

# PERPETUATION OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM TURKEY TO SWITZERLAND IN THE FORM OF MARRIAGE MIGRATION: DESCRIBING THE INCIDENCE

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***Abstract:** International migration history from Turkey to Western Europe is back to the labour demand emerged in Europe in 1960s. In Switzerland, according to the official statistics, total number of migrants from Turkey increased from 645 in 1960 to 12,215 in 1970 and to 72,633 in 2007. Following the first flow dominated by labour migrants, international migration progressively took other forms such as family reunification and asylum seeking. The former continued after the first generation migrants were reunified with their families. It still exists in Europe among Turkish communities mainly as a result of spouse selection behaviour of second generation migrants. The importance of marriage migration is increasing, as “marriage” emerges, to a greater extent, as the motive for immigration and thus for obtaining the legal permit to stay in a country. Moreover, the integration of newcomer spouses is a severe policy issue. This paper focuses on the migrants from Turkey residing in Switzerland and aims at 1) exploring the magnitude of marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland and 2) studying characteristics of second generation immigrants with respect to their choice of spouse. The incidence of marriage migration in Switzerland is investigated through descriptive analysis of the data from the last census. The analysis suggests the effect of various individual and family characteristics; like gender, education and household structure, on spouse selection of second generation migrants. The results support the perpetuation of marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland, which is explained in the framework of network/chain migration theory by traditions and networks. The findings of this paper are compared with the ones of the previous researches conducted in Europe and have policy implications for Switzerland and Turkey.*

## **1. Introduction:**

In the recent past, international migration emerged as a major demographic force throughout the industrialized world following the Second World War. All developed nations started to receive immigrants from a variety of less developed countries (Massey, 1990; World Bank, 2006).

Turkey had slightly involved in the international labour migration before late 1950s and 1960s and “was a latecomer to this migration process but it quickly became one of the main suppliers of migrant workers” (Sayari, 1986) mainly due to the unemployment in Turkey at that time due to modernization/mechanization of (agricultural) production and the steep population rise (from 20.9 million in 1950 to 44.7 million in 1980<sup>1</sup>), especially in the rural areas. This situation combined with the emergence of the demand for migrant

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<sup>1</sup> State Institute of Statistics, Turkey. [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr)

workers in European countries, encouraged some people from Turkey to search for better life conditions abroad. Germany was the leading destination country for the immigrants from Turkey due to its active guest worker recruitment policy as early as 1950s. Some of the Western European countries, such as United Kingdom and Netherlands, mainly met their labour needs from their former colonies. Linkage between migrant workers and their destination countries became evident with the bilateral agreements between Turkey and some European countries (for instance Germany, Belgium and Netherlands).

Contrary to this situation, Switzerland did not involve in mass migrant worker recruitment through official agreements and was not the main destination country for potential immigrants from Turkey<sup>2</sup>. According to Fibbi et al. (2004), most of the immigrants from Turkey came to Switzerland on their own initiatives. This may be explained by the relative location of the country, across the guest-worker travel routes from South-Eastern Europe and Turkey to the industrial cities (Godoy, 2002) and chain migration.

According to the official statistics, total number of Turkish citizens increased in Switzerland from 645 in 1960 to 12,215 in 1970 and to 80,462 in 2004 before decreasing to 72,633 in December 2007 mainly due to naturalization. Turkey is one of the ten countries which constitute the largest foreign population in Switzerland, according to the Swiss Federal Office for Migration, Integration and Emigration. Following the first migration flow dominated by labour migrants, migration from Turkey progressively took other forms such as family reunion and asylum seeking.

Information from the Swiss Central Aliens Register on recent migration flows reveals that subsequent immigration of the family constitutes the reason for almost 60% of the flow from Turkey to Switzerland in the period of 2002-2004. 12% of the immigrants in that period were asylum seekers while only 13% came to Switzerland due to employment or education reasons.

### *Changing patterns*

Migration flow from Turkey to Europe pursued the changes in socio-economic and political environment in both sending and receiving countries. First, there has been a shift from labour migration in all Western European countries following the energy crisis in 1973-74 and international migration took other forms such as family reunification and refugee movement. Networks and clandestine (illegal) migration were the migration patterns observed during the 1990s. Considerable refugee movements emerged in this period as a result of military intervention in 1980 and the military conflict between Turkish army and Kurdish groups in Turkey's east region (Hecker, 2006; Sirkeci and Icduygu, 2001). Starting from the reunification of first generation labour migrants with their families, family related migration continued and still exists in Europe mainly in the form of marriage migration (Celikaksoy et. al, 2003 and Kofman, 2004). Simple as it seems as a spouse selection, marriage migration remains a matter of debate with its pros and cons for both the spouse residing in Europe and the newcomer spouse in terms of

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<sup>2</sup> Switzerland recruited migrant workers massively from Italy with the emergence of labour demand, which was strengthened by the bilateral agreement signed between governments in 1948.

quality of their lives and their integration to the host society. Importance of the subject starts with the arrangement of marriage, since different marriage behaviours may have different motives/implications and may need various (policy) measures, and it continues with the success or failure of the marriage. Integration of newcomer spouses is now a severe policy issue. In the literature there are increasing number of studies for instance on Denmark (Celikaksoy et. al, 2003), Belgium (Timmerman, 2006 and Lievens, 1999) and Germany (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2006).

Either due to marriage or as worker and asylum seeker, “over 300 thousands persons move annually from Turkey to Europe and the return rate of Turks from Western Europe has always been very low” (Icduygu et. al., 2001; Abadan-Unat 1995; quoted from Celikaksoy et al., 2003). In addition to this continuous migration flow, the migrants from Turkey also carry importance for researchers because they display different characteristics depending mainly on the motive of their migration (Fibbi et. al, 2004).

In this context, this paper focuses on the migrants from Turkey<sup>3</sup> residing in Switzerland and aims at 1) exploring the magnitude of marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland and 2) studying characteristics of second generation immigrants from Turkey with respect to their choice of spouse. The incidence of marriage migration in Switzerland is investigated through analyzing the available data on the topic and information on marriage behaviours of the people from Turkey. The findings of this study are compared with the ones of the previous researches conducted in Europe.

## **2. Methodology and Analysis**

This paper focuses on the residents of Switzerland whose country of origin (or citizenship) is Turkey, which implies either the people were born in Switzerland as second generation of migrants from Turkey or they spent most of their lives in Switzerland (and were educated in Switzerland). Moreover, this paper aims at comparing importing spouse<sup>4</sup> choice with the other alternative partner choices available to the focus group, i.e. getting married to 1) a spouse from Turkish/Kurdish community residing in Switzerland, and 2) a spouse from another country.

Background characteristics of the second generation people from Turkey are investigated according to their spouse selection. Socioeconomic, cultural and demographic factors of immigrants and their families may affect the spouse choice of second generation. Moreover, as the choices in all aspects of life may vary with gender, the implications of spouse selection are expected to be different for women and men, especially in case of arranged marriages.

### **Data**

Like in many other industrialized countries, the statistical information system in Switzerland is very reliable. The data from Swiss Aliens Register and from the Civil Registration (marriage occurring in Switzerland) inform on the general trends regarding

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<sup>3</sup> The expression of “*Migrants/People from Turkey*” refers to Turkish and Kurdish people and is deliberately used in this paper to include both ethnicities.

<sup>4</sup> *Importing spouse* refers to spouse selection of second generation migrants from country of origin.

marriage-related migration in Switzerland (for people from Turkey and other foreign populations) as Census data provide through descriptive analysis a deeper understanding of the strategies of migrants from Turkey.

*2000 Census data* allowed us to investigate the population residing in Switzerland, native citizens as well as the foreigners, according to their origin, their age at the time of marriage and other socio-demographic variables.

The origin from Turkey is defined according to the following criteria:

- To be of Turkish citizenship at the date of census or
- To be bi-national (Swiss and Turkish) or
- To be Swiss, but born in Turkey and naturalized during the life.

Our sample also included Swiss citizens (or in some cases foreign citizens, not from Turkey) living in a household with a Turkish citizen.

Table 1: Distribution of our sample population according to their nationality

<b>CITIZENSHIP STATUS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Turkish citizens</b>	80501	75.18
<b>Bi-national (Swiss and Turkish)</b>	5415	5.06
<b>Swiss citizens (naturalized) born in Turkey</b>	8768	8.19
<b>Swiss citizens living with a Turkish citizen</b>	12397	11.58
<b>Total</b>	107081	100.00

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Our main data set from Census 2000 composed of individuals of Turkish origin (either Turkish citizen or naturalized during their lives) residing in private households<sup>5</sup> (Number of observations= 94684). In addition, there are 12,397 Swiss citizens living with people from Turkey (Table 1). Information available includes nationality, second nationality, age, sex, civil status, place of birth, education level, economic activity, socio-economic status and household type. Adding the “date of arrival to Switzerland” from Central Aliens Register<sup>6</sup> (available for 74% of our sample), second generation migrants from Turkey and newcomer spouses from Turkey were identified and their background characteristics were studied. Furthermore, using the information in Census 2000 for couples (Number of observations= 23585), the spouse selection choice of second generation migrants was categorized into “an imported bride or imported groom, a spouse from second generation women/men, a Swiss citizen spouse and a migrant spouse of Turkish origin living in Switzerland”. The possible effect of available factors (such as educational attainment and household structure) on their decision making was observed through descriptive analysis.

<sup>5</sup> Persons in collective households were not taken into account.

<sup>6</sup> The linkage is the result of a study granted by the Swiss Federal Research Foundation Nr. 10013-117885 called “Current migratory flows: demographic dynamism and growth”.

In terms of explaining the incidence of marriage migration, this paper employs international migration theory and network theory, specifically, chain migration as theoretical framework. According to this framework, it is argued that strong traditions and networks between the country of origin and the host country may lead to a continuous social control over the migrants. Push factors in the country of origin, such as relative poverty, low wages, high unemployment rate, political instability, and pull factors in the host country, such as economic and political stability, high minimum wages and welfare benefits, lead the family network to cause pressure on immigrant families to help new migrant candidates.

### ***Concepts***

*Second generation migrants from Turkey* was defined in order to include the persons aged between 15 and 35 1) who are Swiss citizens born in Switzerland with a second nationality from Turkey or born in Turkey but spent more than two third of their lives in Switzerland, 2) who are Turkish citizens born in Switzerland or spent more than two third of their lives if they were born in Turkey.

*Newcomer spouses from Turkey* is defined in order to include the persons whose duration of stay in Switzerland is equal to their duration of marriage or the difference is at most one year. The reason was to detect the newcomers from Turkey<sup>7</sup> to Switzerland following their marriage, either immediately or in a one-year time span. It was intended to observe some of their demographic characteristics together with the second generation migrants from Turkey by studying the period of 1981-2000.

### ***3. A Short Description of the Population from Turkey in Switzerland***

According to the official statistics, the total foreign population in Switzerland reached to 1,495,549 (constituting 20.5% of the total population) at the date of the 2000 Census. Total number of Turkish citizens was of 83,312 at that date, 54% of which was men (Swiss Federal Office for Statistics).

*People from Turkey according to their current nationality and place of birth:*

Our sample of people from Turkey (N=94684) is higher than the official number of foreigners from Turkey as Swiss citizens with Turkish origin are included. The population under study is composed of Turkish citizens (85%), persons of both Swiss and Turkish citizenship (6%) and Swiss citizens born in Turkey and naturalized during their lives (9%), which are most certainly of Turkish citizenship at birth.

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<sup>7</sup> Newcomers are identified according to their nationality, date of arrival to Switzerland and date of marriage. The information on their place of residence before migration is not available. Yet, it is assumed that large part of the newcomers - all of who are Turkish citizens- were residing in Turkey until marriage.

Table 2: Distribution of people from Turkey and Swiss native citizens according to the (first) citizenship, the place of birth and the household type

Citizenship / Place of birth		Type of Household				Total		
		Single Person	Nuclear Family	Extended Family	Non-family private household	R%	N	C%
Swiss	Switzerland	5.2	84.4	8.9	1.5	100	5065	5.4
	Turkey	9.4	80.7	8.5	1.3	100	8841	9.4
	Other country*	12.9	81.4	3.6	2.1	100	194	0.2
	<b>Total</b>	8.0	82.0	8.6	1.4	100	14100	15.0
Turkish	Switzerland	1.9	87.9	9.7	0.5	100	25982	27.6
	Turkey	7.0	81.3	10.5	1.2	100	47280	50.3
	Other country*	9.8	73.9	15.0	1.3	100	6661	7.1
	<b>Total</b>	5.6	82.8	10.6	1.0	100	79923	85.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	N	5597	77773	9690	963		94023	100
	R%	6.0	82.7	10.3	1.0	100		
<b>SWISS</b>	N	808520	3088512	138815	75846		4111693	
	R%	19.7	75.1	3.4	1.8	100		

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: There are 661 persons with missing information on their place of birth (83 Swiss citizens and 578 Turkish citizens). These observations were not included in the above table.

\* This category includes persons born abroad without any information on the place of birth. Among 6661 Turkish citizens born in other country, such persons represent 83%. 23% of others were born in Germany, 12% in Bulgaria, 10% in Yugoslavia and 8% in Austria. Among 194 Swiss citizens born in other country, 23% were born in Germany. This information implies that most of the people born in other country are migrants (or their descendents) from Turkey to other European countries.

#### *Composition of households:*

- Nuclear family is the main household type (82.7%) of the people from Turkey
- 10.3% live in extended family households (couples or families with another person in the household), which is three times more than the percent for Swiss native citizens.
- Single person households are more common among Swiss citizens (19.7%) compared to people from Turkey (6.0%).
- There is no particular difference observed according to place of birth.

#### *Migratory status:*

As mentioned below, two migratory status categories were developed. One is our main target group, *second generation*, as spouse-selection decision makers and the other is the group of people who migrated from Turkey, *the newcomers*, in order to be a spouse to a person (not necessarily of second generation) residing in Switzerland, more likely as a

result of socio-cultural factors such as strong ties with the migrant community and psychological/ economic factors like expectations related to a better life in Europe.

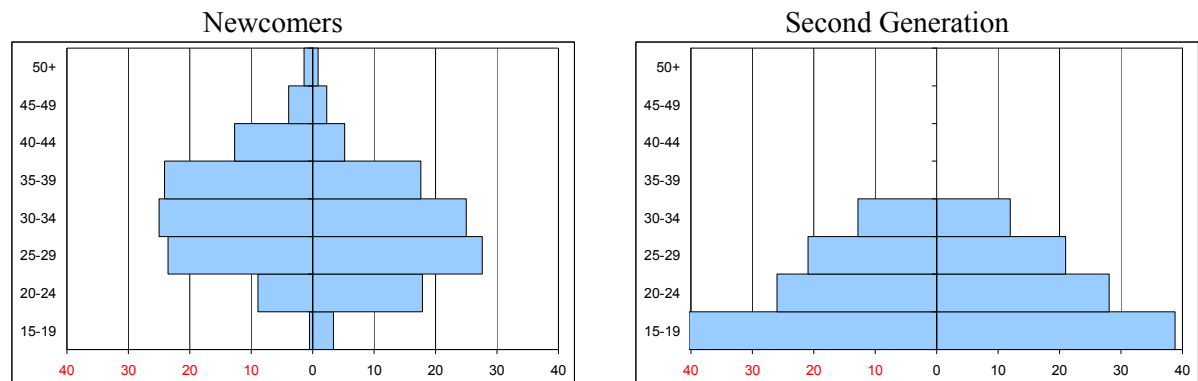
Table 3: Distribution of second generation migrants and newcomers by sex

SECOND GENERATION		Sex		Total
		Men	Women	
Swiss with Turkish origin Born in Switzerland		14.7	22.7	18.4
Turkish	Born in Switzerland	57.9	53.7	56.0
	Born in Turkey	27.3	23.6	25.6
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Observations		5647	6747	12394
R%		45.6	54.4	100.0
<b>NEWCOMERS</b>				
Number of Observations		3874	5423	9297
%		41.7	58.3	100.0

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

- As a result of our definition for second generation migrants from Turkey, 12,394 people aged between 15 and 35 and who were either born or grown up in Switzerland were identified from Census data (54.4% of which are women). More than 70% of both second generation men and women were born in Switzerland. As it can be observed in Figure 1, second generation adults are rather young.
- According to Census 2000 data, there were 9297 newcomer spouses who migrated to Switzerland at most in one year following their marriages after 1980. Women constitute larger part of the newcomers (with 58%).

Figure 1: Comparison of age and sex distribution of second generation migrants, newcomers (in % of each sex)



Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

*Educational attainment:*

Education is an important determinant of opportunities that people face with during their lives and may also play a role on the level of integration and consequently on the kind of marriage. Table 4 displays a picture of educational attainment of migrants from Turkey with respect to native citizens, of women with respect to men, of second generation and newcomers.

Table 4: Highest achieved education level of people aged 15 and over from Turkey, Swiss native citizens, second generation and newcomer migrants

Sex / Citizenship	Highest Achieved Educational Attainment				Total	N
	No Education Achieved	First Secondary	Second Secondary	Tertiary level		
<b>PEOPLE FROM TURKEY</b>						
<b>MEN</b>	17.4	49.2	24.9	8.5	100.0	31043
<b>Switzerland</b>	17.5	43.7	33.7	5.2	100.0	4824
<b>Turkey</b>	17.4	50.1	23.3	9.2	100.0	24630
<b>WOMEN</b>	24.2	51.7	19.3	4.7	100.0	26810
<b>Switzerland</b>	19.5	43.0	33.4	4.0	100.0	4459
<b>Turkey</b>	25.4	53.2	16.4	4.9	100.0	20894
<b>TOTAL</b>	20.6	50.4	22.3	6.7	100.0	57853
<b>SWISS NATIVE CITIZENS</b>						
<b>MEN</b>	2.8	17.9	54.1	25.2	100.0	1573498
<b>WOMEN</b>	3.4	32.0	55.8	8.8	100.0	1675222
<b>TOTAL</b>	3.1	25.2	55.0	16.7	100.0	3248720
<b>SECOND GENERATION</b>						
<b>MEN</b>	16.2	42.1	36.8	4.8	100.0	6091
<b>Switzerland</b>	17.1	43.0	35.1	4.9	100.0	4400
<b>Turkey</b>	14.0	40.0	41.3	4.7	100.0	1691
<b>WOMEN</b>	18.2	46.6	32.3	2.9	100.0	5058
<b>Switzerland</b>	19.5	44.6	32.8	3.1	100.0	3878
<b>Turkey</b>	14.0	53.3	30.8	1.9	100.0	1180
<b>TOTAL</b>	17.1	44.2	34.8	3.9	100.0	11149
<b>NEWCOMERS</b>						
<b>MEN born in Turkey</b>	15.7	54.5	19.2	10.6	100.0	2993
<b>WOMEN born in Turkey</b>	19.2	62.8	13.3	4.7	100.0	4061
<b>TOTAL</b>	17.6	59.4	15.9	7.1	100.0	7542

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: 1) First secondary level is the compulsory education. It corresponds to primary education in Turkey. Second secondary level is the post-compulsory stage, which is high school in Turkey. Tertiary stage covers universities and higher vocational training.

2) For newcomers, the figures are given only for women and men who were born in Turkey as it was observed that percent of the newcomers who were born in other countries is negligible. It should be noted that their highest achieved educational attainment does not necessarily reflect the level they acquired in Turkey.



Regarding the highest achieved educational attainment, differences are observed between people from Turkey and Swiss native citizens. Percent of people from Turkey who have no diploma (20.6%) is seven times higher than the percent for Swiss native citizens (3.1%). This huge difference is also seen in compulsory education. The value given to education (of both sex) is strictly related to other values and opportunities in a society as well as factors like economic situation. It may be assumed to have higher investment on human development in more developed countries like Switzerland, which our analysis confirms. On the contrary, for a lot of people/children in Turkey, obtaining a basic education diploma may be the end of their education which is linked to the value given to education system (Tunali, 1996). However, factors related to international migration such as the possible difficulty in adaptation to a different/complicated education system in host country should be noted. Moreover, the immigrant jobs created in host countries (mostly in service sector) may discourage migrants from acquiring tertiary degree.

The analysis proves the assumption of lower educational attainment for women, regardless of their nationality, compared to men. There is a remarkable gender difference in acquiring a degree higher than compulsory education between women and men from Turkey. The percent of women without any diploma (24.2%) is higher than men (17.4%) in this group. The difference emerges between Swiss native men and women at tertiary level, the percent who acquired a tertiary degree for the former (25.2%) tripling the percent for the latter (8.8%).

It is confirmed that Switzerland as place of birth brings about a decrease in the percent of women from Turkey without any achieved education degree (from 25.4% to 19.5%) with respect to Turkey born women. For men, the difference is not this obvious, except for the tertiary level at which the percent is much higher for the ones born in Turkey.

Results regarding the second generation should be cautiously commented as this population is young (see figure 1) and still enrolled in the education system. In the presence of social mobility, they are expected to achieve higher education levels than their parents from Turkey. However, due to above mentioned facts, data can not verify this affirmation.

Educational attainment information for newcomers shows the importance of acquiring compulsory education diploma in Turkey<sup>8</sup>. 54.5% of men and 62.8% of women finished only the primary education. Gender difference is evident in all categories. Especially the higher percent of women without any degree compared to men (19.2% versus 15.7%) and higher percent of men having tertiary degree compared to women (10.6% versus 4.7%) reflect the education situation in Turkey with respect to gender.

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<sup>8</sup> It may be assumed that larger part of newcomers obtained their degrees in Turkey as they come to Switzerland following marriage, yet, the information on place where the degree acquired is not available.

#### **4. Marriage behaviours:**

When migration is included in the process of marriage, the latter becomes more than just an emotional or cultural phenomenon. The combined decision process may include (and sometimes exclude) some factors affecting both choices separately. As Shaw (2001) argues, “marriage behavior implies more than a set of cultural and religious norms especially in the context of emigration. The different choices are influenced by experiences, circumstances and interests of the people who are making the choices”. These experiences and circumstances are intended to be described for second generation in this paper.

##### ***a. Marriage Behaviour of People from Turkey Residing in Switzerland***

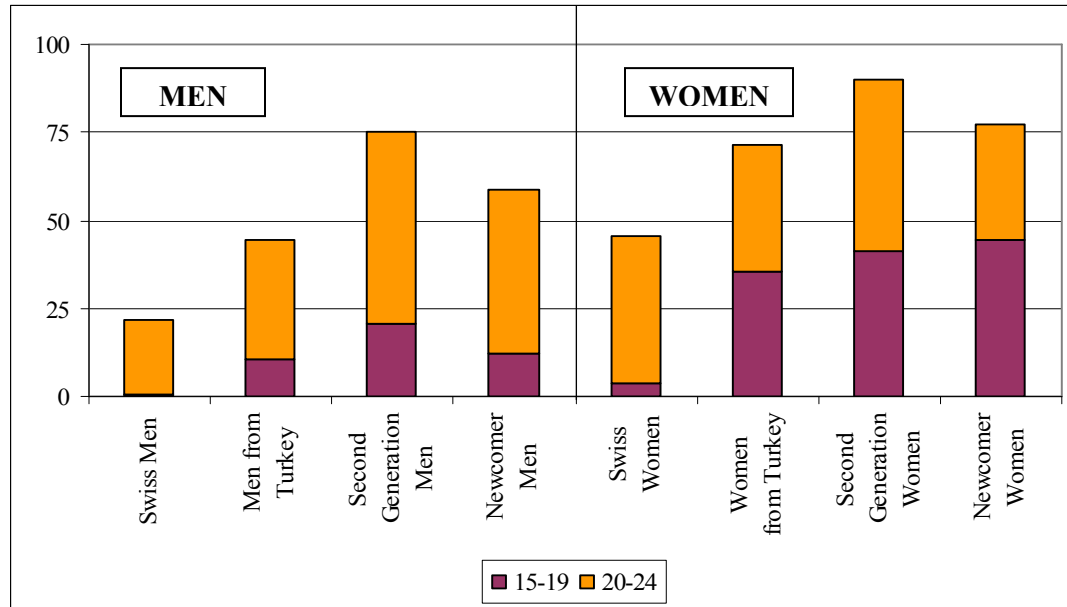
Countries that completed their demographic transition, like Switzerland, experienced a severe change in the structure of marriages. Divorce rates increased as well as the proportion of never-married men and women and the number of couples living together without any marriage contract augmented. These changes resulted in a significant decline in fertility. Non-married couples living together were started to be legally recognized in some countries. Marriage is gradually losing its significance as a social institution. On the contrary, situation is almost reverse in Turkey. The incidence of “never marrying” is very rare. Marriage, as a social concept rather than individual, is influenced by social and cultural processes at its every stage and remains as the institution inside of which fertility behaviour takes place (Koc and Civelek, 2007). Thus, it is evident that the social/cultural meaning attributed to “marriage” significantly varies between Turkey and Switzerland, and is more conservative in the former. In the process of investigating the marriage behaviour of second generation and its relation to integration, it is assumed that the expectations of spouses (and families) from marriage and their experiences change alongside the significance/value of marriage in a society. Thus, it is essential to first describe the marriage behaviour among people from Turkey.

Age at (first) marriage is an important component of marriage indicating the initiation of fertility especially among people from Turkey, for which marriage at very young ages, 15-19, is much more common (21.6%) compared to Swiss native citizens (1.8%)<sup>9</sup>. Almost 70% of women from Turkey got married before age 25 (Figure 2). This supports the inference of Koc and Civelek (2007), “the expected social behaviour of woman is their getting married before their mid-20s”. Whereas, men are subject to other set of rules (may be related to employment and education conditions) which leads one quarter of them to get married after age 30. Age at marriage for Swiss native men is high in the interval of ages 25-29 (43%) while woman at ages 20-24 (42.2%).

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<sup>9</sup> The percent distribution was calculated for the currently married people aged 30 and over. The variable cannot be calculated for the first marriage but the percent of second marriages are negligible.

Figure 2: Proportion of early marriage among Swiss native citizens, people from Turkey, second generation migrants and newcomers



Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

### *b. Marriage behaviour of Second Generation migrants and newcomer spouses*

Marriage behaviour of second generation migrants from Turkey reflects the strong ties maintained by emigrants with the place of origin, cultural and traditional (also religious for some cases) norms (which maybe stronger in migrant communities), economic and socio-demographic situations in both sending and receiving countries and overall expectations on the formation of a social institution, marriage, in the context of migration. Nuptiality behaviour of the second generation raises questions such as: What is the reason of second generation's spouse selection from Turkey in spite of the differences between spouses that may stem from growing up in two completely different societies? Is it an individual choice or do families have an impact on the decision (and do they arrange the marriage)? Can it be a sign of integration if second generation migrants choose a spouse from Switzerland? What are the consequences of marriage migration? What are the expectations and experiences of the spouses in different types of marriages? Some of these questions were tried to be answered in the extent of available data.

The percent of married persons is low among the second generation migrants (28.6%), which is explained by the current young age of this population. There is a difference between men and women; the percent of married among women (34.7%) is higher than of men (23.4%), the reason of which is mainly the fact that women get married younger than men. Yet, place of birth leads to a larger difference. More than half of the second generation women born in Turkey<sup>10</sup> are married while 70 % of Swiss born second generation is single. Apart from marriage, divorce is high among the Turkey born women (4.4%). The same relation between place of birth and marriage is observed for second

<sup>10</sup> Turkey born second generation men and women may be in the higher part of the 15-35 age range.

generation men. Marriage incidence among men born in Turkey (40.5%) is higher compared to 17% of married Swiss born second generation men. Marriage of the latter is the least common (17%) among second generation migrants (Table 5).

Table 5: Civil Status of second generation according to their place of birth and sex

	Civil Status			Total	N
	Single	Married	Divorced		
<b>MEN</b>	75.3	23.4	1.3	100.0	6747
<b>Switzerland</b>	82.0	17.0	1.0	100.0	4902
<b>Turkey</b>	57.6	40.5	1.9	100.0	1845
<b>WOMEN</b>	62.8	34.7	2.5	100.0	5647
<b>Switzerland</b>	69.2	28.9	1.9	100.0	4314
<b>Turkey</b>	41.9	53.6	4.4	100.0	1333
<b>TOTAL</b>	69.6	28.6	1.8	100.0	12394

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

#### *Types of marriages for the second generation migrants from Turkey*

The marriage arrangements of second generation are classified as 1) second generation women married to a spouse from Turkey (importing groom) 2) second generation men married to a spouse from Turkey (importing bride) 3) second generation women married to a Swiss spouse 4) second generation men married to a Swiss spouse, 5) second generation women married to a spouse living in Switzerland, 6) second generation men married to a spouse living in Switzerland, 7) both spouses of second generation.

Marriage migration - importing groom and importing bride - is the most common type of marriage among second generation migrants (former constitutes 25.4% and latter 24.2%). Among the total of 2890 marriages<sup>11</sup> involving second generation, marriage with a Swiss spouse is two times more common for second generation men (7.1%) compared to women (3.2%). Yet, overall, this type of marriage is not widely seen. Marriage with a spouse living in Switzerland, on the other hand, is high among second generation (17.8% for women and 11.0% for men) (Table 6). Such spouses of second generation women are all found to be Turkish citizens (who may come to Switzerland for other reasons than marriage) while Swiss resident spouses of second generation men are mostly citizens of Turkey (65.8%), Italy (10.3%) and Germany (4.7%). The Italian and German spouses are, maybe, second generation migrants from Turkey with a citizenship of the above countries.

<sup>11</sup> Number of marriages includes the couples living together. Marriage can be interpreted as any kind of family formation unless stated otherwise.

Table 6: Marriage types of second generation migrants

		N	%
<b>TYPE OF MARRIAGE</b>	<b>Importing Groom</b>	735	25.4
	<b>Importing Bride</b>	699	24.2
	<b>Second generation women with a Swiss spouse</b>	93	3.2
	<b>Second generation men with a Swiss spouse</b>	204	7.1
	<b>Second generation women with a spouse living in Switzerland</b>	513	17.8
	<b>Second generation men with a spouse living in Switzerland</b>	319	11.0
	<b>Both spouses of second generation</b>	327	11.3
<b>TOTAL</b>		2890	100.0

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: *Importing Groom* refers to marriage of a second generation woman with a newcomer man. *Importing Bride* refers to Marriage of a second generation man with a newcomer woman.

Table 7: Change in the partner choices of second generation men and women in time

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	TOTAL
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported bride</b>	59.1	54.4	39.8	45.1
<b>Second generation women</b>	22.2	21.7	22.4	21.1
<b>Swiss women</b>	1.0	3.2	9.0	13.2
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	17.7	20.8	28.8	20.6
<b>%</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	198	443	656	1549
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported groom</b>	52.4	42.3	43.9	44.1
<b>Second generation men</b>	11.7	17.3	24.4	19.6
<b>Swiss men</b>	4.8	8.1	4.0	5.6
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	31.1	32.3	27.7	30.8
<b>%</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	376	555	602	1668

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: 1) *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

2) There are 31 marriages involving second generation women and 12 marriages of second generation men in the period of 1980-1984.

3) 155 of second generation men and 24 of second generation women are living together with their partners, none of whom are newcomers. For men, 71.6% of these partners are Swiss women while more than 50% of second generation women living together with a second generation men. The figures in the last column, Total, includes the couples "living together". Whereas, on the left side of the table, in addition to some of the following tables, such couples had to be excluded as the information on their date of marriage is missing.

Another way of categorizing the spouse selection of second generation migrants is to investigate the changing behaviours/consequences/motives according to alternative spouse selection separately for men and women. Table 7 shows that importing spouse is the most likely choice of second generation men (45.1%) and women (44.1%). Yet, the incidence displayed a decline for both sex in ten years (from 59.1% in 1985-89 to 39.8% in 1995-99 for men and from 52.4% to 43.9% for women between the same periods). This decline is accompanied by an increase in Swiss spouse selection of men during the same period (from 1.0% in 1985-89 to 9.0% in 1995-99). For second generation women, a major increase is observed in their marriages to a second generation man (from 11.7% in 1985-89 to 14.8% in 1995-99). This sign of slight shift from marriage migration to selection of spouse from Switzerland, either Swiss or of other nationality, may stem from increase in the collapse of the marriages with an imported spouse (which is a hypothesis based on anecdotal reference and cannot be proven with the available data, yet Timmerman (2006) points out a great disappointment for both established and newcomer migrants due to different expectations in the case of marriage migration). Our results implying a decline in marriage migration confirms the results of Gonzalez-Ferrer's study in Germany (2006). He argues, in his study, that the new marriage cohorts are less likely to import spouses than immigrants married before 1974, before the restrictive labour migration policies, which rejects the common belief on the use of marriage as a means to avoid these policies. Changing patterns of spouse selection may also be affected from naturalization process in Switzerland and the analysis may fail to spot some second generation if they are Swiss citizens only.

Table 8: Marriage types of second generation according to age at marriage

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	Age at Marriage of Second Generation					N
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	%	
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>						
<b>Imported bride</b>	25.3	55.9	17.2	1.6	100.0	699
<b>Second generation women</b>	15.4	62.1	19.9	2.6	100.0	311
<b>Swiss women</b>	5.4	38.7	46.2	9.7	100.0	93
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	16.3	51.6	27.6	4.6	100.0	283
<b>TOTAL</b>	19.9	55.3	21.9	3.0	100.0	1386
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>						
<b>Imported groom</b>	48.3	47.2	4.2	0.3	100.0	735
<b>Second generation men</b>	39.2	54.0	6.4	0.3	100.0	311
<b>Swiss men</b>	22.2	55.6	21.1	1.1	100.0	90
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	44.4	45.4	9.8	0.4	100.0	498
<b>TOTAL</b>	43.9	48.4	7.3	0.4	100.0	1634

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: 1) *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

2) Couples living together could not be included in age at marriage analysis as the information on their date of marriage is not available.

Analysis of age at marriage of second generation with respect to different spouse selection choices reveals that the percent of women getting married at ages 15-19 is two times higher compared to men (43.9% versus 19.9%). A similar difference is observed on behalf of second generation men who get married after 25 (24.9% for men versus 7.7% for women). In more than 80% of the importing bride marriages, age at marriage for second generation men is lower than 25. Similarly, the likelihood of second generation women getting married before 25 is highest (95.5%) in the case of imported grooms. These findings imply younger marriages for both second generation men and women married to a newcomer spouse from Turkey compared to other spouse selection choices. On the contrary, marriages are more likely to be postponed to a later age for both sexes when they chose a Swiss spouse. In that case, the calendar of the marriage depends on both Turkish and Swiss norms.

##### ***5. Which factors may affect the type of marriage: Education, Employment and Household structure as indicators of family influence?***

*Assumptions regarding the different types of marriages of second generation:*

It may be assumed that the educational attainment of newcomer spouses is lower compared to the other types of spouse selection (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2006). Moreover, it may be more likely for second generation migrants who involved in marriage migration or married to someone from the same community to live in extended family households as a result of stronger ties with the family and traditions. In the cases of importing bride or groom, the employment of (newcomer) spouses is expected to be less likely compared to other types of marriages of second generation, where spouses have been already living in Switzerland. This can be used as an indicator of integration of newcomers.

*Educational attainment of second generation and their spouses:*

Education level of both second generation and their spouses are expected to have impact on the type of marriage. It is evident that second generation men have higher educational attainment compared to women, with higher percent who completed second secondary and higher education (58.0% versus 39.6%) and with lower percent without any diploma (6.2% versus 8.7%). Table 10 also confirms the above described state of gender difference in education, which results in higher educational attainment for husbands/partners of second generation women.

The relation between educational attainment and spouse selection of second generation reveals that the former is lowest in the choice of newcomer spouse for men (55%). It is not necessarily the case for women whose likelihood is still high when they have a primary school diploma (50.9%). In his study, Gonzalez-Ferrer (2006) also argues that importing spouse choice is related to low educational levels for men, yet not for women. Among men as among women, the probability to get married with a Swiss is significantly higher among those with second secondary or higher education level. The likelihood of getting higher education declines for second generation women when their spouse is living in Switzerland (who are all Turkish citizens) whereas it increases drastically for both men and women married to a Swiss spouse.

Table 9: Highest Achieved Educational Attainment of Second generation according to different types of marriages

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	Highest Achieved Educational Attainment of Second Generation			TOTAL
	No Education Achieved	First Secondary	Second Secondary+	
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported bride</b>	55.1	54.1	40.3	46.2
<b>Second generation women</b>	20.2	16.3	21.0	19.3
<b>Swiss women</b>	4.5	7.1	19.2	13.9
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	20.2	22.5	19.5	20.6
<b>%</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	89	510	828	1427
<b>R%</b>	6.2	35.7	58.0	100.0
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported groom</b>	41.7	50.9	40.2	45.9
<b>Second generation men</b>	18.9	14.4	23.4	18.4
<b>Swiss men</b>	1.6	3.0	11.4	6.2
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	37.8	31.6	25.0	29.5
<b>%</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	127	756	580	1463
<b>R%</b>	8.7	51.7	39.6	100.0

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

The assumption regarding lower education level of newcomers is proven by the analysis. Having no diploma is more frequent for imported spouses. 13.8% of imported grooms and 21.8% of imported brides achieved no educational attainment and for both groups it is less common to have completed second secondary or higher education level (30.3% and 22.1% respectively). Spouses living in Switzerland display a similar pattern with newcomers. Increase in educational attainment is observed in the cases of spouse selection from second generation and Swiss citizens. When both spouses are second generation migrants, half of female spouses and 63% of male spouses have a second secondary or higher education diploma.



Table 10: Highest Achieved Educational Attainment of Spouses of Second generation according to different types of marriages

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	Highest Achieved Educational Attainment of Spouse of Second Generation			%	N
	No Education Achieved	First Secondary	Second Secondary+		
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>					
<b>Imported bride</b>	21.8	56.1	22.1	100.0	611
<b>Second generation women</b>	8.9	40.5	50.6	100.0	269
<b>Swiss women</b>	4.0	12.0	84.0	100.0	25
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	18.3	55.4	26.3	100.0	175
<b>Total</b>	17.6	51.1	31.3	100.0	1080
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>					
<b>Imported groom</b>	13.8	55.9	30.3	100.0	631
<b>Second generation men</b>	6.5	30.2	63.3	100.0	275
<b>Swiss men</b>	2.3	29.9	67.8	100.0	87
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	12.7	53.0	34.3	100.0	417
<b>Total</b>	11.3	48.4	40.2	100.0	1410

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

*Household structure according to different spouse selection behaviour of second generation migrants:*

As suggested before, nuclear family is the main household type also in the case of different types of marriages of second generation. Living in an extended family household is significantly more frequent in imported bride marriages (13.7%) compared to other types of marriage. On the other hand, nuclear family households is most common when second generation women married to a Swiss spouse (94.6%) and still quite high when they choose a spouse from Turkey (94.0%). From this information, it may be interpreted that marriage is a way for second generation women to leave their parents' households (Table 11). This confirms Lievens' (1999) hypothesis arguing that traditional forms of marriage may be used to achieve modern goals by immigrant women as this type of marriages allows them to live independently from their own and in-law relatives, among other consequences/benefits. On the contrary to his hypothesis and our analysis, Gonzalez-Ferrer (2006) finds a strong relation between importing partners and living in extended households after marriage for both sexes in Germany.

Table 11: Household type according to different types of marriages

TYPE OF MARRIAGE	Household Type		%	N
	Nuclear Family	Extended Family		
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported bride</b>	86.6	13.4	100.0	699
<b>Second generation women</b>	89.0	11.0	100.0	327
<b>Swiss women</b>	91.2	8.3	100.0	204
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	90.9	8.8	100.0	319
<b>Total</b>	88.6	11.3	100.0	1549
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>				
<b>Imported groom</b>	94.0	6.0	100.0	735
<b>Second generation men</b>	89.0	11.0	100.0	327
<b>Swiss men</b>	94.6	5.4	100.0	93
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	90.6	9.4	100.0	513
<b>Total</b>	92.0	8.0	100.0	1668

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

*Employment status of second generation migrants and their spouses:*

Type of marriage significantly affect and may be affected by the employment status of second generation migrants as well as their spouses in different ways. The impact of traditional marriages on the employment of women is expected to be larger.

According to our results, unemployment of second generation is higher for both sexes in the case of marriage migration (50.0% of men - including economically inactive<sup>12</sup> - and 40.7% of women) (Table 12). Yet, likelihood of importing bride slightly declines with employment of men. Higher percent of second generation women who engage in un-paid domestic work<sup>13</sup> are married to a newcomer spouse or a spouse living in Switzerland (36.1%). Employed second generation women tend to involve in marriages to an imported groom (45.6%) or a spouse residing in Switzerland (29.8%). This finding is contrary to the expectations of women to be more independent of their families and gives clues about the social control over them regardless of their employment status.

A similar employment pattern is observed for imported and Swiss resident spouses of second generation men and women. These categories can be classified as more traditional marriages as a result of previous findings, which are supported by employment status analysis. More than half of the newcomer women (54.2%) are either unemployed or economically inactive while the percent is notably lower for second generation women married to second generation men (31.8%) and far lower for newcomer men (8.8%). 20%

<sup>12</sup> People who are *economically inactive* include the ones continuing their education, doing voluntary work, retired or inactive for other reasons.

<sup>13</sup> *Domestic work* refers to performing one's own household chores without receiving any payment in return.

of imported brides and of brides living in Switzerland are economically inactive because they engage in domestic work. For the former, the most likely consequence of marriage migration appears to be staying in the house and doing household chores (Table 13).

These above findings support the barriers faced by imported spouses in terms of full integration. The possible obstacles regarding employment include education level and unfamiliarity with the language spoken in host country. In the lack of these skills, the remaining alternative can be working in an enterprise of the family, a relative, an acquaintance or someone from the same community. Employment opportunities of all women from Turkey may further be limited by community pressure. It is not always well appreciated that women work outside their homes, especially if they have children. It should also be noted that the integration programs in Switzerland, such as language courses, may also lead newcomers to be idle.

Table 12: Economic Activity Status of Second Generation according to different types of marriages

TYPE of MARRIAGE	Economic Activity Status of Second Generation			TOTAL	
	Economically active		Unemployed or Economically inactive		
	Employed				
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>					
<b>Imported bride</b>	44.7		50.0	45.1	
<b>Second generation women</b>	21.1		20.7	21.1	
<b>Swiss women</b>	13.0		14.7	13.2	
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	21.1		14.7	20.6	
<b>%</b>	100.0		100.0	100.0	
<b>N</b>	1443		116	1549	
TYPE of MARRIAGE	Economically active		Economically inactive		TOTAL
	Employed	Un-employed	Domestic work	Other	
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>					
<b>Imported groom</b>	45.6	40.7	36.1	42.5	44.1
<b>Second generation men</b>	18.9	22.0	23.0	19.9	19.6
<b>Swiss men</b>	5.7	3.4	4.9	7.0	5.6
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	29.8	33.9	36.1	30.6	30.8
<b>%</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>N</b>	1183	177	122	186	1668

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: 1) *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

2) *Economically Active Persons* refers to employed and unemployed persons, which is also expressed in economic terms as “labour supply”. *Economically inactive persons*: refers to people who are not in the labour force and therefore cannot be considered as either employed or unemployed persons. It includes the people continuing their education, doing voluntary work, retired or inactive for other reasons.

Table 13: Economic Activity Status of Spouses of Second Generation according to different types of marriages

TYPE of MARRIAGE	Economic Activity Status of Spouses of Second Generation				%	N
	Economically active		Economically inactive			
	Employed	Un-employed	Domestic work	Other		
<b>SECOND GENERATION MEN married to</b>						
<b>Imported bride</b>	45.8	20.9	20.0	13.3	100.0	699
<b>Second generation women</b>	68.2	11.9	11.3	8.6	100.0	327
<b>Swiss women</b>	73.1	15.4	11.5		100.0	26
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	51.4	19.0	20.0	9.5	100.0	210
<b>Total</b>	53.1	18.1	17.6	11.2	100.0	1262
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>						
TYPE of MARRIAGE	Economically active		Economically inactive	%	N	
	Employed	Un-employed				
<b>SECOND GENERATION WOMEN married to</b>						
<b>Imported groom</b>	91.2	5.4	3.4		100.0	735
<b>Second generation men</b>	92.7	3.4	4.0		100.0	327
<b>Swiss men</b>	97.8	1.1	1.1		100.0	93
<b>Spouse living in Switzerland</b>	90.4	5.5	4.1		100.0	513
<b>Total</b>	91.6	4.8	3.6		100.0	1668

Source: Census 2000, Switzerland

Note: 1) *Imported Groom* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation woman while *Imported Bride* refers to newcomer spouse of a second generation man.

2) *Economically Active Persons* refers to employed and unemployed persons, which is also expressed in economic terms as "labour supply". *Economically inactive persons*: refers to people who are not in the labour force and therefore cannot be considered as either employed or unemployed persons. It includes the people continuing their education, doing voluntary work, retired or inactive for other reasons.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper is the first step of an attempt to study marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland. Nuptiality behaviour of second generation migrants is pictured in the light of various individual and family characteristics before starting to ask questions on more concealed causes/consequences of marriage migration.

2000 census data of Switzerland is used to study different types of marriages involving second generation migrants from Turkey and their relation to a variety of factors. Background characteristics, like education and employment status of second generation and their spouses and household structure, as a possible indicator of family impact on decision making process, are used in explaining nuptiality behaviour of the focus group. The results implied spouse selection as a more complex process than a culture/tradition motivated incident in the context of international migration.

The perpetuation of marriage migration from Turkey to Switzerland is confirmed by the analysis. “Importing spouse” is the most common type of marriage among second generation in the period studied. A shift, yet, is observed for second generation women towards choosing a second generation spouse and for men towards a Swiss spouse selection. The reasons behind it need to be further questioned. Selection of a spouse from Turkey living in Switzerland is the next choice of second generation. Together with importing spouse, this type of marriage emerged as more traditional compared to other choices, due to their particular consequences observed (especially for women).

The results put forward the gender difference in all aspects, from education and employment status of spouses to type of marriage. The correlation between individual characteristics and the spouse selection behaviour of second generation drastically changes for men and women. Basic differences were observed in terms of:

- *Employment status*, employed second generation women tend to involve in more traditional marriages contrary to their male peers (and to the expectations).
- *Education level*, importing spouse choice is not always related to low education levels of women while it is the case for men and
- *Household structure*, marriage migration more likely results in nuclear family households for women, unlike men.

The first two findings confirm the hypothesis of Lievens (1999) on higher involvement of women, who have the highest chance of integration, in traditional marriages. The reason may be higher family/society pressure on women from Turkey regardless of their education/ employment status. This may be connected to chain migration and consequential close community life of immigrants from Turkey, which appear to have more severe effects on women, either second generation or newcomer, compared to men. For the former, the reason to involve in more traditional marriages and start living in a nuclear family household may help avoiding the pressure. For the latter, the marriage sustains the gender division of labour. In addition to language barrier, this may restrict the participation of women in social life and their integration by putting the responsibility of household chores on their shoulders. 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 above interpretations highlight the points that can be further studied in Switzerland. More precise information on marriage migration is required for better understanding of the phenomenon. Although the data set allowed us to realize our main goals, not being up to date is its main drawback. A relatively late initiation of migration flow from Turkey to Switzerland, in 1970s, resulted in a young population of second generation at the date of census. Moreover, the available data does not provide the information on causes and consequences of different types of marriages of second generation migrants. A qualitative survey, in our opinion, is necessary for in-depth inquiry of expectations and experiences of spouses, cultural and ethnic factors behind spouse selection of second generation and the nature of marriages.

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