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Three-generation Marriage Patterns: New Insights from the 'Dissimilation' Perspective

Helen Baykara-Krumme

Arranged marriages are common in countries like Turkey, but almost non-existent in the Western European destination contexts of Turkish migrants. For a better understanding of marital change in migration, this paper maps the prevalence of arranged marriages versus couple-initiated marriages among Turkish migrant families in Europe and stayer families in Turkey. The paper applies the 'dissimilation perspective' with a focus on change across marriage cohorts and between family generations. The database used for this study is the 2000 Families study (conducted from 2010 to 2012), which includes three-generational data of migrant and stayer families from five regions of origin in Turkey. Findings suggest a high similarity between migrants and stayers in terms of a strong decline of the arranged marriage mode over time, from well over 80% to about a third of all marriages. At the same time, the percentage of arranged marriages is lower among migrants. The three-generational data suggest multiple patterns of intergenerational change between grandparents, parents and children, both from couple-initiated to arranged marriages and vice versa. Overall, intergenerational transmission is stronger in stayer and weaker in migrant families. This contributes, together with lower starting levels among migrants, to the lower shares of arranged marriages among migrant children.

Keywords: Arranged Marriage; Migration; Dissimilation; Transmission; Turkey

1. Introduction

For quite some time, the topic of interethnic marriages with members of the destination country was most prominent in migration research on marriage (Glick 2010). Recent research not only increasingly acknowledges the country of origin as a relevant place to search for partners, at least for certain migrant groups (Charsley 2012; Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer 2012; Carol, Ersanilli, and Wagner 2014).

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Also, specific characteristics of union formation and partner choice patterns are researched more intensively. This includes the family-initiated or arranged mode of marriage in contrast to the couple-initiated or love marriage in the case of, for instance, Southern Asian or Turkish and other mostly Muslim migrants in Western European countries (e.g. Shaw 2006; Charsley 2006; Milewski and Hamel 2010; Penn 2011; Hense and Schorch 2013). This new interest is partly a response to controversial public discussions on immigration and integration in Western Europe which prominently encompass migrants' family practices. Arranged marriages, often falsely labelled as forced marriages, are not only highly stigmatised in Western societies, but have also become a 'key symbol of cultural difference' (Shaw 2006, 210).

In the following, the focus lies on migrant families from Turkey in Western European countries. They constitute the largest migrant population in Europe, and qualitative (Straßburger 2003; Hense and Schorch 2013) as well as quantitative studies suggest an important role of parents in the partner choice process. According to the recent TIES survey ('The Integration of the European Second Generation', see Crul and Schneider 2010), family involvement was reported at 65% of all second-generation marriages with a first-generation migrant from Turkey and at 34% of marriages with a second-generation partner (Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer 2012, 258, see also Milewski and Hamel 2010). Traditionally, it has been argued that these migrants' marriage patterns demonstrate the maintenance of traditional family behaviours, with ongoing high parental influence in union formation and little evidence for acculturation in the respective migrant groups. More recently, researchers have stressed, however, that the underlying motivations, intentions and patterns are manifold and change in the (transnational) migration context (Reniers 2001; Shaw 2006; Charsley 2006; Schmidt 2010; Mody 2013).

I want to contribute to this debate from a different perspective, arguing that marriage modes are poorly understood if only the current (young) migrant population is considered, but neither the development over time and the larger family context nor the stayers in the country of origin for comparison. Using a quantitative descriptive approach, this paper contextualises marriage patterns on a twofold basis, using an extensive survey of Turkish families that was recently conducted ('2000 Families study', 2010/2012, Guveli et al. 2014). It allows for the study of the development of marriage patterns over three generations with the comparison group of stayers in the regions of origin. Going beyond existing approaches, I apply the 'binational' (Glick 2010) or the 'dissimilation' perspective (FitzGerald 2012) and map change across cohorts and generations (Ghimire et al. 2006; Bengtson et al. 2009). In the remainder, I introduce the topic of marriage modes and the conceptual approaches with the hypotheses. Then the database and the descriptive findings are presented, and the main findings are summarised in the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Considerations

2.1. Understanding Arranged Marriages

In the Western world of today, couple-initiated love marriages are the dominant pattern (Coontz 2004). This pattern can be traced back historically to the influence of Christianity in Europe in the Early Middle Ages (Buunk, Park, and Duncan 2010) and the 'Western European Marriage Pattern' of feudal times (Hajnal 1982). Both promoted consensual marriage of the spouses at a later age with less family influence in the partner choice process. In the large majority of non-Western societies, by contrast, family-initiated arranged marriages have been the dominant pattern for several centuries (Buunk, Park, and Duncan 2010). The prime concern of the family and its members in the what is called 'descent marriage regime' (Nauck and Klaus 2008) is the maintenance of descent-related intergenerational solidarity, inheritance rules and control rights. The aim is the compatibility of the new spouse with the family rather than spousal love and thus, as Mody (2002) put it, not 'individual' but 'social compatibility' (226). Marriages are not an interpersonal event for the individuals' benefit, but a process of agreements and rituals between families and as such for the benefit of the family or kin as a whole (Ghimire et al. 2006; Allendorf 2013).

In cultural settings such as Turkey, (early) marriage is highly valued, whereas unmarried life and divorce are considered 'anomalies' (cf. Kavas and Gündüz-Hosgör 2013, 59; Liversage 2012). Marriage arrangement facilitates compliance with these norms and the maintenance of the family's reputation. The family feels obliged to support the child in finding a suitable partner as it means 'assisting them in getting ahead' (Hense and Schorch, 2013, 111). This may include a quick remarrying of newly divorced (female) spouses as described for Turkish migrants in Denmark (Liversage 2012). The arranged marriages may comprise of spouses who are cousins or more distant relatives. Consanguineous marriages are common in large parts of the world (Shaw 2006; Bittles and Black 2010), and encompass about a fifth of all current first marriages in Turkey (Uslu 2011, 213; Koç 2008). Qualitative research on family practices such as arranged and consanguineous marriages or polygamy among Turkish migrants in Europe suggests that they are not simply 'traditional imports from countries of origin' (Charsley and Liversage 2013, 60), but new constructions with 'a new rationale for an old practice' in migration contexts (Reniers 2001, 37), specifically if partners are searched for in the context of origin (transnational marriages, see Charsley 2012). Arranged consanguineous marriages have been described as a means of strengthening connections between (family) networks divided by migration. For the Pakistani-British context, Charsley terms marriage arrangement 'an appealingly safe choice' for families who search for suitable partners abroad, with risk being managed through trust based on the bonds of kinship (Charsley 2007, 1120). By family arrangement, be it with a relative or not, compatibility of the spouses can be valued beforehand, which is important for the stayers back home, given the emotional, material and legal dependence of the new migrant on the partner in the destination country (Shaw 2006; Liversage 2012). In

case of transnational marriage arrangements, family and kin serve as matchmakers between individuals who otherwise might never have met. Only recently, with Internet and convenient transportation, opportunities for kin-independent love matches across large geographical distances and national borders are increasing (Charsley 2012). Transnational marriages with spouses from Turkey actually comprise a large part of all marriages of Turkish migrants and their descendants. Numbers are ranging from a third to a half or even more, depending on cohorts, generation, gender and the national contexts with their growing legal restrictions (see González-Ferrer 2006; Baykara-Krumme and Fuß 2009; Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer 2012; Liversage 2012; Carol, Ersanilli, and Wagner 2014). The above-mentioned TIES study differentiated between first- and second-generation spouses, and found a higher proportion of arranged marriages among the former (even though not all of them might actually be transnational partners, see Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer 2012, 251). Research with the 2000 Families data supports the notion of selectivity of transnational marriages. The likelihood of arrangement and consanguinity is higher for marriage migrants who leave Turkey for Western Europe than for their peers who get married and remain in Turkey (Baykara-Krumme 2013b).

Yet, as the TIES data show, family involvement is not confined to transnational marriages (Straßburger 2003; Hense and Schorch 2013). Families search for spouses from 'good families' also within the migrant community. This reputation is learned about by visits or communication. On the side of the children, the norm of filial duty within a context of family cohesion, solidarity and various degrees of family pressure drives the adherence to parental influence (de Valk and Liefbroer 2007a; Baykara-Krumme 2013a). Also, in case of scarcity of potential spouses or lack of other meeting opportunities, children may themselves ask kin members for support and information which then may result in marriage arrangement (Nasser, Dabbous, and Baba 2013). Qualitative research suggests diverse processes of marriage arrangement and different responses to parental involvement by the children (see examples in Straßburger 2003; Hense and Schorch 2013; Charsley and Liversage 2013). Even though researchers generally differentiate between couple-initiated (love match) and family-initiated (arranged) marriages (and so do I, see below), there are in fact many gradations. They comprise of different degrees of individual and familial influence on choice of spouse, resulting for instance in patterns such as the 'love-cum-arranged marriage' in the Indian context (Mody 2002, 248), the hybrid forms of 'arranged love marriages' in Nepal (Allendorf 2013, 463) or, adding a new aspect, the 'self-arranged marriages of convenience' of gay and lesbian South Asian minority members in the UK which primarily serve to appease the parents (Mody, 2013, 382). Research on Turkish families shows that in many cases of arrangement the children have a say, while at the same time family involvement remains high in the emerging couple-initiated marriage mode (Hortacsu 1999; Uslu 2011). Various researchers suggest that marriage modes in these cultural settings can only be understood as 'continuously overlapping rather than distinctive categories' (Straßburger 2003, 229). Marriages arranged by parents without spousal input (sometimes against their will in terms of

'forced marriages') constitute one end of the scale and the love marriage independent of (or maybe against) parental advice the other end, with various mixed forms—comprising the majority of all cases—in between.

2.2. The Dissimilation Perspective

In migration research, attitudinal and behavioural changes of migrants are of major interest and at the core of classic theories of assimilation and acculturation. It is acknowledged that, alongside a change of cultural patterns to those of the host society, there may be a linear continuation of cultural traditions brought from home or the emergence of new, reactive patterns (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 284). 'Immigrant cultures' may result from 'creative culture building' processes in first and subsequent generations (Foner 1997, 961). Although the context of origin is implicitly acknowledged, the focus of most research is on the (one) destination context and the degree of similarity or (remaining) difference to the majority population. Further theoretical advancements in the last years stress, first, the institutional and other contextual variations of the destination contexts which impact incorporation and acculturation processes (Crul and Schneider 2010; Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011; Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012). By differently restricting marriage migration, for instance, patterns of (transnationally) arranged marriages may vary. Second, within the framework of transnationalism (Glick 2010; Amelina and Faist 2012; Pries and Seeliger 2012), researchers have become aware of the necessity of binational or transnational research perspectives. Glick points out that family behaviour in the sending and receiving contexts is neither fixed nor static. Without considering socio-demographic changes in both contexts, she argues, immigrant adaptation processes through changing family patterns cannot be adequately understood. It remains unclear where behavioural shifts actually take place (Glick 2010, 508). Also, many sending and receiving contexts are mutually influential in terms of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are exchanged, organised and transformed (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011; Pries and Seeliger 2012). Research on migrants' family practices gains by moving beyond the national borders of the destination context.

In this paper, I add to the debate by including the developments in the sending context for better understanding migrants' practices. I apply what FitzGerald (2012) called the 'homeland dissimilation' perspective: 'The counterpart to assimilation, the process of groups or individuals becoming similar, is dissimilation, the process of becoming different' (1733). In his work on the US-Mexican context, regarding social mobility and educational outcomes, he shows:

> Thinking outside the national box, through comparing the growing differences between Mexican migrants and their descendants, on the one hand, and Mexicans who remain in Mexico, on the other, reveals dramatic upward mobility and a process of 'homeland dissimilation' that conventional accounts tend to miss. (FitzGerald 2012, 1734)

This 'important slice of migrant reality' (FitzGerald 2012, 1735) is overlooked and migration effects are poorly understood, he argues, by adopting the perspective of the receiving country alone. The dissimilation perspective with its inclusion of home-country developments reflects many migrants' considerations. Cultural patterns as well as economic and social positions among migrants and their descendants are acknowledged relative to those in the origin country. Such an approach has been recently applied to fertility matters (White 2011), value transmission (Nauck 2007; Spierings 2014a) and electoral participation (Spierings 2014b), but is still rare in other realms and lacking with regard to marriage practices.

Yet, it seems specifically interesting. In Turkey, structural and cultural changes over the past decades have led to a remarkable demographic shift. A recent national Family Survey shows that 70% of first marriages of people above 65 years and only 39% of the 18- to 24-year-olds were arranged. The proportion of arrangements without spousal consent decreased from 21% to 3% (Uslu 2011, 198), with systematic variations according to region and education. After the republic's foundation in 1923, national government policies were issued with the intention of expediting modernisation and development. Legal registration, a minimum age and the consent of both partners became a requirement for marriage: 'Gaining Western patterns was the leitmotiv of the reforms' (Kavas and Thornton 2013, 7). In subsequent decades, large population growth, structural changes, subsequent industrialisation, internal rural–urban migration, urbanisation and educational expansion promoted massive change (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca 2005). However, whereas Western marriage patterns had existed in certain urban parts and ethnic minority groups long before the 'revolution from above' and subsequent social transformations, the descent marriage regime prevailed after the Kemalist reforms in many rural areas. Influences of both the peasant and the Islamic tradition of patrilineal kinship and patrilocal residence system remained powerful (Nauck and Klaus 2008). Urban–rural differences are still evident with 51% of the urban, but 60% of the rural population living in arranged marriages, and particularly low percentages in the larger Western cities of Istanbul (39%) or Izmir (43%; Uslu 2011, 196). This is related to educational differences. Among individuals with higher tertiary education, 20% are in an arranged marriage, whereas this applies to 36% of those with higher secondary, 48% with lower secondary and 60% with primary education. Among individuals who never went to school or are illiterate, shares are 66% and 73%, respectively (Uslu 2011, 198). Education is one of the main structural factors of social change because it not only affects the opportunity structure and decision power within the family but also individual preferences (Ghimire et al. 2006; Allendorf 2013). Higher education increases the opportunity to meet people outside the family, and parents may find it increasingly difficult to oppose children's preferences. Also, in schools, alternative ideas and information may be disseminated. With more years spent in school, children may be more predisposed to accept different marriage modes as normal.

From a dissimilation perspective, the research question now reads to what extent migrants abroad in Europe actually differ from their stayer peers. Differences may

hint to specific influences of migration, Western European exposure or the destination contexts (I call it 'migration effect'). The concept of dissimilation, like the complementary concept of assimilation, implies a dynamic perspective (FitzGerald 2012). In the analyses below I consider two time dimensions. Comparisons across marriage cohorts are applied to reflect socio-demographic change over time. Transmission processes within families are mapped to shed light on the very processes of intergenerational continuity in broader contexts of cultural transmission and change. The transmission of culture from one generation to the next is an essential condition for a common culture, yet the transmission of culture is hardly exhaustive, but rather ranging between a perfect reproduction and no transmission at all (Nauck 2007). Following recent trends in family research, I am not only interested in parent–child interactions, but also more far-reaching triggering mechanisms beyond the nuclear family, including grandparents (Bengtson et al. 2009; Andersson and Hammerstedt 2010). The two comparison groups are stayers and migrants. Whereas the stayers comprise of those who never left their country of birth, the migrants immigrated several years before getting married or were born in Western Europe. Since the data used here lack detailed partner and marriage information (see below), it is not possible to identify transnational marriages for the subsequent analyses. Both the partners of stayers and of migrants may be marriage migrants from abroad. Also, it is beyond the scope of this paper to disentangle the role of the multiple (and changing) social, economic, cultural and—when it comes to transnational marriages—legal contexts in the various European residence countries. Rather, the paper focuses on the dissimilative development of marriage patterns which basically can take three different forms:

(1) Stronger decline in migration: In migrant families, the decline of marriage arrangement across cohorts and generations exceeds the decrease among stayers in Turkey (i.e. negative effect of migration on marriage arrangement). This pattern of dissimilation may be caused by adaptation and acculturation processes. The competing partner-choice model with low family involvement in the Western destination contexts challenges cultural transmission processes. Acculturation processes of children and parents include cultural value shifts towards Western patterns (Penn 2011) or adaptation in terms of a situational reaction to new context conditions (Nauck 2007; Glick 2010). Families may increasingly lose interest in (arranged) marriages with partners from Turkey or develop new (transnational) marriage strategies with less family involvement (Charsley 2006; Hense and Schorch 2013). The forces of change may actually be the same as in the sending society but they are more powerful due to different opportunity and cultural contexts in Western Europe.
(2) Similar change, no dissimilation: The pattern of decline of family involvement is similar in Turkish migrant and stayer families (no additional migration effect). As migrant families deliberately preserve certain homeland marital values and behaviours, and at the same time adopt some of the Western destination context,

they may resemble stayer families in times of transformation (Allendorf 2013). In both contexts, new ways of combining traditional and modern spouse selection procedures may produce similarly hybrid forms (Foner 1997), specifically in case of transnational exchange and social (reverse) remittance flows. The underlying mechanisms are alike: families and individuals react to changing contexts not by abandoning, but modifying original patterns (Hortacsu 1999; Straßburger 2003).

(3) Weaker decline in migration: Change towards less family involvement is stronger in Turkey than in migrant families in Europe (positive effect of migration on arrangement). This dissimilation may be caused by cultural preservation through strong transmission or patterns of (reactive) revitalisation. Migrant families may be more inclined to cultural continuity. Specific migration- and minority-related conditions may also lead to an intensification of minority customs through the intense and very conscious socialisation of the next generation within the family and migrant community (Phalet and Schönpflug 2001; Nauck 2007). Arrangement may become a different meaning, with families purposively seeking to strengthen ties within the minority group and to maintain or gain reputation and social status by arranging marriages with children of other minority members (Mody 2002; Straßburger 2003). Also, a high interest in partners from Turkey may strengthen the role of family and kin as matchmakers in the partner choice process.

In the interpretation of the data below, I refer to these working hypotheses and contrast the three divergent patterns. The second pattern may in fact result from nullification effects of divergent trends in different parts of the migrant population. Some migrant lineages may be characterised by a more rapid intergenerational decline when compared to stayer lineages in Turkey (pattern 1) while the decline may be slower in other families (pattern 3), resulting in overall similar changes (pattern 2).

3. Data and Method

3.1. The 2000 Families Study

This paper uses data from the 2000 Families study ('2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe', Guveli et al. 2014). The data collection started in five regions spread across Turkey during the summer months of 2010 and 2011, namely in the administrative districts of Acıpayam (Denizli), Akçaabat (Trabzon), Emirdağ (Afyon), Kulu (Konya) and Şarkışla (Sivas, pilot study). Based on a screening procedure, a representative sample of men born between 1921 and 1946 in these regions was collected, who migrated as labour migrants to Western Europe between 1961 and 1974 and stayed for a minimum of five years ('migrants', three years in the pilot study), or could have migrated but did not (control group of stayers). These men, alive or dead at the time of the survey, served as 'family heads', in the sense that data of all their descendants were collected, including up to four family generations. The five regions were chosen because they were known to be regions with high

migration levels (Akgündüz 2008). In each region, a clustered probability sample was drawn, using address registers of the Turkish Statistical Institute to identify primary sampling units, proportional to the estimated population size of the local community. From the primary sampling point, the randomisation included a random walk, starting at the specified address, knocking on every other door and stopping when 60 contacts had been made. After the identification of four households with a migrant (as a closer or more distant relative of one household member), one stayer household was located (quota of 20%). In each region, the target number was 400 family heads (300 in the pilot region).

After an eligible household was found and willing to participate, its members were asked to complete a family module with basic information on the family head and all his descendants as well as valid contact details of at least two of his family members. Based on this family module, adult family members were selected randomly for personal interviews. The contact details were used to carry out the interviews by phone, i.e. independent of their current place of residency in Turkey or abroad. Additionally, the best-informed family member was identified by the household or family members and interviewed about each adult family member to obtain basic information about their demographic, socio-economic and migration backgrounds ('proxy interview'). In total, the data collection yielded 1992 complete family modules, of which 1583 were 'migrant families' and 409 were 'stayer families', comprising of 37,008 and 11,970 individual family members, respectively.

For 1544 families, the so-called 'proxy interviews' could be performed, and 5980 persons were personally interviewed. The 'proxy interview', which is the primary database in this analysis because it included information about the marriage mode, was conducted either by phone or face-to-face. The informants were children of the family head (41%), the male family head himself (22%), his wife (9%), a grandchild (8%), child-in-law (6%) or other relatives (14%; these shares do not include the pilot region). Observations in the field suggested that often many family members were around during the proxy interview which should increase the validity of the proxy information. Also, correlations were high for items that were included in both the proxy and the personal questionnaire. The migrant families live in various European countries. During labour recruitment, the migrants predominantly emigrated to Germany (about 57%), France and Belgium (10%, respectively), the Netherlands and Austria (7%, respectively), and Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland. Many returned without bringing their families. The majority of the individuals in the 2000 Families data live in Turkey today. Of those abroad, most live in Germany, followed by Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the other countries. Clearly, the data are not representative of all Turkish migrants in Europe, but reflect the experiences of migrants and their descendants who originate from typical emigration regions in the 1960s and 1970s compared to their stayer counterparts from the same neighbourhoods.

3.2. Definitions and Method

The marriage-related questions in the proxy interview referred to the current or last marriage and included the question whether the marriage was arranged ('görücü usulü evlendi') or couple-initiated ('tanışarak evlendi'). The former comprises of arranged marriages where parents wield the primary decision-making power; the latter refers to spouses being the primary decision-makers. I define as migrants all individuals who were exposed to Western Europe before marriage. They (i) were born in Turkey and emigrated to Europe at the age of 16 at the latest or (ii) were born in Western Europe and remained living there. Thus, members of the second- and third-migrant generation are called 'migrants' even though they did not immigrate to Europe themselves. All migrant family heads are included as migrants. Stayers are those who were born in Turkey and never emigrated abroad, neither before nor in the course of marriage. The specific group of marriage migrants, who left Turkey following a marriage with a partner in Europe, is excluded from the following analyses since the focus is on the effect of migration before marriage. They may be included as partners of migrants. However, since only very limited partner information is available in the proxy interviews and detailed migration-related information is lacking in the personal data, the share of transnational marriages among the migrants in Europe (and among the stayers in Turkey) cannot be specified.

In the first part of the analyses, I use aggregate data to address patterns of sociocultural change in the two groups of stayers and migrants. Included are all adult individuals, i.e. grandfathers (G1), parents (G2) and children (G3) who were or had been married. This generation labelling refers to the family generations, i.e. the family structure of the survey design. It does not necessarily overlap with the common understanding of immigrant generations in migration research (Rumbaut 2004). In fact, even among the children (G3), some immigrated themselves as first-generation immigrants, together with or following their parents (G2). In total, n = 18,822 proxy interviews were collected with information on individual family members above the age of 17. They belong to 1525 families. N = 15,645 cases were identified as migrants or stayers, and of these n = 10,443 were married at least once by either marriage mode. In G1, 100% were married, decreasing to 93% in G2. Among the children (G3), who were on average 26 years old, 47% were married. Of those married, 8421 can verify getting married between the years of 1935 and 2012 at an age older than 14 years. In total, I can include 8138 cases with additional valid information on the control variables sex and education (with missing values in the proxy interview replaced by information from personal interviews as far as possible).

Similar to other studies on marriage modes (e.g. Ghimire et al. 2006), I focus only on married individuals and do not include singles. Since the timing and the mode of marriage may be related (arranged marriages tend to be at earlier ages, when parental influence is higher; see Ghimire et al. 2006, 1188), I may overestimate the prevalence of arranged marriages in the younger age groups. In our data, the median (mean) age

Table 1. Sample description (aggregate data).

	All	Stayers	Migrants
Women	44.3%	51.5%	33.7%
Education	1.97 (1.16)	1.87 (1.14)	2.13 (1.18)
Marriage cohort			
Until 1970	13.1%	5.5%	24.2%
1971–1990	30.8%	35.6%	23.6%
1991 until today	56.1%	58.9%	52.2%

Source: 2000 Families study, n = 4835 (stayers) and 3303 (migrants).

at marriage is 22 (24) years in G1 (males only), 21 (21) years in G2 and 21 (22) years in G3. Arranged marriages occurred significantly earlier than couple-initiated marriages (mean ages are 22 and 23 years, respectively, $p < 0.001$). Note also that the information on the marriage mode refers to the current or last marriage and that all remarriages are included in the aggregate data. About 3% of the respondents report more than one marriage (n = 275) following the death of previous partner or divorce. The share is highest for grandfathers (G1, 16%, n = 180) and low in subsequent generations (G2: 2%, n = 79, G3: 1%, n = 16). Table 1 presents the sample description. The different distributions across marriage cohorts and the low share of women among migrants are mostly due to the sampling design of the survey (only males as family heads). The mean educational attainment, measured at a scale ranging from 1 'drop out', 2 'primary', 3 'low secondary', 4 'high secondary' to 5 'tertiary', is higher among migrants. These compositional differences will be taken account of in the multivariate models.

In the second part of the analyses, I use three-generational lineage data. Individuals are directly linked to their ancestors and descendants, i.e. embedded within their lineages, following the original family design of the data (see above). For the analysis, I linked children (G3) to their parents (G2) and grandparents (G1). I identified 4061 three-generational lineages of which all three lineage members were married at least once, either by the family-initiated or couple-initiated mode. In 1228 of these lineages, all three members were migrants (n = 506) or all were stayers (n = 722) as defined above. Note that they comprise only 30% of all three-generation lineages with married family members. Not considered are lineages in which, for instance, grandfathers had emigrated without ever bringing their descendants to Europe or cases where parents or children migrated to Europe later after marriage. I purposely selected and compared only 'pure' migrant and stayer lineages without mixed migration patterns in order to clearly differentiate between the two contexts of non-migration and migration. Different migration and return migration experiences in the various generations, with different lengths of stay, etc. result in various alternative combinations which are, however, not the focus of this paper (see for a different approach Spierings, 2014a). Another 50 lineages were not considered due to a remarriage in the grandparental or parental generation that occurred after the

marriage in the subsequent generation. For the final analyses (with control information on education of parents and children) I could include 1020 valid lineages, belonging to 280 families. On average, there were seven lineages per family, with a minimum of one lineage in 41 families and the maximum of 34 lineages in one family. The individuals considered in these lineages belong to a subgroup of those considered in the aggregate data.

For multivariate analyses, I employ logistic regression models to take account of both composition and interaction effects. The focus is on the likelihood of arranged (1) versus couple-initiated (0) marriages. The presented odds ratios can be interpreted as the amount by which the odds (here: of an arranged marriage) are multiplied for each unit of change in the respective independent variable. If the coefficient is greater than one, the effect is positive, and every unit change increases the odds; if the coefficient is less than one, the effect is negative. All multivariate models include the control variable regions of origin, and consider the family structure of the data (sibling data, thus lack of independence between observations) by applying the cluster correction in Stata. Interaction effects are calculated to identify differences in changes over time and over generations between migrants and stayers.

4. Results

4.1. Marriage Arrangement across Cohorts

Based on aggregate data, marriage patterns of stayers and migrants were compared across marriage cohorts. A decline in the prevalence of arranged marriages over time was clearly evident. This decline occurred in both groups, but the levels were somewhat lower among migrants (Figure 1).

The data clearly highlighted the extraordinary importance of the arranged marriage mode in the early marriage cohorts. More than 80% had married following an arrangement by family or kin. In the decade from 1950 to 1960, the proportion was as high as 90% and 95% for stayers and lower for migrants, but this pattern changed

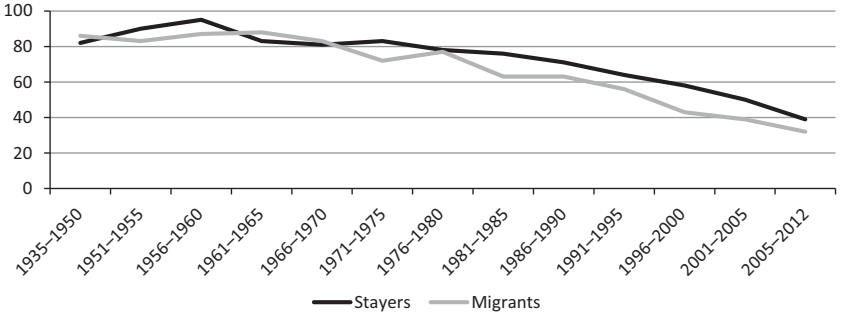

Figure 1. Arranged marriage by migrant status over time (marriage cohorts, in %). *Source*: 2000 Families study, n = 4835 (stayers) and 3303 (migrants).

Table 2. Likelihood of arranged vs. couple-initiated marriage (logistic regression, OR).

	Model 1	Model 2 with interaction effect
Migrants (ref.: stayers)	0.70 (0.06)***	0.63 (0.14)*
Women (ref.: men)	1.08 (0.06)	1.08 (0.06)
Education	0.68 (0.02)***	0.68 (0.02)***
Marriage cohort	0.81 (0.01)***	0.80 (0.02)***
Interaction effect: migrant × marriage cohort		1.01 (0.03)
Constant	16.72 (2.60)***	17.94 (3.69)***
Pseudo R^2	0.14	0.14

Source: 2000 Families study, $n = 8138$, $+p < 0.10$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$. The regions of origin are included as a control variable (not shown).

in the subsequent decade with slightly more migrants than stayers marrying after arrangement. From the 1970s onwards, migrants were less often in arranged marriages than stayers, and the share of arranged marriages decreased to below 80 and, in the 1990s, to less than 60%. Eventually, the proportion is 32% in the most recent marriage cohorts. Among stayers, marriage arrangement characterised still more than 80% of all marriages in the 1970s. The declined started somewhat later and the proportion of arranged marriages was higher even in the most recent marriage cohorts (39%).

Table 2 demonstrates the negative trend over time (0.81, $p < 0.001$) and supports the negative migration effect in terms of less family involvement in the partner choice process in migrant families in Western Europe (0.70, $p < 0.001$). Regarding the control variables, higher education was, as shown in the literature, significantly negatively associated with marriage arrangement. Women were more often in arranged marriages than men (OR = 1.17, $p < 0.01$; see also Uslu 2011). Once educational differences were taken into account, however, no significant difference between the two sexes remained (OR = 1.08, n.s.; see Table 2). Both effects of time and migration existed independent of educational differences (Model 1). Also, the pattern applied to migrants in all European countries. When compared to the stayers in Turkey, all migrants' destination country coefficients were below one (with significant effects for Germany and the Netherlands, not shown). The lower likelihood of arranged marriages among migrants was thus indeed a migration effect which is largely independent of national country-specific context factors.

The decline over time occurred similarly in both groups of migrants and stayers. The interaction effect of migration status and marriage cohort on arranged marriage was insignificant (Model 2) and in separate models the effect of marriage cohort is the same in both groups (OR = 0.80, $p < 0.001$). These results reflect patterns of inter-cohort change rather than continuity, both in Turkey and among the migrants and their descendants in Western Europe. The changes which were evident for the stayers

in Turkey are consistent with the development of marriage modes described in Turkey-wide surveys. With reference to the three working hypotheses, the lower likelihood of arranged marriages among migrants lends support to the first hypothesised pattern of dissimilation. However, since the pace of chance did not seem to significantly differ (stayers started from a higher prevalence in the earlier marriage cohorts), data also support the pattern of similar change without dissimilation over time (second hypothesis). There is no evidence of dissimilation in the sense of weaker decline among migrants at the aggregate level. I look for further confirmation below by applying three-generational data.

2.2. Transmission Processes in Three-generational Families

Based on three-generational lineage data, Figure 2 shows how the marriage modes have changed relative to the pattern in the preceding generation. The left-hand white half of the oval represents the percentage of arranged marriages, and the grey half couple-initiated marriages. For instance, in the stayer lineages, a large percentage of grandparents (95%) got married after an arrangement. When we follow the lineages of these grandparents (G1), we find that 84% of the children (G2) also got married by arrangement mode. Intergenerational continuity was quite high. This, however, changes as we follow the lineage further down. Of the lineages in which the grandparents (G1) and the parents (G2) were in an arranged marriage, only 57% of the children showed the same pattern. By contrast, 43% got married after couple-initiated partner selection. The change over three lineage generations was enormous, with the largest intergenerational gap from the second (G2) to the third generation (G3).

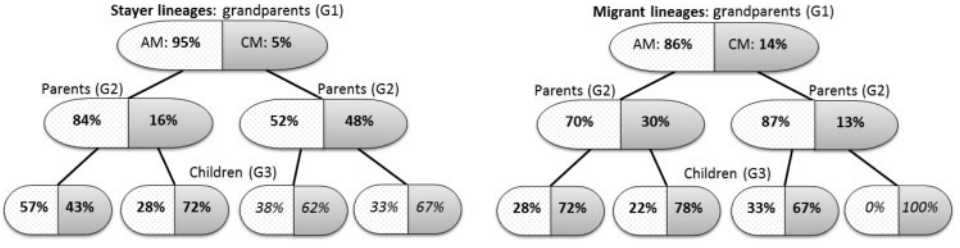

Figure 2. Intergenerational transmission in stayer and migrant lineages (%).
Note: White fields = percentage of arranged marriages (AM), grey fields = percentage of couple-initiated marriages (CM).
Source: 2000 Families study, n = 591 stayer lineages, 429 migrant lineages, numbers in italics if related to less than 30 cases.

The other percentages presented indicate that intergenerational change from the arranged to the couple-initiated mode is by no means the only pattern. It is not an irreversible process of development. Grandparents (G1) in couple-initiated marriages do have children who live in an arranged marriage (52%). And even among children whose grandparents and parents were in a couple-initiated love marriage, about one third (33%) married in the arranged mode. Case numbers are

rather low (n = 15 children with couple-initiated marriages in the parent and grandparent generation), but they support—at least by tendency—the notion of multiple patterns of family change.

Migrant families differ to some extent from the described pattern. To start with, family involvement was lower in the first generation (86%). More importantly, only 70% of the parents (G2) whose parents (the grandparents, G1) were in an arranged marriage got their marriages arranged. In about a third of these lineages (30%), the parents selected their partner themselves. In the third generation the share of arranged marriage was even lower: only 28% of all children whose parents and grandparents were in an arranged marriage show the same marriage mode. The large majority (72%) lived in a couple-initiated marriage. Intergenerational transmission of marriage modes in a migration context seems to be lower. In the third generation, the prevalence of family involvement has decreased tremendously, yet arranged marriages remain common.

Again, various family patterns of change exist. For instance, 87% of parents (G2) whose parents (the grandparents, G1) chose their own partners themselves got married by means of arrangement (see Figure 2). This pattern clearly deviates from that of stayer families in which only 52% of parents from couple-initiated marriages were married in the arranged mode. Intergenerational parental transmission not only seems to be lower in migration, but to occur in an unexpected direction, indicating a pattern of 'revitalisation' between first and second generations. In the subsequent children group, only 33% experienced an arrangement by parents or kin. The share is only slightly higher than that of the migrant children, whose parents and grandparents were in an arranged marriage (28%), suggesting a process of 'normal' decline after diverging developments in the previous generation. None of the migrant children, whose grandparents and parents were in couple-initiated marriages, were married by means of arrangement. And the percentage of children in arranged marriages whose grandparents were in an arranged marriage but whose parents selected their partners themselves was lower in migrant than in stayer families (22% and 28%, respectively). Marital 'revitalisation' occurred also among third-generation Turkish descendants in Western Europe but to lower degrees when compared to the peers in the context of origin.

The marriage modes were further addressed in multivariate models. The models 1(a) and 1(b) consider the parent generation (G2), the models 2(a) to 2(d) the children (G3). All models include individual characteristics as control variables which show results similar to those in the aggregate data (see Table 3). The main focus was on the transmission processes, and respective differences between migrants and stayers. Findings suggest that arrangement was more likely in the parent generation if the grandparents were in an arranged marriage themselves, but this effect was not significant (Model 1(a)). The interaction effect in model 1(b) indicates whether transmission processes actually differ between migrant and stayer dyads. The coefficient was highly significant, and separate models for migrants and stayers (not shown) supported the pattern: Transmission processes from grandparents (G1)

Table 3. Likelihood of arranged vs. couple-initiated marriage (logistic regression, OR).

	Parents (G2)		Children (G3)			
	M 1a: parental transmission	M 1b: interaction model	M 2a: parental transmission	M 2b: grand parental transmission	M 2c: transmission from both	M 2d: interaction model
Parent's mode			2.26 (0.74)*		2.28 (0.73)*	3.45 (1.23)***
Grandparent's mode	1.13 (0.44)	4.99 (2.34)**		1.52 (0.74)	1.55 (0.76)	
Migrant × (grand) parent's mode		0.09 (0.06)***				0.38 (0.22)
Migrants (ref.: stayers)	0.76 (0.24)	6.77 (4.40)**	0.43 (0.13)**	0.44 (0.13)**	0.45 (0.14)**	0.93 (0.50)
Women (ref.: men)	1.14 (0.26)	1.17 (0.27)	1.18 (0.19)	1.18 (0.19)	1.18 (0.19)	1.18 (0.19)
Education	0.75 (0.11)*	0.76 (0.11)*	0.59 (0.06)***	0.59 (0.06)***	0.58 (0.06)***	0.58 (0.06)***
Constant	1.44 (1.81)	0.31 (0.40)	3.31 (3.28)	4.40 (4.42)	2.29 (2.30)	2.60 (2.52)
Pseudo-R^2	0.05	0.07	0.13	0.12	0.14	0.14
N	517		1020			

Source: 2000 Families study. $+p < 0.10$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$.
All models include the region of origin and the marriage cohort as control variables.

to their children (the parents, G2) were extraordinarily high in stayer families (OR = 5.49, $p < .001$), but not relevant in migrant families (OR = 0.48, n.s.). Change is obviously more intense in migration. This supports the descriptive findings in Figures 2, which showed that change is not linear in only one direction, but occurs both from arranged to couple-initiated and from couple-initiated to arranged marriages.

For children, the parental patterns proved to be of major and significant importance (Model 2a): If parents (G2) were (not) in an arranged marriage, their children (G3) were significantly more (less) likely to live in an arranged marriage as well, indicating intergenerational continuity. I found no significant transmission effect of grandparents (Model 2b), yet a positive association. Grandparents are of some, but little relevance when it comes to the marriage mode of children (Model 2c). When considering similarities or differences in transmission processes between migrants and stayers, intergenerational change was again more intense in a migration context. The coefficients for parental transmission in stayer and migrant families clearly differed when the interaction effect was considered (though the interaction effect itself was not significant). Separate models showed that transmission was very strong in stayer families (OR = 3.39, $p < 0.01$), and still prevalent, but less influential among migrants (1.28, n.s.). Different from the relations between G1 and G2, the dominant direction of change, however, was clearly from high to low family involvement: more migrant than stayer children whose parents were in an arranged marriage choose their partners independently themselves (Figure 2).

5. Discussion

This paper concerns itself with marital change in Turkish families in the course of migration to Western Europe. With the 'homeland dissimilation perspective' (FitzGerald 2012) it offers an alternative contextualisation of migrants' marriage behaviours by drawing attention to the patterns in the contexts of origin and the changes across cohorts and generations. Regarding marriage arrangement, three alternative hypotheses were developed, suggesting more intense, similar or less intense change towards couple-initiated marriages in migrant families. In the data of the 2000 Families study, there was empirical evidence for all three patterns. The main finding was that change across marriage cohorts was quite similar, while at the same time, arranged marriages were rarer among migrants and intergenerational transmission was less intense in migration.

Data showed that about one third of the migrants' marriages in the recent cohorts were arranged (see also Huschek, De Valk, and Liefbroer 2012) which is commonly discussed in terms of a strong maintenance of traditional marriage patterns in (Turkish) migrant families. The analyses, however, uncovered an intense decline over time and generations. The prevalence of arranged marriages in fact dropped sharply in a rather short period of time. When compared to the stayer peers in Turkey, the changes across cohorts suggested similarity as proposed in the second hypothesis. At the aggregate level, the development among migrants largely reflects the

socio-demographic changes in Turkey (Nauck and Klaus 2008; Uslu 2011; Kavas and Thornton 2013). This pattern was hypothesised on the grounds of similarly emerging hybrid forms as described in much qualitative research for migrants and stayers (Hortacsu 1999; Straßburger 2003; Mody 2002, 2013; Allendorf 2013) or nullification effects at the aggregate level. The three-generational lineage data indeed suggest very diverse intergenerational developments which may give support to the interpretation of patterns leveling each other out. Regarding the marriage modes of stayers and migrants, it is difficult to tell to what degree the marriage processes actually look alike in both contexts. The dichotomy of arranged versus couple-initiated marriage which was applied here does not leave much room for hybrid patterns and subtle power dynamics in the complex negotiation process of partner selection. Emerging new forms may complicate the labelling of marriage modes, for older respondents, but also for the young. Yet, it should still be possible to identify who took the initiative and to what degree the other party was involved (Uslu 2011). Even though the two items considered here may disguise some differences, they clearly suggest that the general pattern has changed over time towards more spousal and less family involvement both in Turkey and in Europe.

Findings also indicated some remarkable differences and non-linear developments. To start with, arrangement occurred significantly less often among migrants when compared to stayers. In the youngest marriage cohorts, 32% of the migrants, but 39% of the stayers were in an arranged marriage. The difference existed notwithstanding divergent socio-demographic compositions and may be related to other characteristics not considered here. Higher starting levels in the earlier cohorts of stayers played an important role. This may reflect migration-related selection in the grandfather generation of pioneer labour migrants insofar as men in arranged marriages were less likely to emigrate to Western Europe or couple-initiated marriages became more likely after having left the home context.

Among stayers, own marriage modes were more intensely transmitted to subsequent generations, implying higher intergenerational continuity in families in Turkey, whereas migrant children's marriage modes were much less influenced by their parental patterns, indicating processes of migration-related dissimilation. Similar findings were shown by Spierings (2014a) regarding gender value transmission. They contrast existing evidence on more intense transmission processes in migrant families (e.g. Nauck 2007; Spierings 2014b) or similar transmission processes between migrants and natives in the destination context (e.g. de Valk and Liefbroer 2007b), but support the notion of intergenerational changes caused by migration as discussed in various classical and recent empirical studies on migration (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). The larger intergenerational change was specifically evident in the change from the parent (G2) to the children (G3) generation, which was described as dissimilation from the origin context, caused for instance by adaptation and acculturation in the Western migration context. The children generation includes many European-born and European-raised children who exhibit the preferences and

opportunities to have a larger say in the partner selection process. This is likely to result in less arrangement and, possibly, less consanguineous and transnational marriages. Even though cross-border contacts and kin relationships do involve love marriages to some extent (Straßburger 2003), recent legal restrictions of (consanguineous) marriage migration in many European countries might have contributed to the decline in migrants' marriage arrangement (Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012; Liversage 2012).

There was also evidence of the reversed pattern of dissimilation from the origin context in terms of a stronger preservation and even revitalisation of marriage arrangement, primarily in the earlier marriage cohorts, from grandparents to their children (G2). More migrants than stayers whose parents were in a couple-initiated marriage were themselves married after arrangement. This may have been motivated by stronger endogamy preferences in the minority groups (Hense and Schorch 2013) or pragmatic considerations in a transnational setting. During the fieldwork a couple of qualitative interviews were conducted with people about the impact of migration on their regions, and transnational marriages were occasionally mentioned. One respondent in the region of Emirdağ described the role of transnational (consanguineous) marriage arrangements following the years after pioneer migration:

> 'Everybody started to bring their relatives [to Europe]: 'Come, dear, come'. Why? Firstly because everybody wanted their relatives to be saved [from the situation in Turkey], but secondly, they were looking for friends and company for themselves. This network…. after a period of time it led to the intermarriages between the cousins. The daughters of aunts and uncles started to marry the sons of aunts and uncles. …This served the interest of both sides: Let me give my daughter or son to my brother, that way both my brother will be happy and my nephew will be spared, besides, I am going to be their neighbour'.

He describes how marriage migration was a means of escaping from poverty, of maintaining migration flows and close family ties (Reniers 2001; Shaw 2006). What seems to be 'revitalisation' or 'preservation' of traditional patterns then in fact reflects migration-specific adjustments. Qualitative research made a major contribution to the stock of knowledge about the emerging motivations, meanings and patterns of marriage arrangement in migrant populations (Straßburger 2003; Charsley 2006; Schmidt 2010).

Quantitative data on the issue of marriage arrangement is still rare, but clearly important to map and explain differences and distributions over time. Three-generational data is one unique approach, and the dissimilation perspective gives a new twist to old debates about practices and attitudes of migrants and their descendants after an international migration. Following this first exploration with the 2000 Families study, future analysis will have to address in detail the associations with gender, class and other migration and context characteristics. Under which conditions does family involvement decline, continue or intensify? Whereas the well-known effect of education was supported here (Ghimire et al. 2006), analyses did

not show gender differences once education was considered (Mody 2013) and indicated low national destination context influences (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2011). The association between grandparents' and children's marriage modes was weak in times of intense socio-demographic change (Andersson and Hammerstedt 2010). We still need to learn more about the role of transnational social spaces (Pries and Seeliger 2012) and social remittances (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011) when trying to comprehend migrants' (family) practices from a dissimilation perspective. The present analysis was a first step indicating that patterns of intergenerational change can be manifold and that the multiple impacts of migration and integration may in fact be lower than often assumed, given the developments in the country of origin.

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