Extended abstract:

Partner choice among the second generation: the influence of peers, parents and context

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Short abstract: This study examines partner choice among the Turkish second generation by using data from a European wide survey (TIES). First, we aim to increase our insights into the intermarriage rates of the Turkish second generation. Second, our work goes beyond previous research by studying the influence of both parents and peers as well the effect that the host country context may exert on partner choice. Third, we not only study intermarriage with a native born partner, but include unions with a second generation partner from the same origin. Multinominal regression analyses show that marriage regimes and peer effects differentiate second-generation youths with a second generation partner from those with a first generation partner. For the choice between a native partner and a first-generation partner both parents and peers seem relevant. Further, both unions with second generation and native partners were less likely in countries with predominantly multicultural policies.

Introduction

Intermarriage has been extensively studied both in the US and in Europe (Gordon, 1964; Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2006; Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Qian, 1997). These studies, however, very often focus on the partner choices of the first generation of migrants in a country. Partner choices of the second generation have been much less often studied. In addition, previous studies have strongly focused on the role of parents in intermarriage. At the same time, we may expect that other types of significant others, most notably peers, also influence these choices. Therefore, this study will examine the influence of both parents and peers on intermarriage patterns of the second generation. Finally, most studies focus on intermarriage patterns within one country only. In our study we expand on this research tradition by explicitly including the relevance of different host country contexts.

We do so by focusing on the single largest migrant group in Europe: Turks. Approximately four million people of Turkish descent live in various European countries. Despite expectations that this group would soon become integrated in their host society, this turned out to be less the case both with respect to socio-economic status (see for example Heath et al. 2008) and social interaction. Also with respect to union formation the Turkish population, in particular the first generation, continued the tradions of the home country (De Valk et al. 2004; Coleman 2008). It is assumed that the likelihood of exogamous unions increase with increased contact between members of different ethnic groups (Gordon 1964; Pettigrew 1998; King & Harris 2007). This assumption highlights the importance of evaluating the relevance of peers in the partner choice of the second generation. However, for the second generation it might not be sufficient to simply contrast endogamous (partner from the parent's country of origin) and exogamous unions (native partner), as the marriage market of potential partners also includes a substantial group of second generation young adults of the same origin. Research on ethnicity and generational status of the partner indicate that many Turks choose a first generation partner from Turkey, because they believe these partners are more suitable and have more traditional values, while the members of their own second generation are too much influenced by the host countries in which they grew up and would be undesirable marriage partners (Lievens 1999; Çelikaksoy 2003). This would suggest that choosing a second generation migrant may be a step in between choosing a first generation and a native partner. We therefore expand the study of intermarriage by including different partner types: a first generation partner, a second generation partner or a native partner.

Theory and hypotheses

The role of the parents in union formation decisions is generally well established (Starrels and Holm 2000; Thornton 1991), and has also been shown for the Turkish second generation (De Valk and Liefbroer 2007; Haug 2005). Children of parents with a high level of human capital and socioeconomic status, an urban background, and from a small family are more likelt to adopt family formation patterns such as postponement of union formation that are common in many Western countries, than children of parents with the opposite set of characteristics. Similar mechanisms can be expected for partner choice. *Thus, our first hypothesis is that Turkish second generation young adults whose parents hold relatively modern attitudes towards family formation are more likely to have a partner from the second generation or a native partner compared to young adults whose parents hold relatively traditional attitudes towards family formation (H1).*

Interethnic relations are important prerequisites for societal change, and are also related to acceptance of a partner from another ethnic group. Contact to members of other ethnic groups increases feelings of cultural closeness (Pettigrew 1998) and may lead to higher intermarriage rates among its participants. The classical assimilation theory (Gordon 1964) argues that intermarriage is the final step in cultural integration. Interethnic contact is likeliest to occur with close friends and peers. Partners are often introduced by members of social networks or are network members themselves. Having many non-coethnic close friends – by this we mean close friends who are not a member of one's own ethnic group – or going to a school with many non-coethnics can be expected to result in a greater possibility of choosing a native partner. In addition, these ethnic diverse networks are also possible to give support for an interethnic partnership that is otherwise rare (Clark-Ibanez & Felmlee 2004; Harris & King 2007). *Thus, we expect that those Turkish young adults who have more contact to non-coethnic peers are more likely to have a second generation or native partner (H2).*

Although parents and peers may exert an important influence on the partner choice of second generation Turks across Europe, contextual factors may influence the partner choice as well. Partner choice of the migrant population has often been linked to discussions on "import brides" in many European countries. At the same time, long-standing differences in policies towards immigration and integration have been observed in European countries. Koopmans (2008) discussed how differences in integration regimes and in welfare state regimes has resulted in differences in the process of socio-economic integration of migrant groups. A combination of multicultural policies and a generous welfare state regime has led to higher levels of segregation, less out-group contact and lower levels of labor market participation compared to countries with more integrative or assimilative policies and less developed welfare systems. In particular, multicultural oriented policies allowed migrant families to uphold their values, norms and traditions. *Based on these ideas, one could expect that in countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden – that traditionally have multicultural policies and generous welfare systems – Turkish young adults are more likely to have a first generation partner than is the case for more integrative oriented societies such as France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland (H3).*

Data and Method

Our data come from "The Integration of the European Second Generation" (TIES) survey[1]. TIES is the first large scale European comparative survey focusing exclusively on the second generation. The TIES survey studies the lives of the second generation from Turkey, Morocco and former Yugoslavia as well as a native group in 15 cities in eight European countries. For the survey 10,000 respondents aged 18 to 35 years were interviewed between 2007 and 2008. An identical questionnaire was used in all cities making it possible to pool the datasets. Our sample includes data on 1,292 Turkish second generation respondents currently living with a partner. The

[1] www.tiesproject.eu

thirteen cities included in our study are Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Stockholm (Sweden), Paris and Strasbourg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland) and Vienna and Linz (Austria).

Multinomial regression is used to study the partner choice of the second generation. The dependent variable has three levels: a first generation partner (=1, reference group), a second generation partner (=2) and a native partner (=3).

We focus on the influence of parents, peers and context in our analyses. Indicators for parental background are:

- *Level of parental human capital* is a factor score which was constructed using the following variables: educational level of mother and father (no=1, basic=2, medium=3, high=4), literacy of mother and father (no=0, yes=1), knowledge of host language of mother and father (no=0, read=1, read and write=2), and mother had paid work when the respondent was 15 years of age (no=0, yes=1). An increasing factor score indicates an increase in the level of parental human capital.
- *Parent grew up in Anatolia* is a dummy variable indicating whether the mother or the father had mainly lived in an Anatolian province before they were 15 years old. Usually both parents come from this region (90 percent). The variable is used as a proxy for traditional parental family behavior and attitudes (Nauck 2001).
- *Family size.* The respondents were asked the number of older and younger siblings. This information was combined to calculate the continuous variable of total number of siblings. This variable is a proxy to measure traditional family attitudes of the parents.

For peers we include:

- *Peers* indicates the ethnic composition of the peer network. It is a factor score that was constructed from the variable "ethnicity of best friend in secondary school" (own ethnic group=1, other ethnic group=2, native group=3) and the dummy variable "Natives in wider friend network during secondary school" (no=0, yes=1). An increasing factor score means an increase in the contact to non-coethnic peers.
- *Percentage natives in secondary school* gives the ethnic composition of the secondary school attended by the respondent. Respondents indicated whether their secondary school had almost no native students (=1), up to 25 per cent (=2), approximately 50 per cent (=3), up to 75 per cent (=4), or almost all native students (=5). The models also include a squared term of this variable to assess non-linearity.

The host society context is indicated by a dummy variable per country. Countries with a predominant multicultural policy are Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden and were coded one, the other countries were the reference category. In the future, we will expand our analyses on the contextual influences by explicitly including a measure of the size of the potential marriage market in each of the countries.

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

- *Sex.* A dichotomous dummy variable with men=0, and women=1.
- A*ge at begin partnership.* To control for the time dependency, age is included (<20, 20-22.5, 22.5-25, 25-28, >28).
- *Cohort.* Cohort changes in union formation are captured by the inclusion of 5-year birth cohorts (1970-74, 1975-79, 1980-84, 1985-90).
- *Highest completed level of secondary education.* Respondents have either no completed degree in secondary education or a special education degree (=1), a lower secondary education degree (=2), a degree of higher secondary education in a vocational track (=3) or a degree in a general higher secondary level (=4). We selected this indicator rather than the highest educational level, because it gives information on the period prior to the main union formation years thus avoiding issues of causality. The education variable will be included in the models together with

the peer variables, because most contact with non-coethnics is likely to occur in schools making it likely for the variable to be correlated.

- *Subsequent union.* This dummy variable indicates whether it is a subsequent union for the respondent.
- *City.* A series of dummy variables indicating the place of residence, distinguishing the 13 cities in our study: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, Antwerp, Stockholm, Paris, Strasbourg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Zurich, Basle, Vienna and Linz.

In Table 1 we provide an overview of the independent variables by country.

Table 1. Overview of independent variables by country, mean and SD

		TOTAL		**Netherlands**		**Belgium**		**Sweden**		**France**		**Germany**		**Switzerland**		**Austria**	
	n	2,192		199		294		114		150		204		151		180	
	Range	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Family factors																	
human capital parents	-3.44 - 1.50	-0.28	1.05	-0.41	1.06	-0.52	1.13	0.39	0.71	-0.58	0.89	-0.62	1.01	0.04	0.89	0.18	0.95
parent grew up in Anatolia	0/1	0.60	0.49	0.72	0.45	0.48	0.50	0.87	0.34	0.49	0.50	0.58	0.49	0.44	0.50	0.55	0.50
family size	0 - 6	2.62	1.43	3.11	1.49	3.48	1.50	3.02	1.36	3.03	1.55	2.99	1.31	2.45	1.30	2.67	1.21
not arranged union	0/1	1.54	0.50	1.51	0.50					1.49	0.50	1.54	0.50	1.62	0.49	1.57	0.50
Peer factors																	
contact non-coethnic peers	-3.00 - 1.14	-0.15	1.05	-0.28	0.85	-0.21	1.05	-0.09	1.16	0.23	0.85	-0.41	1.13	0.17	1.10	-0.24	1.04
% natives sec school	1 - 5	3.35	1.07	2.87	1.20	3.19	1.00	3.34	1.05	3.37	0.93	3.44	0.79	3.66	1.15	3.75	1.11
Control variables																	
sex	0/1	0.55	0.50	0.60	0.49	0.47	0.50	0.51	0.50	0.68	0.47	0.59	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.57	0.50
age at begin partnership	1 - 5	2.44	1.21	2.34	1.18	2.34	1.25	2.74	1.23	2.47	1.17	2.70	1.19	2.47	1.21	2.19	1.15
birth cohort	1 - 4	2.35	0.86	2.31	0.79	2.37	0.86	2.29	0.75	2.28	0.77	2.18	0.88	2.42	0.98	2.60	0.90
completed level secondary education	1 - 4	2.58	0.87	2.11	0.73	2.67	0.86	3.06	0.80	2.51	0.90	2.70	0.70	2.10	0.79	3.01	0.80
subsequent union	0/1	1.07	0.25	1.07	0.26	1.07	0.25	1.11	0.31	1.05	0.21	1.02	0.16	1.05	0.21	1.12	0.32

Source: TIES data 2007-2008

First results

Table 2 shows the distribution of the dependent variable by country. We see that intermarriage rates vary between 8 to 26 percent in the various countries (2 cities per country). With the exception of Germany, the Turkish second generation is most likely to have a first generation partner. The percentages are between 50 to 72 percent. In Germany, only a quarter of the respondents in Berlin and Frankfurt has a first generation partner, but 61 percent have a second generation partner.

Table 2. Partner choice by country of residence (in percent)

	BE	NL	SE	FR	DE	CH	AT	Total
1. generation	71.8	70.4	50.0	71.3	24.5	61.6	68.3	60.5
2. generation	18.4	21.6	23.7	12.7	60.8	15.2	16.7	24.8
native	9.9	8.0	26.3	16.0	14.7	23.2	15.0	14.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n	294	199	114	150	204	151	180	1,292

In the literature it is indicated that there are two predominant marriage systems among the Turkish group (Nauck 2001; Hortaçsu & Oral 2001): a more traditional way where the marriage is arranged by the family and a more couple oriented way where the partners follow more Western marriage patterns of romantic love. A proxy to distinguish between these two types of systems – which also indirectly indicates the influence of parents on the partner choice (and thus the likelihood of intermarriage) - is the way of meeting, which could either be more traditional (introduction over family, vacation in country of origin) or more couple oriented (over friends, in school, while going out). In Table 3 shows the way in which the Turkish second generation has met their partner.

Table 3. Partner choice by way of meeting

	1. generation	2. generation	native	Total
traditional	61.1	33.1	5.7	45.5
couple oriented	38.9	67.0	94.4	54.5
	100	100	100	100
n	511	239	124	874

We find that those with a native partner overwhelmingly met in couple oriented ways. At the same time there are clear differences between those who have a first or second generation partner: one third of those with a second generation partner met in a traditional way, two thirds met a second generation partner in a couple oriented way. For those with a first generation partner it is the other way around. This seems to indicate that a second generation partner is more often chosen for love/modern values and a first generation partner is mainly chosen in the traditional arranged way.

The results of the multivariate analyses are shown in Table 4. In Model 1 only the control variables are included. Women are both less likely to have a second generation partner and a native partner compared to having a first generation partner. The analyses also show a clear age effect which is also graphically represented in Figure 1. We find that those respondents with a second generation partner are more likely to start their union in their early twenties, while those respondents with a native partner start their union later in their twenties compared to respondents with a first generation partner. Those respondents with a first generation partner are the earliest to start a union. Second-generation youths from a younger birth cohort are more likely to have a second generation partner than a first generation partner. This may be because more persons are available (growing number of second generation adults) or because they have fewer ties to Turkey or less traditional partners are acceptable as well. Equally, respondents from younger cohorts are more likely to have a native partner compared to a first generation partner.

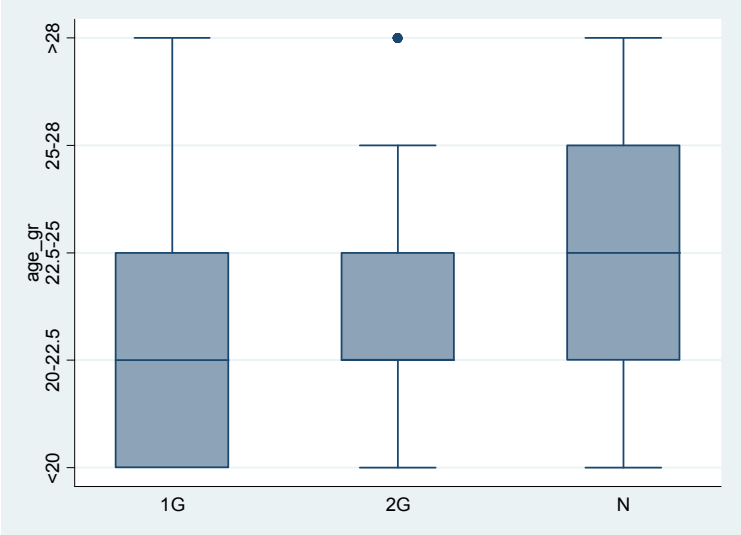
Model 2 studies the effects parents have on intermarriage. Overall we find a clear effect of parental human capital. Second-generation young adults whose parents have a higher level of human capital have more often second generation or native partner compared to a first generation partner. The relation is most pronounced between having a first generation or a native partner. Furthermore, we find an effect of family size for having a native partner but not for having a second generation partner. The findings are overall in line with hypothesis 1, except for the fact that rural origin of the parents does not seem to matter for partner choice of their children.

In Model 3 we study the importance of peers. There seems to be no peer effects on having a first generation partner vs. having a second generation partner. However, this changes once we control for the effect of multicultural policies. We see that respondents with many non-coethnic friends are less likely to have a second generation partner than a first generation partner. This is explainable if we assume that if having a second generation partner must indicate that they found a partner among their own group of friends. These findings do not support H2. By contrast, we find in line with hypothesis 2 that having more non-coethnic friends indeed is an indicator for having a native partner. The higher the percentage of natives in secondary school, the more likely were the respondents to choose a second generation partner or a native partner instead of a first generation partner. These findings suggest that ethnicity and generation status of the partner is not only affected by close friends but also by more distant acquaintances. A higher education increases the chances of having a second generation or native partner compared to having a first generation partner. However, we found no interaction between contact to non-coethnic peers and education.

In Model 4 we finally look at multicultural policies. In line with hypothesis 3, we find that respondents are less likely to choose a native partner or a second generation partner in countries with predominately multicultural policies. Taking this contextual factor into account our findings for parental influences are robust for having a native partner versus a first generation partner but

change for having a second generation partner versus a first generation one. In this case, while the parental effect disappear the peer effects are now significant.

Figure 1. Distribution over the age groups by ethnicity of the partner



Note: 1G= 1. generation partner, 2G= 2. generation partner, N= native partner

Preliminary conclusions

Aim of our study was to assess the importance of parents, peers and context on the partner choices of the Turkish second generation in Europe. We find clear and robust effects of parents when contrasting those in an endogamous versus those in an exogamous union. Turkish young adults who have parents with less traditional family attitudes (smaller family size, and higher level parental human capital) are likelier to have a native partner vs. a first generation partner. This difference in parental influence is much less clear between those in two different types of endogamous unions: those with a first versus those with a second generation partner. However, the findings on traditional vs. couple oriented meeting procedures indicate that attitudes on family behavior may play a role as well.

Additionally, our analyses pointed to the importance of looking beyond family factors: as both peers and host society context are found to matter. Interestingly, peers are of main importance for those with a second generation vs. a first generation partner. Both close friends and wider peer networks in secondary school are important in this case. Although we also find peer effects for those with a native partner, it seems that mainly close friends matter for the latter group.

While it is particularly important to have many co-ethnic friends to choose a second generation partner versus a first generation partner, the findings do not indicate that these second-generation youths orient themselves more toward their country of origin. The findings rather suggest that more young persons of their ethnic groups are available and that more modern family attitudes exist in these unions.

We plan to expand the analysis by including additional contextual factors into the analysis such as the size of the Turkish community in the different cities. Additionally, we want to study whether influences of parents and peers differ by the institutional context in which the Turkish second generation lives.

Table 4. Multinomial regression for partner choice (first generation vs. second generation and first generation vs. native)

1st generation partner reference group		2nd generation partner				Native partner			
		Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**
FAMILY FACTORS									
human capital parents	*factor score*		1.24 **	1.21 *	1.05		1.86 ***	1.71 ***	1.68 ***
parents grew up in Anatolia			0.98	1.01	1.15		0.72	0.74	0.80
family size			0.98	0.99	0.98		0.77 ***	0.81 **	0.79 ***
PEER FACTORS									
peers	*factor score*			0.91	0.81 **			1.56 ***	1.60 ***
% natives sec school				1.58	2.99 **			0.40 *	0.55
% nat sec school * % nat sec school				0.95	0.85 **			1.15 *	1.08
Multicultural policies									
multicultural policies					0.59 ***				0.65 *
CONTROL VARIABLES									
sex (1=woman)		0.66 **	0.65 **	0.64 **	0.70 *	0.60 **	0.59 **	0.55 **	0.56 **
age	*<20*	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	20-22	1.95 ***	1.93 ***	1.88	1.87 ***	1.69	1.69	1.56	1.63
	22-24	2.20 ***	2.07 ***	1.96 ***	2.30 ***	2.90 ***	2.58 **	2.13 *	2.40 **
	25-29	1.81 *	1.71	1.61	2.10 **	4.78 ***	3.92 ***	3.18 ***	4.10 ***
	30+	1.70	1.54	1.34	1.33	4.89 ***	4.08 ***	3.63 **	4.29 ***
birth cohort		1.60 ***	1.54 ***	1.57 ***	1.35 ***	1.39 **	1.26	1.31 *	1.23
completed level secondary education				1.21	1.26 **			1.35 *	1.40 **
subsequent union		0.81	0.83	0.92	0.73	3.22 ***	3.32 ***	2.99 ***	2.55 **
CONTEXT VARIABLES									
city	Amsterdam	1.00	1.00	1.00		1.00	1.00	1.00	
	Rotterdam	1.09	1.17	1.16		0.97	1.20	1.33	
	Brussels	1.35	1.42	1.19		3.20 *	3.34 *	2.89 *	
	Antwerp	0.66	0.72	0.60		0.41	0.60	0.56	
	Stockholm	1.52	1.35	1.08		3.92 **	3.40 *	2.67 *	
	Paris	0.71	0.72	0.65		3.67 *	3.64 *	2.47	
	Strasbourg	0.58	0.64	0.57		1.41	1.84	1.59	
	Berlin	12.23 ***	13.38 ***	10.46 ***		5.17 **	7.15 ***	7.04 ***	
	Frankfurt	7.21 ***	8.02 ***	6.64 ***		6.11 ***	8.17 ***	7.61 ***	
	Zurich	1.06	1.01	0.98		2.91 *	2.17	1.91	
	Basle	0.55	0.52	0.49		3.56 **	2.81 *	2.55	
	Vienna	0.56	0.53	0.39 *		0.95	0.81	0.68	
	Linz	1.09	0.98	0.74		2.95 *	2.02	1.53	
log likelihood		-1016.5	-981.1	-960.4	-1055.5	-1016.5	-981.1	-960.4	-1055.5
pseudo r2		0.156	0.185	0.203	0.124	0.156	0.185	0.203	0.124
*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001	n	1291	1291	1291	1291	1291	1291	1291	1291

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