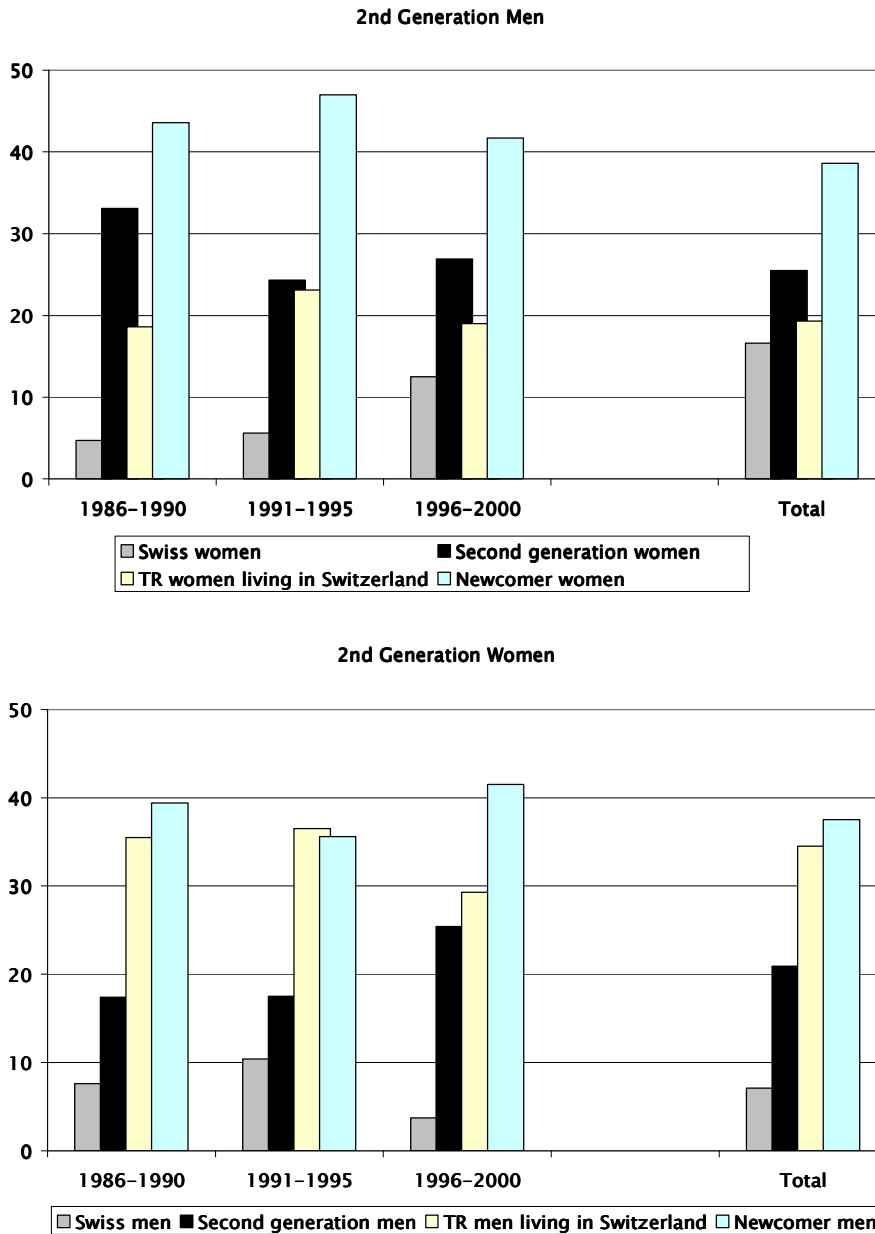
Table 1: Partner choice of second generation men and women of Turkish origin and its change according to year of marriage, 1981-2000

TYPE OF UNION	1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	TOTAL
2nd generation man with					
A Swiss woman	(8.3)	4.7	5.6	12.5	16.6
A 2 nd generation woman	(41.7)	33.1	24.3	26.9	25.5
A woman from Turkey living in Switzerland	(29.2)	18.6	23.1	19.0	19.3
A newcomer woman	(20.8)	43.6	47.0	41.7	38.6
N=	(24)	172	338	506	1167
SECOND GENERATION WOMAN with					
A Swiss man	6.3	7.6	10.4	3.7	7.1
A 2 nd generation man	15.6	17.4	17.5	25.4	20.9
A man from Turkey living in Switzerland	51.6	35.5	36.5	29.3	34.5
A newcomer man	26.6	39.4	35.6	41.5	37.5
N=	64	327	469	535	1425

Source: Swiss Census 2000.

Note: "Total" column includes all types of union, either marriage or cohabitation; whereas, the year of marriage is only available for married couples.

Figure 1: Partner choice of second generation men and women and its change according to year of marriage



Source: Swiss Census 2000.

In a preliminary study, partner choice of second generation is observed to vary with the educational attainment of both partners (Topgul and Wanner, 2008). The results of descriptive analysis implied a possible correlation and underlined a significant gender difference in nuptiality behaviour of second generation with respect to some individual (education, naturalization) and family characteristics (household composition, religion).

Furthermore, Lievens' (1999) hypothesis, stating that the immigrant women with higher chance of integration- with higher education level and/or who are economically active- may involve in traditional marriages to avoid their own and in-law parents' pressure, is partially confirmed in Switzerland with this analysis. Possible explanations include higher family/society pressure on women from Turkey regardless of their education/employment status, which may be connected to chain migration and consequential close community life of immigrants from Turkey. Yet, in order to explain and verify this hypothesis, different (decision making) mechanisms should be studied for men and women. Expectations and experiences may not necessarily match all the time.

In an individual point of view, some consequences of marriage migration may be negative, with in particular difficulties in (structural) integration. In general, the negative sides of this choice are more severe for women (varying for second generation and newcomer) compared to men. According to Timmerman (2006), "female newcomers in particular find themselves completely dependent on their husband and/or his family since their traditionally dependent role is enhanced by their lack of knowledge of the host society". From newcomer men perspective, there may be a disappointment when they cannot assure their patriarchal roles, as breadwinners, in the family due to barriers they face in the host country. These possible consequences are one of the reasons why, in this paper, special attention is given to the newcomer spouses, to marriage migration, among alternative partner choices of second generation.

Describing background characteristics of newcomers:

In the attempt to understand/explain the "marriage migration", it is important to explore some background characteristics of newcomers from Turkey⁵. These characteristics include age at marriage, year of arrival, religion, place of residence in Switzerland (urban or rural area), education and employment status.

According to Swiss Census 2000, eight out of ten marriage migrants (both women and men) arrived in Switzerland in the 1990s; half arriving in the period of 1996-2000 when Switzerland strengthened the conditions of immigration. In 2000, half of the newcomer women were in the youngest age category (less than 25) while half of the men were in their (early) thirties. Majority of the newcomers got married before their 25th birthday; almost all women and seven out of ten men. This pattern in age at marriage is in some extent similar to one observed among second generation of Turkish origin, both in terms of gender difference and high prevalence of early marriages.

In parallel to higher concentration of immigrants from Turkey in German-speaking part of Switzerland, majority of the newcomers live in this linguistic area. Moreover, in line with the dominant religion in Turkey, majority of women (92 percent) and men (90.5 percent) are Muslims.

⁵ "Newcomer spouses from Turkey" refers to the Turkish citizens (born in Turkey) who arrived in Switzerland at the year of marriage or one year later.

Table 2: Background characteristics of newcomer spouses

		Women	Men
Year of arrival to Switzerland	1982-1990	15.3	24.9
	1991-1995	33.8	30.1
	1996-2000	50.9	45.0
Age at marriage	-17	26.0	1.9
	18-20	46.9	18.7
	21-23	19.6	36.8
	24-25	4.9	23.9
	26+	2.7	18.7
Current age (in 2000)	<25	48.2	16.6
	25-29	36.2	37.9
	30+	15.6	45.4
Place of residence in Switzerland	German speaking urban	30.4	29.5
	German speaking rural	23.6	21.9
	Zurich	32.2	29.9
	Basel	8.9	14.2
	French/Italian speaking	4.9	4.5
Religion	Muslim	92.0	90.5
	Non-Muslim	8.0	9.5
Highest achieved level of education	No education	21.6	12.9
	Compulsory	48.7	48.0
	Upper secondary	14.7	17.8
	Tertiary	4.7	9.3
	Missing	10.4	12.0
Current economic activity	Unemployed	21.8	7.1
	Working	44.7	89.2
	Inactive due to household tasks	21.6	0.6
	Inactive due to other reasons	12.0	3.2
N=		450	535

Source: Swiss Census 2000.

In terms of highest education level achieved (table 2), finishing compulsory education is found to be the main feature of the educational career of the marriage migrants from Turkey⁶. By definition, newcomers are most likely achieved their education, if any, in the country of origin. Thus, our observations are expected to be in line with the situation in Turkey. In deed, Tunali (1996) states that for a lot of people in Turkey obtaining a basic school diploma is the end of their educational career. Analysis from the 1990 Census of Turkey also suggested a high rate of drop out from the

⁶ Until August 1997 primary school was the only compulsory education and consisted of five years of training. In August 1997 the compulsory education was extended to eight years of basic education including the three years of middle school (Tansel, 2004). In our dataset, considering the age of newcomers (in 2000), we can assume that all of those who acquired an education level did so before the legislation change in 1997. Thus, compulsory education refers to primary school of 5 years.

educational track after graduation from the mandatory primary schooling (Tansel, 2004). Only 51 percent of the primary school graduates continued on to middle school in 1981 (TÜSIAD, 1990)⁷. Moreover, according to World Bank report in 1995⁸, sex ratio at the secondary schooling level in Turkey was only 64 females per hundred males in 1992.

Gender difference emerges in our analysis among newcomers without any achieved education and among those achieved a tertiary level (table 2). Concerning the former; percent of women (21.6 percent) is two times higher than of men (12.9 percent). A similar situation is observed in Turkey with regional disparities; UNICEF-Turkey⁹ (1994) specifically notes that the proportion of girls drops to 25–30 percent after third grade in the rural parts of Southeastern Turkey. Regarding the newcomers' achievement of a tertiary degree, gender difference turns to be in favour of men. 9.3 percent of the newcomer men has a university diploma; the figure doubling the one for the newcomer women (4.7 percent).

There is a clear cut gender difference in current economic activity. Among all newcomers, nine out of ten men are working while half of women do so. One fifth of women and 7 percent of the men are unemployed and one fifth is inactive due to performing tasks of their own households. On the other hand, one out of ten women is inactive due to other reasons; such as education, etc. There are very few economically inactive men among newcomers. It should be noted that this information on economic activity reflects the situation when the census was conducted in year 2000; unfortunately we do not have comprehensive information regarding the integration process of newcomers into the labour market. On the other hand, as half of the newcomers arrived in Switzerland in last five-year period prior to the census, the figures may give an idea about the economic status following the arrival for this group.

Explaining the factors affecting newcomer partner choice:

Logistic regression is employed to model the partner choice of second generation men and women of Turkish origin separately. Two choices are confronted: a newcomer partner or a second generation partner. Background and socio-demographic characteristics were used to reveal the cause and effect relations concerning partner choice of second generation in the framework of international migration/network theory and theories on intermarriage.

Contextual factors (group size, sex ratio, residential segregation, internal status diversity (religious diversity), socio-economic composition) and individual factors (education, religion, language skills, racial barriers, marriage year and gender) are used by Van Tubergen and Maas (2007) in their logistic regression models to explain ethnic endogamy/intermarriage among different ethnic groups in the Netherlands. This study is

⁷ Türkiye Sanayicileri ve Isadamları Dernegi (TÜSIAD). 1990. *Türkiye'de eğitim: Sorunlar ve degisime yapisal uyum önerileri*(Education in Turkey: Problems and proposals for structural adjustment to change). TÜSIAD, Istanbul.

⁸ World Bank. 1995. *World development report*. Oxford University Press, Washington, DC.

⁹ UNICEF-Turkey. 1994. *For a better child in Turkey, Turkey's mid-decade goals*. Adum-19/A. UNICEF-Turkey, Ankara.

a reference point for our analysis as studying intermarriage is the other side of the same story. However, as our primary interest is to investigate within group differences in partner choice behaviour, we concentrated on the individual factors and used variables such as place of birth, place of residence in Switzerland, naturalization before marriage, religion and education. Among these variables, “place of residence in Switzerland” implies information on group concentration and size of the migrant groups from Turkey in different parts of Switzerland; thus can be regarded as a contextual factor.

We grouped the factors as characteristics of second generation and socialization indicators:

- Characteristics of second generation

Age groups: less than 25, 25 to 29, more than and equal to 30.

Place of birth: Our definition of second generation includes also the people arrived in Switzerland at the maximum (completed) age of six if they were born in Turkey. Thus, we distinguished whether second generation were born in Switzerland or in Turkey.

Education: Highest achieved education level is used as an important indicator of social status of the second generation in the society.

Naturalization before marriage: Naturalized second generation may be expected to involve more in marriage migration in the periods of restrictive migration policies of the host countries. Second generation naturalized before marriage is studied with respect to those naturalized after marriage, not naturalized or ever married.

- Socialization indicators

Place of residence: In Switzerland migrant groups from Turkey are mainly located in the German-speaking part due to the primary immigration route to the country (through Germany). As a result, five geographical/linguistic categories (German speaking urban areas, German speaking rural areas, Zurich, Basel and French/Italian speaking areas) were developed combining the language spoken (German, French, Italian and Romans) and the metropolitan regions (Zurich, Geneva-Lausanne, Basel, Bern, Urban Ticino, Other urban communes, Rural communes). Place of residence can give us clues about the type of community: the group size/concentration/closeness and openness, and the socialization process of the second generation.

Religion: Religion, as an important aspect of culture and of society/family norms, is considered in the literature as a possible obstacle towards mixed marriages, especially Islam. In our sample, majority of second generation are Muslims. 14.3 percent of women and 13.2 percent of men do not belong to a religious affiliation. Remaining 3.3 percent of women and 0.9 percent of men are Christians.

Confidence in one of the Swiss languages: This information comes from a question regarding the language that respondents feel most confident with. Mentioning (or not) one of the Swiss languages (German, French, Italian or Romansh) is considered as an indicator of a different socialization process compared to being confident in language of country of origin.

- Additional factors

Year of marriage: This information is added in the models considering only married couples. Year is grouped (≤ 1990 , 1991-1995, 1996-2000) to see the effect of different periods regarding migration policies.

Model to explain partner choice of second generation (Model 1: including married couples and couples living together); “having a newcomer spouse” versus “intermarriage or endogamy in Turkish community in Switzerland”, is found to be significant both for men and women (see Hosmer & Lemeshow test¹⁰ in table 3).

Table 3: Logistic regression to model marriage migration (newcomer partner choice), Model 1

		2 nd Generation Women				2 nd Generation Men			
Age	≤ 24	1.4	{1.1	-1.9]	*	0.8	{0.6	-1.1]	
	25-29	1.0				1.0			
	30+	0.9	{0.7	-1.3]		0.8	{0.6	-1.1]	
Place of birth	Switzerland	1.0				1.0			
	Turkey	2.5	{1.9	-3.4]	***	2.6	{2.0	-3.5]	***
Highest achieved education level	no education	0.9	{0.5	-1.4]		0.9	{0.5	-1.6]	
	compulsory	1.0				1.0			
	upper secondary	1.0	{0.8	-1.4]		0.7	{0.5	-0.9]	**
	tertiary	0.9	{0.4	-2.0]		0.6	{0.3	-0.9]	*
	unknown	0.5	{0.3	-0.8]	**	0.3	{0.2	-0.5]	***
Place of residence	German speaking urban	1.3	{1.0	-1.8]	(*)	1.4	{1.0	-1.9]	(*)
	German speaking rural	1.7	{1.2	-2.5]	**	1.9	{1.3	-2.7]	**
	Zurich	1.0				1.0			
	Basel	1.2	{0.8	-1.7]		0.9	{0.6	-1.4]	
	French/Italian speaking	1.1	{0.6	-2.0]		1.3	{0.7	-2.5]	
Naturalized < marriage	yes	0.6	{0.4	-0.9]	*	1.0	{0.5	-2.0]	
	no	1.0				1.0			
Religion	Muslim	2.2	{1.5	-3.2]	***	2.2	{1.4	-3.2]	***
	no	1.0				1.0			
Swiss languages	yes	0.2	{0.1	-0.2]	***	0.7	{0.5	-1.0]	(*)
	no	1.0				1.0			
N=		1425				1167			
Hosmer & Lemeshow test (p value)		0.800				0.295			

¹⁰ Hosmer & Lemeshow test: a non-significant chi-square (when $p > 0.05$) indicates a good model fit; meaning that the actual and predicted values do not differ significantly.

Controlling for other variables, we found that younger women (aged less than 25) are more likely to be involved in marriage migration; which is not the case for men. For both second generation men and women, being born in Turkey increases the likelihood of choosing a newcomer partner (preventing intermarriage and endogamy in Turkish community in Switzerland). Higher education of men after compulsory schooling also affects their partner choice: the higher the education level the lower the marriage migration. This correlation is not observed for women. Being naturalized before marriage, women are less likely to choose a newcomer spouse.

In terms of socialization indicators, living in rural areas of German speaking Switzerland, compared to Zurich, increases the probability of having a newcomer spouse both for second generation men and women. Muslim men and women are more likely to choose a partner from Turkey (most probably with same religion). The opposite effect is observed when the second generation women declared one of the Swiss languages (German, French or Italian) as the language they feel themselves more confident with (table 3).

Table 4 shows two additional logistic regression models for marriage migration that are developed for men and women separately; one included only marriages (Model 2) and the other marriages in last 5 year period prior to the 2000 Swiss Census (Model 3). For second generation women, the factors affecting “a newcomer spouse choice” did not change when the couples living together are excluded from the analysis; it worth noting that its prevalence is very low among women (1.5 percent). For second generation men (one out of ten living with a partner), when only married couples are concerned, the impact of education on newcomer partner choice disappears.

Selecting the marriages in the last five year period before the Census, we observed that place of birth does not affect the likelihood of newcomer partner choice of second generation women while living in French/Italian speaking part of Switzerland drastically increases the probability. The latter is also observed for men. In addition, second generation men are found to be less likely to choose a newcomer spouse in the last five year period if they have a tertiary education.

Table 5 tests the endogamy among children of immigrants from Turkey in Switzerland (marriages among second generation of Turkish origin). Results reveal that likelihood of having a second generation partner declines for women with age. Parallel to the above mentioned increase in marriage migration, second generation men and women that are born in Turkey are less likely to be in union with a second generation partner. Higher education of men significantly increases the probability of this type of union; education of women is not significant. Religion and place of residence do not have any impact. When the second generation are most confident in one of the Swiss languages, women are more likely while men are less likely to be involved in unions with a second generation.

Table 4: Logistic regression to model marriage migration (newcomer partner choice), Model 2 and Model 3

	2 nd Generation Women			2 nd Generation Men		
	Model 2: All married	Model 3: married in the last 5 years		Model 2: All married	Model 3: married in the last 5 years	
Age						
<=24	1.4 {1.0 -2.0} *	1.6 {1.0 -2.6} *		1.0 {0.7 -1.4}	0.8 {0.5 -1.3}	
25-29	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
30+	0.9 {0.6 -1.3}	1.5 {0.5 -4.2}		0.7 {0.5 -1.0}	0.8 {0.4 -1.3}	
Place of birth						
Switzerland	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
Turkey	2.5 {1.9 -3.3} ***	1.5 {0.9 -2.5}		2.5 {1.9 -3.3} ***	1.6 {1.1 -2.4} *	
Highest achieved education level						
no education	0.9 {0.6 -1.4}	1.4 {0.6 -3.5}		0.9 {0.5 -1.6}	2.0 {0.8 -4.7}	
compulsory	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
upper sec.	1.1 {0.8 -1.4}	0.9 {0.6 -1.4}		0.8 {0.6 -1.1}	0.7 {0.5 -1.1}	
tertiary	0.9 {0.4 -2.0}	0.8 {0.2 -2.3}		0.6 {0.4 -1.1}	0.4 {0.2 -0.9} *	
unknown	0.6 {0.4 -0.9} **	0.8 {0.3 -1.8}		0.3 {0.2 -0.5} ***	0.5 {0.2 -1.3}	
Place of residence						
German speaking urban	1.3 {1.0 -1.8}	1.5 {0.9 -2.5}		1.3 {1.0 -1.8}	1.3 {0.8 -2.1}	
German speaking rural	1.7 {1.2 -2.5} **	2.3 {1.3 -4.3} **		1.7 {1.2 -2.5} **	2.1 {1.2 -3.6} **	
Zurich	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
Basel	1.1 {0.8 -1.7}	1.7 {0.9 -3.2}		0.8 {0.5 -1.3}	1.1 {0.6 -2.2}	
French/Italian speaking	1.1 {0.6 -2.1}	3.5 {1.3 -9.6} *		1.5 {0.8 -3.0}	3.0 {1.2 -7.4} *	
Naturalized < marriage						
yes	0.5 {0.3 -0.9} **	1.0 {0.6 -1.9}		0.8 {0.4 -1.6}	1.1 {0.5 -2.3}	
no	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
Religion						
Muslim	2.2 {1.5 -3.2} ***	3.6 {1.9 -6.8} ***		1.7 {1.1 -2.7} *	2.3 {1.2 -4.5} *	
no	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
Swiss languages						
yes	0.2 {0.1 -0.2} ***	0.1 {0.1 -0.2} ***		0.9 {0.6 -1.2}	0.8 {0.5 -1.2}	
no	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	
Year of marriage						
<=1990	1.0			1.0		
1991-1995	0.9 {0.6 -1.4}			1.0 {0.6 -1.5}		
1996-2000	1.0 {0.7 -1.6}			0.8 {0.5 -1.3}		
N=	1397	536		1042	507	
Hosmer & Lemeshow test (p value)	0.950	0.409		0.312	0.748	

Table 5: Logistic regression to model second generation partner choice (including married couples and couples living together)

		2 nd Generation Women			2 nd Generation Men		
Age	<=24	1.4	{1.0 -2.0]	*	0.8	{0.6 -1.2]	
	25-29	1.0			1.0		
	>=30	0.6	{0.4 -0.9]	**	1.1	{0.8 -1.5]	
Place of birth	Switzerland	1.0			1.0		
	Turkey	0.3	{0.2 -0.4]	***	0.3	{0.2 -0.5]	***
Highest achieved education level	no education	1.0	{0.6 -1.8]		1.2	{0.7 -2.3]	
	compulsory	1.0			1.0		
	upper secondary	1.3	{0.9 -1.8]		1.1	{0.8 -1.5]	
	tertiary	1.7	{0.7 -3.8]		1.9	{1.2 -3.2]	*
	unknown	2.1	{1.4 -3.2]	**	3.2	{2.0 -5.2]	***
Place of residence	German speaking urban	1.0	{0.7 -1.5]		1.1	{0.8 -1.6]	
	German speaking rural	1.0	{0.6 -1.5]		0.8	{0.5 -1.2]	
	Zurich	1.0			1.0		
	Basel	0.8	{0.5 -1.3]		1.3	{0.9 -2.1]	
	French/Italian speaking	0.6	{0.3 -1.3]		0.6	{0.3 -1.3]	
Naturalized before marriage	yes	0.6	{0.4 -1.0]		0.9	{0.4 -1.7]	
	no	1.0			1.0		
Religion	Muslim	1.1	{0.8 -1.6]		1.0	{0.7 -1.5]	
	no	1.0			1.0		
Swiss languages	yes	4.8	{3.6 -6.4]	***	0.6	{0.4 -0.8]	**
	no	1.0			1.0		
N		1425			1167		
Hosmer & Lemeshow test (p value)		0.371			0.964		

Discussion

Intermarriage/migration theories to explain marriage migration:

In the literature, intermarriage is considered as an indicator of integration; either identificational (marriage, friendship, associations) or structural (work, education, housing). It is a well accepted sign for diminishing social and cultural distance between immigrant and indigenous groups. Upward social mobility of the children of immigrants and the decrease of ethnic stereotyping over time are two important factors in weakening group boundaries.

Theories on intermarriage are important for our study in the sense that they can help us to understand the other side of the coin, marriage migration. There are two approaches in explaining the intermarriage phenomenon: contact theory and barrier theory. The former

assumes that people have to meet before they can start a relationship. “The extent to which different groups attend the same schools, live in the same neighbourhood, work in the same places, go to the same clubs, bars or worship together strongly influences the propensity to intermarry” (Kalmijn, 1998). The latter envisages low intermarriage when “secular and/or religious authorities put up (institutional) barriers to restrict or discourage marriage across social, religious, racial or national lines” (Lucassen and Laarman, 2009).

According to modernized assimilation theory (by Alba and Nee) which incorporates contact and barrier theories, over time, often over generations, children of immigrants will be more often in contact with the indigenous population and at the same time will overcome social pressure to choose partners within their own group. Only in the existence of institutional barriers that strengthens group boundaries, intermarriage stays low. Institutions as barriers to intermarriage may stem from both receiving society - strong pressure to assimilate in the form of discrimination- and immigrant communities -in the form of religion, family systems and nationalist feelings.

Religion is considered to highly contribute to the cultural distance between migrant groups and indigenous population when the two has different dominant religions. “Although cultural norms (including religion) are neither homogenous nor static in the last decades, their influence cannot be underestimated.” (Lucassen and Laarman, 2009). Religion brings about certain family systems and traditions. Apart from religious restrictions, endogamous, patrilineal family systems and ethno-national identification, colonial links and unintended effects of restrictive migration policies are mentioned by Lucassen and Laarman (2009) as factors influencing the propensity to intermarry.

Intermarriage decision can also be considered as an outcome of preferences, opportunities (determined by size of group, sex ratio, spatial segregation) and third parties (through socialization process by identifying themselves as a member of their own group and through control of behaviour by sanctions) (Van Tubergen and Maas, 2007).

In terms of theories to explain marriage migration, Timmerman (2008) makes use of migration theories to explain the persistently high popularity of the phenomenon in Belgium. Economic migration theory (which assumes that people leave their country to improve their socio-economic situation) and transnationalism (strong ties with country of origin) are, according to her, in some extent useful/valid explanations but not sufficient to fully understand the phenomenon. Then she mentions about the “culture of migration” in the place of origin, which is the situation defined below:

“Migration is always envisaged as an option when people make plans for the future. Prospective immigrants appeared to be heading for a mythical destination where all their worries would be resolved. Obstacles such as learning a foreign language, non-recognition of academic degrees, irrelevant work experience and a hostile society are, on the whole, taken lightly.” (Timmerman, 2008)

In the light of the above mentioned theories, our concern was more to explore the individual factors (the preferences, Van Tubergen and Maas 2007) affecting newcomer partner choice of second generation and to investigate some factors that influence/some indicators of the cultural distance between immigrant groups and the indigenous population. Our models are

found to be strong in explaining causes of marriage migration and partner choice among second generation.

In terms of indicators of the cultural distance between immigrant groups and the indigenous population, results of multivariate analysis revealed religion as an important factor having an impact on partner choice of second generation. Muslim second generation men and women are more likely to marry endogamously. Kalmijn (1998) explains this with the tendency of people to marry someone who is culturally similar. “Obviously, religion is a core element of culture, since it is associated with cultural values, beliefs and practices” (Kalmijn, 1998). According to Van Tubergen and Maas (2007), “immigrants affiliated to a religion have higher chances to marry co-ethnics, and this is especially true for immigrants having a non-Christian religion. Their religion deviates from society’s mainstream, leading to fewer opportunities to meet natives that have a similar religion”. In line with the tendency of religious endogamy, second generation of Turkish origin (and their families) might think the future spouses grown up in Turkey as “more religious”; like they are assumed to be “better behaved” and “more traditional” by youth of Turkish origin in Belgium (Timmerman, 2006).

Place of residence is used as a contextual factor implying the type of community: group size/concentration/tightness of the community and the socialization process of the second generation. It finds evidence in the literature that migrants from Turkey are concentrated more in German speaking part of Switzerland compared to French or Italian speaking parts. Turkish communities in the former are larger and more settled; third parties’ role (through socialization process of second generation and through control of behaviour by sanctions) is expected to be stronger there. Our findings are in line with this expectation.

Gender, in our perspective, is making a lot of difference in lives of second generation by determining opportunities, preferences and the impact of third parties. As suggested by Lucassen and Laarman (2009) while explaining intermarriage patterns for youth of Moroccan and Turkish origin, “choice of a partner from country of origin is deeply gendered”. This is, they argue, partially related to the women’s lack of agency in choosing their future spouse due to their position in Islam and also related to their preference for a partner with a similar educational background (as most of the time they are better educated than men in the host countries). In our analysis, the most striking gender difference we observed while exploring the marriage migration (Model 1) is the different impact of education on newcomer partner choice for second generation men and women. Negative correlation is found only for men. On the other hand, factors which can be considered as integration indicators (naturalization and confidence in one of the Swiss languages) are found to decrease the likelihood of women to have a newcomer spouse. These factors are linked to contact theory suggested by Lucassen and Laarman (2009).

Are these explanations enough to fully understand the phenomenon? There are other aspects we could not include to our model; one of them is expectations. Timmerman (2008) summarizes them from perspective of both potential marriage migrants in Turkey and single second generation in Belgium. She finds that in Turkey, young people associate the advantages of marriage migration specifically with living in a modern, democratic and prosperous country. At the same time, in Belgium, single youth with migration background think that the quality of marriage is better with a partner from Turkey. For women, possibility of acquiring greater independence within their marriage is an important advantage, which shows that this type of marriage is used as an emancipatory strategy (Timmerman, 2008).

Partner choice of second generation certainly has consequences in terms of fertility and labour market integration of the migrant partners. Yet, these aspects are not explored/elaborated in this paper¹¹.

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¹¹ Results of logistic regression analysis are not presented here.