



Working Paper



# Early Ethnic Partner Choice among Natives and Descendants of Immigrants in Germany

The Role of Personal Preferences and  
Parental Influence

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**Editorial Note:**

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## Abstract

This research project investigates the determinants of ethnic homogamy among adolescents and young adults with an immigrant background in Germany. First, we analyze in how far ethnic homogamy preferences are defined by conservative and traditional orientations as well as ethnicity. Second, we are interested in the role of these personal preferences and parents' indirect and active involvement for the partner choice process. Parents can indirectly influence the ethnic partner choice through the intergenerational transmission of homogamy preferences and can actively get involved through different measures, such as social pressure, and the strength of this direct involvement might differ between groups from more collectivistic or individualistic societies. We use the recently collected fourth wave of the German sample of the "The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries" (CILS4EU) as well as the previous waves to give a descriptive overview of these interrelations and investigate them by means of multivariate regression models. We find, first, that conservative as well as traditional orientation, ethnic identification, and the importance to maintain the cultural heritage shape personal homogamy preferences. Second, these preferences have a strong significant effect on ethnic partner choice. Third, the same is the case for parental preferences, which mostly seem to be mediated through adolescents' preferences but also show an independent effect. Fourth, we find no proof of differences in active parental involvement when comparing more collectivistic and individualistic immigrant groups. Our results thus give an insight in how determinants discussed in the literature are related to actual homogamy preferences and how parental preferences shape both adolescents' preferences and their dating behavior.

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## 1 Introduction

The ethnic partner choice has been found to strongly influence the assimilation and integration process of immigrants and their descendants: First and foremost, ethnic partner choice has consequences for the social integration. While ethnically mixed unions have been found to be less stable (Wang et al. 2006), early dating across ethnic lines seems to be related to partner preferences and partner choice later in life: Berkowitz King and Bratter (2007) find that girls who date across racial or ethnic lines are also more likely to intermarry later in life. Also children from ethnically mixed unions are more likely to marry a someone from a different ethnic group (Kalmijn et al. 2006; Qian and Lichter 2007) and, in general, are socially better integrated (Kalmijn 2010). But the interethnic partner choice<sup>1</sup> of immigrants also has positive consequences for their own structural integration (Bevelander and Irastorza 2014; Dribe and Lundh 2008; Meng and Meurs 2009) as well as for the identificative (Kulczycki and Lobo 2002), structural (Dollmann 2010; van Ours and Veenman 2010), and cognitive (Becker 2011; Röder and Mühlau 2014) assimilation of their children. However, ethnically mixed unions also experience negative consequences such as the aforementioned lower stability (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Wang et al. 2006) and a higher divorce risk (Smith et al. 2012). Moreover, mixed unions are socially less accepted (Vaquera and Kao 2005) and experience less support by parents and peers (Wang et al. 2006) or even negative sanctions (Hibbler and Shinew 2002; Kreager 2008). This short review shows that ethnic partner choice among immigrants and their descendants brings along many diverse and essential consequences not only for the couple itself but also for potential children from such unions. In fact, the rate of intermarriage has previously been understood and used as a general measure of the social distance between groups and of the overall social assimilation of ethnic groups (Gordon 1978; Qian and Lichter 2001; Rosenfeld 2002). While it can be discussed whether this is an appropriate measure, it nevertheless shows the societal importance of this field of research.

The majority of previous studies on ethnic partner choice of immigrants has exclusively investigated marriages and, only more recently, also cohabiting unions (Carol et al. 2014; González-Ferrer 2006; Huschek et al. 2012; Klein 2001; Lievens 1998; Lucassen and Laarman 2009). Relatively few studies exist that look at the incidence of interethnic dating and early romantic relationships of adolescents and young adults. These studies generally find that, across racial and ethnic groups, individuals are most likely to date or to be in a romantic relationship with a member of their own group. However, they also find different racial and ethnic patterns with respect to the incidence of interracial or interethnic dating and relationships (Blackwell and Lichter 2004; Clark-Ibáñez and Felmler 2004; Levin et al. 2007; Wang et al. 2006). However, most of the research was conducted in the US and is often confined to college populations and, thus, only contingently transferable to the European context. Few studies investigate the particularities of the European situation, and even fewer studies deal with the German setting in particular. For instance, in their study on adolescents' romantic relationships in Germany, Bucx and Seiffge-Krenke (2010) find that 17 out of 190 couples in the sample were ethnically mixed unions, which corresponds to roughly 11 percent. Unfortunately, the sample was not representative. Van Zantvliet et al. (2015) find that in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, half of the immigrant adolescents who are dating are in ethnically mixed unions with natives, while this share is the lowest in Germany with 47 percent. Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu (2004) find among girls and young women with a migration background in Germany that three quarters of those who are dating are in a relationship with someone from the own ethnic group, while only 12 percent have a native boyfriend. This pattern however varies considerably between ethnic groups, with 91 percent of all ethnic Germans and 87 percent of all Turks who date having a boyfriend with the same ethnic background, while a third of all Italian girls in a relationship are with a native German boyfriend. All in all, these

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<sup>1</sup> That is, romantic relationships crossing ethnic lines in which the partners come from two different ethnic groups. For immigrants and their descendants, this can either be a native partner or a partner from a different ethnic minority group.

studies support the notion that individuals have a homogamy preference, which means that they prefer a partner of their own group.

When looking at these ethnic partner choice patterns, the following questions arise: Which factors promote these high homogamy rates as well as the differences between groups? Building on previous research, we will investigate how these patterns are driven by preferences for a co-ethnic partner and how these preferences come into being. In this context, the research project at hand will address the early ethnic partner choice of descendants of immigrants in Germany. Our work, thus, has three objectives: By making use of the German part of recently collected representative panel data on young adolescents in Europe, we will first investigate central determinants of homogamy preferences. Second, we will study how these homogamy preferences relate to actual partner choice, a question which, to our knowledge, has never been addressed directly. Here, earlier research had to rely on proxy measurements of preferences. In our study, we are able to directly relate homogamy preferences to dating behavior. Also, we can directly test whether determinants for ethnic homogamy preferences that have been used in previous studies as proxy measurements are related to these preferences. Thus, our work also aims at testing previously assumed interrelations between determinants and preferences. Third, we will explore if preferences of parents for ethnic endogamy of children are also related to the latter's dating behavior. In doing so, we will investigate in how far parental preferences are mediated through the children's preferences and whether they additionally have an individual direct effect on the partner choice, which would hint at an active involvement of the family in the partner choice process. Finally, we will test whether parental influence differs between cultural groups. We will derive hypotheses concerning these interrelations between personal and parental ethnic homogamy preferences as well as the actual partner choice based on a broad theoretical foundation and subsequently empirically test these assumptions. In doing so, our paper builds on and extends previous research by bringing together and testing different theoretical and empirical strands in one project. Furthermore, we administer several conceptual enhancements over previous studies on ethnic homogamy preferences. For one, we will concentrate on personal preferences instead of global attitudes. While global attitudes relate to the behavior of others, personal attitudes are directed at the own behavior (Herman and Campbell 2012). This distinction is relevant as people are commonly more open towards mixed unions when asked about their general intermarriage attitudes than when asked about their personal preferences (Osanami Törngren 2011). Moreover, while most other studies investigate attitudes towards out-group members, we focus on preferences for in-group dating. Asking about homogamy preferences gives a better idea of whether homogamy rates result from actual homogamy preferences or rather from social distances or even hostility towards out-groups (c.f. Steinbach 2004). Lastly, in contrast to other studies, we focus on dating instead of marriage preferences, as this form of partner choice has so far been understudied. However, dating cannot be put on the same level with marriages, as the reluctance to cross racial or ethnic lines can be expected to differ between different types of relationships, such as dating, cohabitation, and marriage (Cila and Lalonde 2014; Joyner and Kao 2005; Vasquez 2015).

Our paper is structured as follows: In the next chapter we will present the theoretical foundation of our work, which will be organized around Kalmijn's (1998) revision of the central factors shaping homogamous partner choice. In the first part of this chapter, we will go into more detail about personal homogamy preferences, discuss several theoretical explanations for the origin of homogamy preferences, and review the current state of literature in this realm. Next, we will look at how these preferences are related to actual partner choice. In the third part, we will go into more detail about the indirect parental involvement in the partner choice process through the intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes during the socialization process and depict the current research in this area. We will then present various ways parents can also directly get involved in the partner choice process and whether cultural differences might exist herein. In chapter 3, we will proceed with a description of the data, the measurements of our dependent and independent variables, and the methods used. Subsequently, we will present our descriptive and multivariate

results in chapters 4 and 5 and close the paper with a discussion of our findings and their implications for further research.

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## 2 Theoretical Background and State of the Art: Determinants of Ethnic Partner Choice

According to Kalmijn's (1998) revision, three sets of factors interact in fostering and supporting homogamy: individual partner preferences, the social structure of the marriage or respectively the dating market, and third-party involvement.

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### 2.1 Ethnic Homogamy Preferences

#### 2.1.1 Homophily and Partner Preferences

First, individual preferences regarding desirable characteristics of a potential partner are important determinants in the partner choice process. Apart from generally desirable characteristics in a partner, such as socioeconomic resources or physical attractiveness, that seem to be relevant in most cultures, although to differing degrees (Buss et al. 1990), another important aspect when it comes to partner choice is the preference for a partner who is similar to oneself. This preference is termed homophily (Kalmijn 1998; Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954; McPherson et al. 2001). Herein, the distinction between status and value homophily can be made, whereas both forms are closely interrelated: The former is based on group affiliations such as sex, age, or ethnic origin and the latter on shared beliefs, values, and attitudes (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954; McPherson et al. 2001). In view of the attraction paradigm (Byrne 1971), being exposed to values and attitudes that are in accordance with one's own leads to positive affective reactions, as it is more likely to be rewarded with positive experiences, and thus further increases affection towards the respective person compared to interacting with persons who maintain diverging attitudes (c.f. also Byrne and Clore 1967). Furthermore, holding the same values helps to avoid states of cognitive dissonance which occur when the actions of a person and their attitudes, values, or beliefs do not correspond with or even contradict one another. This is the case, for instance, when dating someone whose values and attitudes stand in opposition to one's own. Individuals seek to reduce the psychological distress caused by this contradiction, either by changing their attitudes, for instance, by aligning their attitudes with those of their partner, or by reducing or even avoiding situations during which cognitive dissonance occurs or might occur, for instance, by breaking up with or actively avoiding to date such a partner (Festinger 1957). Thus, cultural similarity between individuals eases everyday interactions between partners, as cultural differences in attitudes, beliefs, values, but also in verbal and nonverbal communication might influence the "success" of social interactions between individuals of different ethnicities (Stephan and Stephan 1999: 117; c.f. Kupperbusch et al. 1999). In view of both the attraction paradigm and the theory of cognitive dissonance, individuals would anticipate positive consequences from spending time with someone who shares their attitudes, beliefs and preferences, and, conversely, negative consequences from interacting with someone holding opposite attitudes. Consequently, individuals will prefer spending time with someone whose mindset matches their own. This should then translate into a preference for ethnic homogamy, as the equipment with specific cultural resources tends to coincide with ethnicity.



## 2.1.2 Contributing Factors of Ethnic Homogamy Preferences: Conservatism, Traditionalism, and Ethnicity

Several factors are believed to determine ethnic homogamy preferences. A first dimension that has been studied as being interrelated with ethnic homogamy is that of conservatism versus progressiveness (e.g. van Zantvliet et al. 2015). As discussed by Middendorp (1978), conservative values are characterized by a strong belief in social order and institutions to be necessary achievements for mankind the way they have evolved in the past. At the heart of conservatism lies the maintenance of the social order as well as its norms and traditions. Simultaneously, social interactions play an important role in preserving these traditions. For instance, family, as the fundamental institution of the society and “the prototype for broader social relationships” (Middendorp 1978: 145), works as the very place in which society’s heritage, values, and norms are kept and passed on from parents to children. It follows that more conservative and traditional individuals should put more emphasis on finding a partner who carries the same cultural heritage as themselves, as it eases the preservation and passing on of the own culture. Furthermore, the aforementioned value homophily should likewise play a role. Hence, they should exhibit stronger preferences for dating a co-ethnic partner from the same cultural background than more progressive or modern ones would. Values and attitudes that have been examined in this respect include traditional gender role attitudes, such as traditional ideas about the ideal division of labor within the household, and conservative family values, such as tolerance towards homosexuality, unmarried cohabitation, divorce, and abortion (van Zantvliet et al. 2015). Relating to our theoretical arguments above, *we expect that holding traditional gender role attitudes (hypothesis 1a) as well as holding conservative family values (hypothesis 1b) are related to stronger ethnic homogamy preferences.*

As laid out above, it is assumed that values, attitudes, and beliefs that are not directly connected with one’s ethnic belonging per se might translate, through value homophily, into preferences for a co-ethnic partner. However, for individuals with an ethnic minority status, their own cultural heritage might be especially salient and important. So-called “reactive ethnicity”, that is, the reaffirmation of ethnic solidarity and self-consciousness as a reaction to the experience of being an ethnic minority member (Portes and Rumbaut 2001: 147ff.), leads to a special emphasis of attitudes, values, beliefs, and lifestyles in everyday life that are markedly coupled with one’s ethnic group (Schnell 1990; Weber 1972). This might additionally foster immigrants’ personal importance of keeping up customs and traditions that are related to the own ethnic origin and especially influence their preference for dating a co-ethnic partner. Accordingly, *we assume that immigrants who attach more importance to keeping up the customs and traditions of their own ethnic group exhibit stronger ethnic homogamy preferences (hypothesis 1c).*

Furthermore, ethnic homogamy preferences might also be driven in particular by the importance of ethnic belonging as a part of ethnicity (Driedger 1975; Phinney 1990; Schnell 1990). The assumption that the strength of ethnic identification is positively related to preferences for dating a co-ethnic partner grounds on the theory of group identification (Tajfel and Turner 1986; e.g. Liu et al. 1995). In a nutshell, the assumption is that the maintenance of a positive self-concept relies on a positive evaluation of the own (ethnic) group, which is done in reference to a relevant out-group (here: one specific ethnic out-group or other ethnic groups in general), thereby strengthening the cohesiveness and distinctiveness of the own ethnic group (Brewer 1991). A more positive evaluation of the own ethnic group and consequently their members would thus lead to favoring co-ethnic members over out-group members and, in our case, a preference for dating a co-ethnic partner (Billig and Tajfel 1973). This intergroup differentiation and, consequently, the magnitude of approval of in-group and disapproval of out-group members should then depend on the strength of the internalization of the ethnic group membership (Roberts et al. 1999; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Verkuyten 1995). Findings of several studies from the United States support the positive relation between ethnic identity and intra-ethnic dating (Levin et al. 2007; Mok 1999; Shibazaki and Brennan 1998), and other research even uses homogamy preferences as an indicator for ethnic identity (Nauck et al. 1997;

Nauck 2001, 2007; Steinbach 1997). Consequently, *we assume the strength of ethnic identification to increase the strength of ethnic homogamy preferences (hypothesis 1d).*

### 2.1.3 Studies on Attitudes and Preferences Towards Interethnic Unions

Previous studies in this field find differences between ethnic groups in preferences, both when considering marrying natives or someone from other ethnic groups (Bayram et al. 2009; Huijnk et al. 2010) and when asked about marrying inside the own group (Carol 2014), as well as differences between ethnic groups in who they consider an acceptable partner for their children (Huijnk and Liefbroer 2012; Huijnk et al. 2010, 2013). Few studies investigate personal preferences directly, though. Here, too, results show differences between ethnic groups, both in terms of dating and marrying natives (Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu 2004; Nauck et al. 1997 for Germany), someone from their own ethnic group (Bernhardt et al. 2007 for Sweden), or someone from other ethnic groups (Osanami Törngren 2011 for Sweden). However, several studies find that the reluctance to cross racial or ethnic lines increases from less serious relationships, such as dating, to more serious and committed unions, such as cohabitation and marriage (Cila and Lalonde 2014; also see, for instance, Edmonds and Killen 2009; Joyner and Kao 2005; and Munniksma et al. 2012 for parental attitudes towards their children's partner choice; Vasquez 2015).

In their study of ethnic minority and majority young adults in Belgium, Carol and Teney (2015), using a somewhat broader phrasing ("Could you imagine yourself having a loving relationship with a person from another cultural or religious group than yours?"), find that three quarters of the respondents from the majority and the same share of male minority respondents could imagine entering a cross-cultural union, compared to about half of the female minority respondents. Also, Potârcă and Mills (2015) investigate the personal race preferences among online daters in Europe both from ethnic majorities and minorities. Across all racial groups, the general preference is a European partner, followed by the preference for a partner of the own group. This preference might, however, at least in part result from the selectivity of online daters, as minority individuals who prefer a non-majority partner might be less likely to search for a partner on a mainstream dating platform. Nonetheless, these results point to the importance of differentiating between preferences concerning interethnic marriage and interethnic dating, as well as between preferences for dating a co-ethnic partner or preferences for dating someone outside the own group.

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## 2.2 Personal Homogamy Preferences and Their Relation to Ethnic Partner Choice

As the theoretical argument states, personal homogamy preferences are decisive for the partner choice process (Kalmijn 1998). Surprisingly, only very few studies have empirically investigated this essential causal relationship: Carol (2016) finds no significant effect of attitudes towards interfaith unions on the likelihood of being in an interethnic union for native Dutch but a small one for Muslim migrants in the Netherlands. However, the question about intermarriage attitudes did not capture personal preferences but rather global attitudes, as it asked about the opposition to the intermarriage of a close relative. Further, it was formulated with regard to interfaith unions, but attitudes towards interfaith unions do not have to be congruent with attitudes towards interethnic unions. Several studies aim at investigating the influence of preferences on the ethnic partner choice process, and they all find support for the postulated relationship of partner preferences shaping the actual partner choice. However, they measure the preferences only indirectly, for instance, through traditional or conservative cultural orientation (van Zantvliet et al. 2015), immigrant generation, years of residence, years of education, age, origin group (Çelikaksoy et al. 2010), or

religiosity (Carol et al. 2014; van Zantvliet et al. 2015). To our knowledge, no study has so far empirically investigated the theoretical argument that personal homogamy preferences shape the ethnic partner choice while using actual measures of personal homogamy preferences and not global intermarriage attitudes or other indicators. Merely with regard to friendships, Smith et al. (2015) investigate the relationship between children's attitudes towards out-group members and the extent to which they actually have out-group friends and find a positive relationship.

However, ethnic partner choice does not only rely on the strength of preferences, but also on the opportunities to realize these preferences (Kalmijn 1998). Thus, the social structure of the dating market is clearly a main determinant of homogamy patterns. It predetermines the opportunities to meet potential (co-ethnic) partners or likewise not to meet them. The more chances to meet potential partners from the own ethnic group exist, the more likely it is, accordingly, to interact and get to know each other and to eventually enter a romantic relationship. The opportunities to meet and date members of the own ethnic group are mainly determined by the size of the own ethnic group, its sex ratio, as well as its geographic distribution. These factors increase or decrease the chances of meeting potential partners of the own group and reversely affect the chances of meeting potential out-group partners by shaping the pool of available potential partners (Blau et al. 1982; Blau 1977). Furthermore, so-called local dating markets provide opportunities to meet similar potential partners as they are often socially segregated. Neighborhoods, schools, or universities are examples of such local dating markets (Kalmijn 1998). Thus, more opportunities to meet a co-ethnic person should translate into higher chances of actually dating a co-ethnic partner.

In accordance with the theoretical foundation and previous findings, we expect a positive relationship between the size of the own group and the propensity of dating a co-ethnic partner (hypothesis 2b). This argument holds true independently of the strength of ethnic homogamy preferences. Further, as described in more detail above, we assume that homogamy preferences translate into actual homogamy. This means that adolescents who hold a strong preference for a partner of the same ethnic background are also more likely to choose a co-ethnic partner compared to those whose preference is less strong (hypothesis 2b). However, the ability to realize the preferences for dating someone from the own ethnic group is limited by the ability to meet someone from the respective ethnic background and, thus, by the opportunity structure of the dating market. Consequently, we expect the strength of the effect of ethnic homogamy preferences to be stronger the more co-ethnic partners are available (hypothesis 2c).

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## 2.3 Involvement of Third Parties

Apart from personal preferences and structural characteristics, it is argued that the decision of forming a romantic relationship is not solely one's own, but that third parties can play an important role in the partner choice process. These third parties usually aim at preventing unions with out-group members (Kalmijn 1998). Especially for adolescents who still live with their families, parents are likely to get involved in their dating behavior. They can either do so indirectly by shaping their children's dating preferences within the socialization process as well as directly by getting actively involved in the actual partner choice process.

### 2.3.1 Indirect Parental Involvement: Intergenerational Transmission of Homogamy Preferences

Within the socialization process, parents transmit a variety of values, beliefs, attitudes, preferences, and social positions to their children. A long history of research confirms this intergenerational transmission of a multitude of values and attitudes. Value transmission is an important and strong mechanism in the socialization process within families, which is reflected in the high stability of values and attitudes across genera-

tions (Diehl and König 2009; Idema and Phalet 2007; Pettersson 2007). Accordingly, also homogamy preferences of parents and their offspring should be closely related (Phalet and Schönplflug 2001). In the following section, we will present the current state of research on the intergenerational transmission of partner preferences and attitudes. However, parents are rarely capable of fully passing on preferences and attitudes to subsequent generations. Thus, we will also discuss in how far discrepancies between parents and children prevail.

Several studies confirm this intergenerational transmission process but only capture it indirectly, either by using merely indicators of intermarriage attitudes (Bernhardt et al. 2007 use parental interethnic union as an indicator of positive intermarriage attitudes), by using intermarriage attitudes as one out of several items to investigate the intergenerational transmission of ethnic identity (Nauck et al. 1997; Steinbach 1997), or by investigating the intergenerational transmission of other attitudinal dimensions that are more than likely related to homogamy preferences (see Gniewosz and Noack 2006 for intergenerational transmission of intolerant attitudes towards foreigners; Vollebergh et al. 2001 for intergenerational transmission of cultural orientation). Several other studies also strongly confirm in a more direct fashion that parents convey their attitudes towards and preferences for ethnically mixed unions to their offspring in the course of the socialization process. Furthermore, they show that ethnic differences exist in the general levels of homogamy preferences and intermarriage attitudes as well as in the intergenerational attitude correspondences (Carol 2014; Huijnk and Liefbroer 2012; Nauck 2001).

Thus, as a result of the parental socialization efforts and the intergenerational transmission process, children and their parents hold similar attitudes and preferences with regard to ethnically mixed unions. Nevertheless, the offspring's attitudes do not in every case reflect their parents' attitudes one-on-one. Generally, the parental generation stresses the importance of ethnic homogamy more strongly and is more opposed to interethnic unions. This is both true on the aggregated level, that is, when comparing the averages of both generations (Huijnk and Liefbroer 2012), as well as on the family level (Carol 2014). Moreover, this pattern can be found in different country contexts, among diverse ethnic groups, as well as for intercultural, interethnic, and interfaith unions or cultural, religious, or ethnic homogamy respectively (Carol 2014; Huijnk and Liefbroer 2012; Maliapaard and Lubbers 2013; Uskul et al. 2011; Yahya and Boag 2014). These differences might be due to influences of peers and other adults that do not necessarily share the parental attitudes and preferences, societal changes, or intergenerational assimilation processes (Carol 2014; Phalet and Schönplflug 2001). However, when children do not hold the exact same attitudes as their parents, they mostly do not deviate much (e.g. Carol 2014). In total, the existing research literature vastly points at a strong, although not definitive, connection between preferences of parents and their offspring. Consequently, *we assume homogamy preferences of parents regarding their children to influence both their offspring's personal homogamy preferences (hypothesis 3a) as well as, in consequence, their offspring's actual partner choice (hypothesis 3b).*

### 2.3.2 Direct Parental Involvement

Besides shaping their offspring's preferences and attitudes during the socialization process, parents can also directly and actively get involved in the partner choice process (Kalmijn 1998). First, parents sometimes act as matchmakers where they introduce their offspring to potential partners who they perceive as suitable partners, usually in association with marriage arrangement (Baykara-Krumme 2014; Topgül 2015). Apart from that, parents can advise their offspring on their partner choices, give their opinions and direct their child's search towards unions that they perceive as resulting in healthy, stable, and satisfying relationships (Edmonds and Killen 2009; Topgül 2015; Vasquez 2015). Overall, the parental approval seems to be important, especially to children of immigrants (c.f. Boos-Nünning and Karakaşoğlu 2004; Topgül 2015). This goes so far that children a priori adapt their partner choice to the perceived wishes of their

parents (Gopalkrishnan and Babacan 2007) or correct their partner choices (Santelli and Collet 2012; Yahya and Boag 2014) to prevent disagreement with their parents. Additionally, social sanctions, or the mere threat of them, are used to prevent unions with out-group members (Kalmijn 1998). On a related note, parents can apply social pressure to steer their offspring's partner choice (Hartung et al. 2011; Topgül 2015). The perceived parental social pressure is related to the perceived parental importance to preserve the cultural heritage. The greater this perceived social pressure is, the less likely young adults are to enter an intercultural or interfaith romantic relationship (Yahya and Boag 2014).

Hence, next to shaping their offspring's partner preferences in the socialization process, parents also have different possibilities to get actively involved in their children's partner choices. Consequently, we assume parents, at least to a certain degree, also to get directly involved in the partner choice process of their children. We hypothesize this to be the case if *the parental homogamy preferences have an independent effect on the child's partner choice after controlling for the children's personal homogamy preferences (hypothesis 4)*.

### 2.3.3 Collectivism and Parental Involvement

However, research on cultural differences in the role of individuals and groups suggests that the role of third parties in the partner selection process might differ between cultural groups and contexts. The key here lies in the relation of the individual to its social groups (such as the family) and its dependence on, or independence from, these relevant groups in the decision-making process. As Triandis (1995: 10ff., 43ff.) suggests, members of collectivist societies tend to be more dependent on the social group, adhere more closely to norms of the in-group, and tend to have a stronger sense of serving the in-group as well as of fulfilling one's duties, that is, what is considered 'right' for the in-group.<sup>2</sup> The self is viewed as interdependent with the in-group and the latter's goals have priority over individual goals (c.f. also Gelfand et al. 2004). Values in collectivist societies are more concerned with respect for traditions as well as honoring parents and the elderly (Schwartz 1994). Children in collectivist societies are seen as dependent on and obedient to their parents, whereas parents are seen as the ones exerting control (Triandis 1989, 1995: 63f.). Voicing attitudes and beliefs deviant from that of their parents is regarded as especially bad character (Hofstede 2001: 229). This leads to a greater conformity of individuals to in-group authorities, such as parents, in collectivist societies. Thus, the role of the family as an institution of the society and the importance of norms and traditions also reflect the conservative values as laid out above (c.f. also Schwartz 1994). Consequently, one would expect intergenerational transmission of values and attitudes to be stronger and the value of family solidarity to be higher (Buunk et al. 2010; Merz et al. 2009; Phalet and Schönplüg 2001). Furthermore, also the influence of parental attitudes on mate selection beyond, and maybe against, individual preferences is expected to be stronger in collectivistic than in individualistic contexts.<sup>3</sup> This should be especially the case when unions are formed across group boundaries, as it might harm in-group solidarity and cohesion, and particularly so for descendants of cultures where unions lie not only between two partners but also between families (Carol 2014; Georgas 2006; Timmerman et al. 2009). One would consequently expect parents to become actively involved in their children's partner choice in one of the ways described above or children to adapt to the parental wishes.

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2 When we make generalized statements about collectivistic and individualistic cultures and origin groups (or likewise ethnic or other groups) throughout our paper, we, at the same time, acknowledge that these depict average tendencies within the group and that individual attitudes and behaviors can deviate from the respective group's tendency.

3 From that, it should not be assumed that parent-child relationships are consequently viewed as more negative by the child. In fact, especially the relationship to mothers is more often characterized as close and warm, compared to those in individualistic societies (Güngör 2008; Triandis 1995: 63f.).

Existing research finds supportive evidence for this link between collectivism and parental involvement: Several studies compare immigrant groups from societies that are characterized as collectivistic, such as Turkey, Morocco, or the Former Yugoslavian Republic, to the native population in societies characterized as individualistic, such as Belgium, Germany, or the Netherlands. They find, for instance, greater involvement of parents in collectivistic compared to individualistic groups (van Zantvliet et al. 2014 for the Netherlands), greater importance of family gatherings as meeting places of potential partners (Hamel et al. 2012 for Germany), more parental pressure within the partner choice process (Hartung et al. 2011 for Belgium), more monitoring of free-time activities by parents (Reinders 2004 for Germany), and less behavioral autonomy during adolescence (Huiberts et al. 2006 for the Netherlands). Also, the arrangement of marriages, one of the strongest forms of parental involvement, was and often still is the dominant form of mate selection in collectivistic countries and among migrant groups (Baykara-Krumme 2014; Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Dale 2008; Hense and Schorch 2013). The most comprehensive investigation of the relationship between parental involvement in dating behavior and collectivism was conducted by Buunk, Park, and Duncan (2010). They investigate this connection with four different samples in different contexts: among native Dutch students (individualistic), among young adults from Kurdistan, Iraq (collectivistic), as well as among students from diverse origin cultures in the Netherlands and in Canada. Across all four samples, they found a greater parental influence in partner choice within families from more collectivistic cultures. They also investigated other dimensions but identified collectivism–individualism as the factor that best explains cultural differences in parental involvement.

Thus, parental involvement in the partner choice process is much more common and accepted in collectivistic cultures than it is in individualistic countries. Hence, we expect a stronger influence of parental homogamy preferences for adolescents from collectivistic compared to those from individualistic societies. Moreover, differences between countries and regions can be expected regarding collectivistic values (Hofstede 2001; Triandis 1995) and, thus, in the influence parents exert on their children's mate selection. For our hypotheses regarding differences between countries and regions of origin, we draw on results from the "Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness" (GLOBE) Research Program (House et al. 2004) and will rely on values from the 'Societal In-Group Collectivism Practices Scores' (Gelfand et al. 2004),<sup>4</sup> as our categorization of countries of origin largely reflects that of the GLOBE study (c.f. Gupta and Hanges 2004).<sup>5</sup>

Applying the results provided in this study, we derive the following hypotheses: First, native adolescents are assumed to experience lowest parental influence on mate selection (scores of collectivistic practices:<sup>6</sup> 4.52 for East Germany and 4.02 for West Germany) (hypothesis 5a). Parental influence on partner choice is assumed to be highest for adolescents with a Turkish origin (scores of collectivistic practices: 5.88) (hypothesis 5b). In between those two extremes, we expect adolescents from Central and Eastern European countries or the Former Soviet Union to experience the second strongest parental influence (mean score of cluster: 5.53) (hypothesis 5c) and those from Southern European countries the third strongest influence (mean score of cluster: 4.80) (hypothesis 5d).

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4 Scores from this scale showed strong correlations with indicators of strength of family ties (.48) and even stronger correlations with indicators of respect for family and friends (.76) obtained in the World Values Study (Gelfand et al. 2004: 486; c.f. Javidan and Hauser 2004). Results also seem to be highly consistent with other scales on individualism and collectivism, for instance, Hofstede's (1980) individualism scale (-.82; Gelfand et al. 2004: 475). Further corroboration for the usefulness of the index in analyzing parental influence on mate selection comes from Buunk et al. (2010). In their study on parental influence on mate selection, they found values derived from this scale to be highly correlated with parental influence as presented in the previous paragraph.

5 With the exception that we a) separated Germany and Turkey as single countries and b) moved Greece and Albania from the 'Eastern European' cluster to the group of Southern European countries and to the group of countries from the Former Yugoslavian Republic, respectively.

6 Response scales reached from '1' to '7', while '1' indicates low collectivism and '7' high collectivism.

Former Yugoslavian countries were not included in the GLOBE study. However, as the ‘Societal In-Group Collectivism Practices Scores’ shows high correlations with the individualism index by Hofstede (1980), we draw on results from Hofstede’s (2001) study that includes countries from the Former Yugoslavian Republic. Here, Yugoslavia ranks behind Turkey, together with Greece and Portugal, which also score rather low on the scale, while Spain and especially Italy show higher scores. The estimated scores for several countries from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (not included in the main study) vary considerably, mostly placing former Soviet countries below other Eastern European countries. In conclusion, a clear hypothesis for countries from the Former Yugoslavian Republic is not possible, but we would expect significant differences when compared to natives (hypothesis 5e). Due to its culturally mixed character, no hypothesis is formulated for the category of residual countries.

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## 3 Data, Measurements, and Methods

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### 3.1 Data

For our analyses, we use waves 1 to 3 of the “Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)” (Kalter et al. 2016a, 2016b, 2016c) which was conducted in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.<sup>7</sup> We only use the German part of the data, which was continued as CILS4EU-DE in Germany for wave 4 (Kalter et al. forthcoming). Data for the first wave of the CILS4EU project was collected at the end of 2010 and at the beginning of 2011 from students aged around 14 (i.e., grade 9 in Germany) which was repeated annually. Students were sampled through a three-stage sampling design: First-stage sampling units were schools enrolling the relevant target grades which were sampled with probabilities proportional to the size of the school. Prior to sampling, schools were assigned to explicit strata according to the proportion of students with an immigrant background in the school in order to allow for oversampling of schools with high shares of migrants. The second-stage units were classes within target grades in sampled schools, from which two classes were picked at random. Finally, the third-stage sampling units were students within classes, where all students of a class were sampled (CILS4EU 2016a). In both wave 1 and 2, students were surveyed in schools. Those who left the sampled schools or were not present during the survey in wave 2 were approached via telephone, post, or web survey (CILS4EU 2016b: 3f.). From wave 3 on, the survey was entirely conducted outside of schools in Germany (CILS4EU 2016c). In addition to student interviews in wave 1, questionnaires were completed by the parent mostly involved in the education process. From the 5,013 students surveyed in wave 1 in Germany, 3,909 parental interviews are available, mostly filled out by biological mothers and fathers (CILS4EU 2016a: 51). In wave 2, 4,256 adolescents took part in the survey in Germany, while wave 3 comprises 3,427 respondents. Finally, wave 4 consists of 3,035 individuals.

In general, the survey focusses on the structural, social, cultural, and emotional integration of the students, covering a wide range of topics. Throughout the first three waves, information was also collected on dating behavior of the adolescents. Besides background information on current romantic partners, wave 4 also includes several more detailed measurements relating to romantic relationships, including: previous and current dating experience of adolescents; attitudes towards partner characteristics as well as perceived attitudes of parents towards their partner’s characteristics; actual partner characteristics such as partner’s current situation, his or her education and educational degree, ethnic background, religious affiliation and importance of religion for partner; the context in which adolescents met their partners; involvement of

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<sup>7</sup> The CILS4EU research project was funded in the NORFACE ERA NET Plus Migration in Europe Programme.

parents and family in the relationship; interest of parents in the relationship and the perceived degree of control parents exert on these romantic relationships. Thus, wave 4 provides the opportunity to more deeply examine the role of personal preferences as well as that of third parties, such as parents and family, in making relationship decisions.

In the following, we will analyze both ethnic homogamy preferences and actual ethnic homogamy in dating, as observed in wave 4. Hence, our initial sample consists of all students who participated in wave 4. Some concepts were not measured in wave 4, but in earlier waves of the survey. Consequently, we relied on this data for our analyses and indicated the source of the information as described in the next paragraph.

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## 3.2 Measurements

Our first dependent variable is the personal homogamy preference, measured in wave 4 by asking respondents the following question: “How important is it to you that your boyfriend/girlfriend has the same background?” Respondents could rate on a four-point scale: “very important”, “fairly important”, “not very important” and “not at all important”. As this question was only asked for respondents with a migration background, we used the response to the following question for Germans: “How important is it to you that your boyfriend/girlfriend has a German background?” For our multivariate analyses, we dichotomize both the dependent and independent variable so that ‘0’ corresponds to “not at all or not very important” and ‘1’ to “fairly or very important”.<sup>8</sup>

Our second dependent variable is a dummy variable that represents ethnic homogamy, that is, whether respondents and their partner have the same ethnic background or not (measured in wave 4). We defined ethnic background of the respondent as the country of origin, which was coded according to Dollmann et al. (2014). To assess the partner’s country of origin, adolescents who answered the question “Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend?” with ‘yes’ were asked: “What is his/her background?” Respondents who indicated a partner’s country of origin that is equal to their own country of origin were coded as “partner has the same background”. Otherwise, they were coded as “partner has a different background”. Respondents with missing or unclear information on their partner’s country of origin were excluded.<sup>9</sup>

To control for ethnic origin of respondents in our analyses, the respondent’s country of origin was combined into 6 groups of countries: Germany, Turkey, Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain), Former Yugoslavian Republic (including Albania), Former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe, and a residual category for all other countries.

To approximate the ethnic opportunity structure of the dating market, we calculated the share of students with the same country of origin in the school (that is, in the two classes picked at random in each school) in the sample of wave 1, as schools were the first-stage sampling unit. We multiplied this variable by the factor ten, so that, in our analyses, a one-unit change in the variable corresponds to a ten percent change in co-ethnic students in the school.

To assess the ethnic homogamy preferences of parents regarding their children, we used the respondents’ answers to the following question in wave 4: “How important is it to your parents that your boy-

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8 For our descriptive analyses in the appendix, we kept the more fine-grained measure but rescaled answers in order to range from 0 to 3, whereas ‘0’ means “not at all important” and ‘3’ means “very important”.

9 For our descriptive analysis of ethnic homogamy, we ran three binary logistic regression models in order to determine if ethnic groups differ in their shares of dating a partner with a certain background. For this, we created three dummy variables indicating if the partner has a native background, the same background, or a different, non-native background.



friend/girlfriend has the same background?” Again, values for German adolescents were derived from their response to the question: “How important is it to your parents that your boyfriend/girlfriend has a German background?” The categories were identical to those of adolescents’ ethnic homogamy preferences.<sup>10</sup> Again, we use a dichotomized variable for our multivariate analyses, where ‘0’ means “not at all or not very important”, while ‘1’ means “fairly or very important”.<sup>11</sup> To assess ethnic-specific effects of parental preferences, we computed interaction effects between the perception of parents’ preferences and ethnic origin.<sup>12</sup>

Several other measures for our descriptive and first multivariate analysis were coded. Our measurements of conservative and traditional values are coded according to van Zantvliet et al. (2015). Conservative values were derived from a battery of questions that was asked in wave 4. Adolescents were asked “Do you think the following are “always OK”, “often OK”, “sometimes OK” or “never OK”?”, regarding the following issues: Living together as a couple without being married, divorce, abortion, and homosexuality. For our analyses, we calculated the average score over all items. For the sake of better interpretation, we rescaled the variable so that it ranges from 0 to 3, where 0 indicates that the person answered “always OK” to all questions, whereas 3 means that the person answered “never OK” to all questions.<sup>13</sup> Traditional values were operationalized through attitudes towards gender roles and labor division within the household, which were assessed in wave 3. Adolescents were asked: “In a family, who should do the following?” Take care of the children, cook, earn money, and clean the house. Respondents could answer “mostly the man”; “mostly the woman”; or “both about the same”. To indicate non-traditional gender roles, we built a dummy variable that takes on the value ‘1’ if no answer to the above-mentioned questions indicated an endorsement of traditional gender roles (according to a traditional division of labor within the household, all tasks should mostly be done by the woman, except earning money, which should mostly be done by men).<sup>14</sup>

Personal attitudes towards keeping the customs and traditions of one’s ethnic group (taken from wave 3) were administered only for those who identified themselves with another group than the native majority. Those who did were asked: “How important is it for you personally to maintain the customs and traditions of this group?” Adolescents could respond on a four-point scale: “very important” and “fairly important” were coded as ‘important’ while “not very important” and “not at all important” were coded as ‘not important’. We included another category that indicates if non-response to that question stems from a lack of identification with an ethnic minority group despite having a migration background.

Lastly, ethnic identification was measured in wave 3 by asking adolescents: “Some people feel that they belong to other groups, too. Which, if any, of the following groups do you feel you belong to?” Those who identified themselves with another group than the native group were asked: “How strongly do you feel that you belong to this group?” Adolescents could respond on a four-point scale: “very strongly”, “fairly strongly”, “not very strongly”, and “not at all strongly”. Those who have a migration background according to our measurement of country of origin but did not indicate that they feel to belong to another group were coded as a separate category of “no feeling of belonging”. We combined categories “not very strongly” and “not at all strongly” into “not strongly” due to low cell count for immigrants. Answers were rescaled in order to range from “not strongly” to “very strongly”.

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10 Answers were rescaled likewise for the descriptive overview.

11 Adolescents who did not know about their parents’ homogamy preferences had to be excluded due to low cell count.

12 For our descriptive analysis of individual and perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences, we ran three binary logistic regression models in order to determine if individual and perceived preferences of adolescents differ between origin groups. For this, we created three dummy variables indicating if preferences of adolescents are higher compared to those of their parents, lower compared to those of their parents, or the same.

13 For our descriptive overview in the Appendix, we grouped the variable into four categories: ‘lowest conservatism’: 0 to 0.75, ‘lower conservatism’: 1 to 1.5, ‘higher conservatism’: 1.6 to 2.25, ‘highest conservatism’: 2.3 to 3.

14 For our descriptive overview in the Appendix, we counted the number of answers indicating traditional gender roles so that higher values indicate higher preferences for traditional task division in the family.

In our multivariate analyses, we control for several confounding variables. First, we control for current situation as measured in wave 4, differentiating between: school (reference category), vocational education and training (VET), and other situations. To assess socioeconomic background, we controlled for parents' highest education, differentiating between upper secondary or university education and education below upper secondary level. This information was derived from parent interviews in wave 1 where we used parents' information on the highest educational degree acquired by themselves or by their partners. For those with missing information on those variables (75 cases) or missing parent interviews (1,104 cases), we used children's responses on their mother's and father's highest educational degrees, if available (also from wave 1).<sup>15</sup> Lastly, we controlled for sex (reference category: male)<sup>16</sup> and age at interview in wave 4: 16 or 17 (reference category), 18, and 19 to 21. Lastly, to avoid spurious correlations between ethnic homogamy preferences and ethnic homogamy in dating because of religious preferences, we controlled for both individual and perceived parental religious homogamy preferences available from wave 4. Questions were phrased in accordance to the measurement of ethnic homogamy preferences and were coded as dummy variables accordingly.<sup>17</sup> An overview of all variables used in the analyses can be found in table A1 in the Appendix.

### 3.3 Sample of Analysis and Methods

After list-wise deletion of all cases with missing values on one or more variables, we are left with the following samples of analyses: Our first and second analyses of homogamy preferences include all adolescents regardless of being in a romantic relationship or not. Thus, our first two samples consist of all adolescents participating in wave 4, regardless of their dating status, with full information on all variables included in the respective analyses. Thus, from the initial 3,035 cases in wave 4, 2,166 cases can be utilized for the first analyses and 1,063 cases, including only adolescents with an immigrant background, for the second analyses, as these include variables for which a meaningful interpretation is only possible for immigrant groups. For our third analyses, we only consider adolescents who were in a romantic relationship at the time of the interview in wave 4. Thus, for our analyses of ethnic homogamy in dating, only the adolescents (both native and with an immigrant background) who are involved in a romantic relationship are included, which further reduces our sample. Hence, after list-wise deletion, 960 cases remain for these analyses. For our multivariate analyses, we run several logistic regression models and report average marginal effects. As students from schools with a high proportion of immigrants had a higher probability of being sampled, we weight our analyses to adjust for sampling probability (CILS4EU 2016a).

## 4 Descriptive Results

Figure 1<sup>18</sup> plots respondents' personal homogamy preferences as well as their perceived parental homogamy preference, separated by ethnic origin. The average values of each variable as well as the corresponding confidence intervals of 5 percent statistical significance are plotted.<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> Several aspects become

15 Information from children did not differentiate between lower and upper secondary education. Thus, we coded those whose highest parental education is secondary education as below upper secondary education.

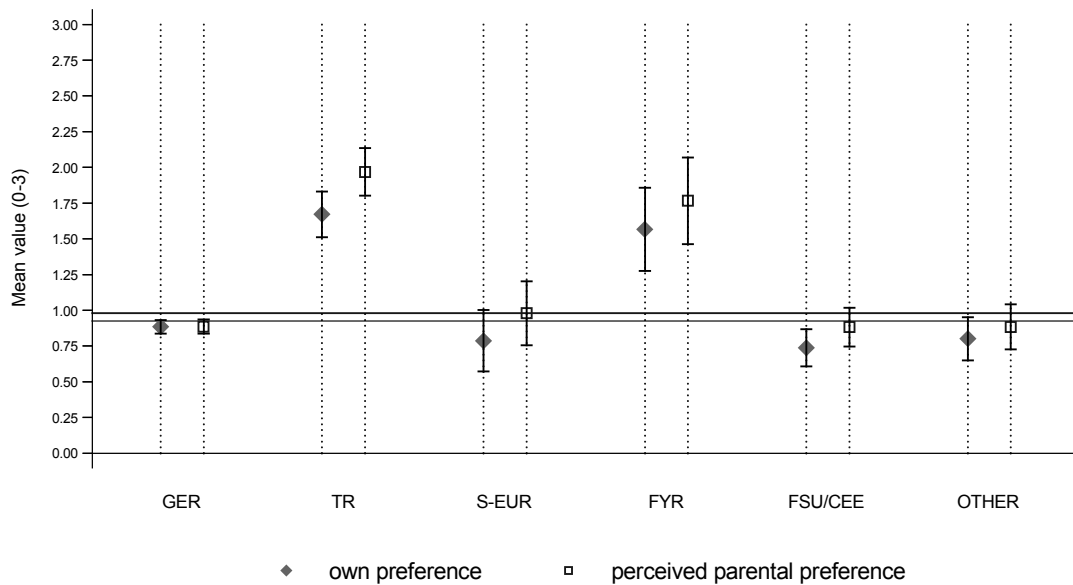
16 Sex was not surveyed in wave 4 and therefore taken from earlier waves. In the case of diverging answers between waves, we took the mode answer. If only one valid response was available (due to missing answers or non-participation in one wave), this information was taken.

17 "Don't know" was included as a separate category for parental religious homogamy preferences.

18 For figures 1 and 2: N=2,166; for figure 3: N=960. All results weighted to adjust for sampling probability.

19 Values were obtained from two separate ordinary least squares regressions of personal and perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences on origin group. Results can be found in table A2 in the Appendix.

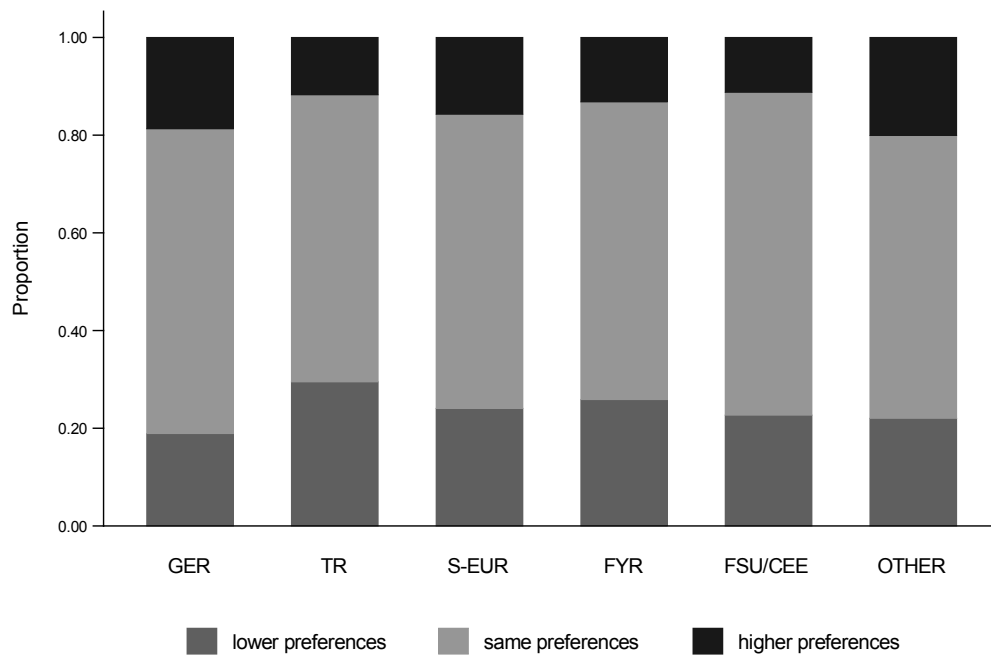
20 If not indicated differently, all statistical tests between coefficients and linear combinations of coefficients, both in the descriptive and multivariate analyses, are carried out on the 5-percent level of statistical significance.

**Figure 1: Ethnic homogamy preferences: children and parents (by origin group)**

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

apparent: First, we find substantial variation between the ethnic groups differentiated here. Regarding respondents' individual preferences, those with a Turkish background and those with origins from the Former Yugoslavian Republic show significantly higher homogamy preferences than natives and all other immigrant groups (Wald Test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.00 for all differences). Conversely, respondents from the Former Soviet Union as well as Central and Eastern Europe exhibit significantly lower preferences than their native peers (Wald Test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.03); however, differences appear to be quite small. Those with a Southern European origin and the group of residual countries do not differ significantly from natives. Altogether, significant and substantial differences can only be found between natives and Turks as well as natives and former Yugoslavians. Second, when comparing the perceived parental preferences regarding their children to choose a co-ethnic partner, parents in most groups seem to hold preferences similar to native parents. Comparable to individual ethnic homogamy preferences, the perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences are only significantly higher for Turks and those with a former Yugoslavian background, compared to all other groups (Wald Test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.00). Third, perceived parental homogamy preferences are on average higher than personal preferences, although only to a minor extent. This discrepancy seems more pronounced for those with a Turkish background or a former Yugoslavian origin, who exhibit highest rates of homogamy preferences in general, but also for those with Southern European origin. Differences for those with a Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern European origin and especially for those from the remaining group appear to be smaller, while no differences on average can be obtained for natives. A closer inspection of the differences in figure 2, however, reveals that discrepancies between individual homogamy preferences and perceived parental preferences differ only between natives and Turks, as they have a *higher chance* of indicating *lower preferences* than their parents, compared to natives, and those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe, as

**Figure 2: Adolescents' personal homogamy preferences in relation to perceived parental homogamy preferences (by origin group)**

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

they have a *lower chance* of having *higher preferences* than their parents, compared to natives.<sup>21</sup> Again, these differences appear to be rather small. No significant differences for other immigrant groups or between different immigrant groups can be obtained.<sup>22</sup> This finding supports the notion that parents transmit their own preferences to their children during the socialization process, and overall intergenerational discrepancies seem to be negligible both for natives and immigrant youth. Only for Turks and those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe, it seems that there are other processes at work.

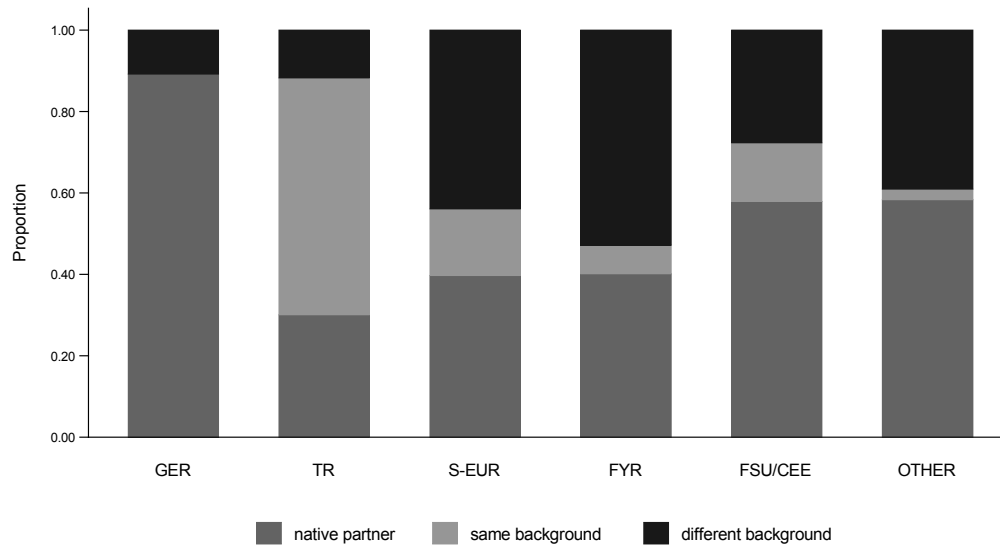
Lastly, figure 3 plots the partner's ethnic background by respondent's ethnicity, differentiating between having a native partner, a partner of the same ethnic background, or a partner of a different, non-native background.<sup>23</sup> Overall, and not surprisingly, natives show the highest share of homogamous relationships, as only around 11 percent date someone with a non-native background. Comparing the ethnic minority groups, we find considerable variation in their homogamy rates: Adolescents of Turkish descent show by far the highest rates of dating within the own group of origin.<sup>24</sup> In this group, 58 percent of those who are

21 Statistical tests for differences between ethnic groups are based on results from three separate binary logistic regression models, which can be found in table A3 in the Appendix.

22 Those from the group of remaining countries have a higher, yet not statistically significant, chance of having higher preferences than their parents compared to those from the Former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.07).

23 Statistical tests for differences between ethnic groups are based on results from three separate binary logistic regressions, which can be found in table A4 in the Appendix.

24 See column 2 in table A4 in the Appendix.

**Figure 3: Ethnic background of partner (by origin group)**

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

dating have a boy- or girlfriend who is likewise of Turkish origin. This share is significantly higher than among adolescents of all other immigrant groups (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01). This group, moreover, shows the lowest rates of both dating a native<sup>25</sup> and dating someone from a different ethnic minority.<sup>26</sup> Slightly less than one third has a native partner (significantly lower share compared to all groups but those from Southern Europe and the Former Yugoslavian Republic; Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.02 for all differences except for differences to former Yugoslavians) and only around 12 percent have a partner from another ethnic minority group. The latter share is significantly lower than that of all other immigrant groups (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.03 for all differences).

Both adolescents from Southern European and former Yugoslavian origin show similar shares of unions with natives, while the former have a higher share of unions formed within the own ethnic group and, thus, show a slightly lower tendency to date someone from another ethnic minority (although the differences do not differ statistically). Adolescents with an Eastern European or Former Soviet Union origin show the highest rate of dating natives (although only significantly different from adolescents of Turkish origin; Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.02) while simultaneously exhibiting similar homogamy rates as youth with a Southern European background.<sup>27</sup> Thus, their share of unions with other ethnic minorities is the lowest after Turks and natives, significantly differing from former Yugoslavians (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.04). Finally, the residual group of other immigrants exhibits the lowest share of partners with the same ethnic background compared to all other groups but those from the Former Yugoslavian Republic (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01, for all differences except to those from former Yugoslavia.) while showing

25 See column 1 in table A4 in the Appendix.

26 See column 3 in table A4 in the Appendix.

27 Shares differ only with respect to the group of remaining countries (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01) and the group of Turks (see column 2 in table A4 in the appendix).

rates of dating natives comparable to those with an origin from Eastern Europe or the Former Soviet Union. This is likely due to the fact that this group encompasses several smaller origin groups and, consequently, its members have rather low chances of meeting potential co-ethnic partners due to the opportunity structure of the ethnic dating market. Moreover, their rate of dating natives is comparable to that of adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe but does not differ from any other group of immigrants.

As laid out above, the size of the own group determines the opportunities as well as the frequency to meet potential partners of the own ethnic group in the first place (Blau et al. 1982; Blau 1977). As figure 3 presents descriptive results which are not controlled for other factors, the opportunity structure of the dating market is likely to, at least in part, also determine the homogamy patterns displayed. The high share of ethnic homogamy among native Germans, for instance, is likely due to the structure of the dating market, as the potential pool of partners largely consists of native peers and the partner choice is, therefore, fundamentally determined by opportunity. The Turkish group is the biggest immigrant group in Germany, and its descendants therefore have also many opportunities to meet and interact with peers from the same ethnic group. However, the big share of homogamous unions in the group of Turkish adolescents might also reflect the strong personal and parental homogamy preferences (cf. figure 1). Among descendants from former Yugoslavia, who also have relatively high preferences for a partner from their own group, we find lower shares of homogamous unions, which might again in part be attributed to the opportunity structure (cf. hypothesis 2c). The same reasoning, of course, also applies to the other groups.

Altogether, the results show considerable variation between origin groups. Turks are the group with the highest homogamy rates by far as well as with the lowest rates of dating a native and the lowest rates of dating someone from another non-native group. Differences in homogamy rates between the remaining groups are visible but rather small and not significantly different from one another, with the exception of the group of remaining countries, who show the lowest rates of dating homogamously (yet not significantly different to former Yugoslavians).

We will now turn to our multivariate analyses. In the first step, we will investigate how different predictor variables influence ethnic homogamy preferences and how much they contribute in explaining ethnic differences in those preferences. We will then turn to our second analysis, in which we investigate how individual and perceived parental preferences translate into actual dating behavior.

## 5 Multivariate Results

### 5.1 Explaining Ethnic Homogamy Preferences

Before we analyze actual homogamy rates, we will look into ethnic differences in homogamy preferences and how they are affected by different predictor variables. In table 1 we present results from different binary logistic regression models, in which we estimate the likelihood of reporting that having a co-ethnic partner is fairly or very important. Average marginal effects are reported. We calculate the influence of traditional and conservative orientations, parental preferences, and that of ethnic origin. As the importance of keeping up the ethnic group's customs and traditions as well as the strength of the ethnic identity cannot be investigated for natives and immigrants jointly, we will run separate models for these two predictors for non-natives only (table 2). All models control for age, gender, current situation, the highest educational degree of parents, and constraints of the dating market. In table 1, the first models report the effects of each predictor variable separately. Lastly, we will run a joint model including all predictors and finally assess the joint effect of the predictor variables on ethnic differences in homogamy preferences. For all predictor variables, more fine-grained graphical representations of their relationship to different degrees of ethnic homogamy preferences can be found in the Appendix.

Model 1 in table 1 only reports ethnic differences in personal homogamy preferences as presented in figure 1, but now under control of the aforementioned control variables. As seen in the descriptive analyses, Turks and those from the former Yugoslavian Republic show higher homogamy preferences than natives and all other immigrant groups (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01 for all differences but that between Turks and former Yugoslavians). No statistically significant differences can be found between the remaining groups and natives except for Southern Europeans who, *ceteris paribus*, even have lower preferences for a co-ethnic partner than natives (statistically significant at the 6 percent level), adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.08) and the group of remaining countries (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.05).

Model 2 reports the effects of holding non-traditional gender role attitudes on ethnic homogamy preferences.<sup>28</sup> As expected (cf. hypothesis 1a), those who endorse a non-traditional task division within couples show significantly weaker homogamy preferences than adolescents who endorse one or more scenarios of a traditional labor division in the household. Those with an egalitarian view on gender roles also have a 15 percent lower probability of reporting that having a co-ethnic partner is fairly or very important to them, compared to those with one or more traditional orientations.<sup>29</sup> Ethnic differences are only weakly reduced, compared to model 1. This reduction is more noticeable for Turks than for other groups. Apparently, non-traditional gender role attitudes are not very successful in explaining ethnic differences in homogamy preferences.

Model 3 presents the effect of conservatism on ethnic homogamy preferences. As argued theoretically, we expect adolescents with more conservative values to have stronger homogamy preferences (hypothesis 1b). Conservative values are captured by adolescents' tolerance towards abortion, unmarried cohabitation,

28 It has to be noted that, if we do not control for group of origin, the effects of our predictor variables remain more or less the same, as belonging to a certain group is the origin rather than the consequence of traditional or conservative orientation.

29 Figure A1 in the appendix gives graphical support that the divide seems to run between being egalitarian or not in terms of gendered domains rather than exhibiting a certain degree of traditional orientation.

**Table 1: Effects of predictor variables on ethnic homogamy preferences (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Origin group (ref.: GER)						
TR	0.26*** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.04)	0.12** (0.05)	0.11* (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
S-EUR	-0.15+ (0.08)	-0.15* (0.08)	-0.20** (0.07)	-0.19** (0.07)	-0.16* (0.06)	-0.19** (0.06)
FYR	0.23*** (0.07)	0.21** (0.07)	0.10 (0.08)	0.11 (0.08)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
FSU/CEE	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)
OTHER	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
Non-traditional gender roles		-0.15*** (0.03)		-0.11*** (0.03)		-0.07** (0.02)
Conservatism			0.14*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)		0.07*** (0.02)
Perceived parental homogamy preferences					0.34*** (0.01)	0.32*** (0.01)
Current situation (ref.: school)						
VET	0.06* (0.03)	0.06+ (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)
Other	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.10* (0.04)	-0.13** (0.04)	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.11** (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.03)
Female	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.02)	-0.04+ (0.02)
Percentage of own ethnic origin in school	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Parents have upper secondary degree or higher	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Age (ref.: 18 years)						
16-17	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
19-21	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
N	2166	2166	2166	2166	2166	2166
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.07	0.10	0.11	0.13	0.32	0.35

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations; standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$



homosexuality, and divorce. As expected, holding more conservative family values coincides with higher probabilities of preferring a co-ethnic partner. All factors equal, a one-unit increase in our measurement of conservative orientations increases the probability of indicating ethnic homogamy to be fairly or very important by 14 percent, which is in line with our hypothesis 1b. Thus, the conservative orientations seem to be a stronger predictor of homogamy preferences than the endorsement of egalitarian gender roles. When considering individual differences in conservative orientations, differences between natives and Turks are reduced substantially and differences are not significant anymore for former Yugoslavians. However, both groups show significantly lower preferences compared to the remaining three immigrant groups (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01 for all differences). The negative effect for Southern Europeans becomes even stronger and is now highly significant, while no statistically significant differences to natives can be found for the remaining two groups. Hence, ethnic differences in the preferences for a co-ethnic partner can in part be attributed to varying degrees of conservative orientations within the different groups. Especially for Turks, this reduction of differences compared to natives is pronounced. Furthermore, ethnic differences seem to result rather from different average levels of conservatism than from group differences in traditional gender role attitudes.

In model 4, we simultaneously include both conservatism and traditionalism in the regression to test whether they have a distinctive influence on dating preferences. Effect strengths of both traditionalism and conservatism are reduced when jointly included in the model, which is slightly more pronounced for non-traditional gender roles. This suggests that both concepts are not entirely independent from one another in their relation to ethnic homogamy preferences; nevertheless, both have distinct influences on homogamy preferences. Moreover, additionally including a measurement of non-traditional gender roles does not substantially reduce or change ethnic effects compared to a model with only a measurement of conservatism.

Model 5 includes perceived parental homogamy preferences to the ethnic effects in model 1. Not surprisingly, they have a strong positive effect on personal homogamy preferences, which is in line with the assumption that parents transmit their preferences to their children during the socialization process (hypothesis 3a). Adolescents whose parents attach greater importance to their children having a co-ethnic partner have a 34 percent higher probability of also having stronger ethnic homogamy preferences as compared to those whose parents consider ethnic homogamy of their offspring not very or not at all important. Also, no ethnic group shows significant differences compared to natives anymore, with the exception of adolescents from Southern Europe, who still have lower preferences than natives and all other immigrant groups.<sup>30</sup> The stronger homogamy preferences among Turkish and Ex-Yugoslavian adolescents in comparison to their native peers can apparently be explained by stronger homogamy preferences that parents in these groups hold for and pass on to their children. These findings point to a strong influence of parents on their children's preferences as well as to different preference patterns by ethnicity in the parental generation.

Lastly, model 6 simultaneously includes all the predictors we beforehand analyzed in separate models, that is, conservatism, traditionalism, and perceived parental homogamy preferences. Although results from model 5 are reproduced to some extent, there are several interesting departing points. Even after controlling for perceived parental preferences, conservatism and traditionalism still seem to be statistically related to ethnic homogamy preferences. However, their effect sizes are further reduced, while the effect size of the parental preferences changes only slightly. One reason might be that not only ethnic homogamy preferences but also other values and attitudes are passed on in the course of the intergenerational transmis-

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30 Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.04 for all differences, except for differences to those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe: Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.07.

sion process, and the effect of perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences is an indication of this transmission process. Nevertheless, the adolescents' mindsets also have an independent effect on their preferences. The latter seem not to be entirely determined by the parents alone. For Turks, former Yugoslavians, and the remaining group of origin countries, no significant differences to natives remain. Southern Europeans show homogamy preferences that are lower than those of natives and all other immigrant groups.<sup>31</sup> Lastly, differences between the Former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe group, and Turks are also statistically significant at the 9 percent level.

To sum up, all three - conservatism, traditionalism, and parental homogamy preferences - contribute in shaping the adolescents' personal homogamy preferences. These findings support our hypotheses and are in line with our theoretical foundation. Additionally, both measurements of conservatism and parental preferences can, to some degree, explain differences in ethnic homogamy preferences, while traditionalism in terms of gender role attitudes is less effective. The internalization of conservative values, but especially the influence of parental homogamy preferences, can explain differences between adolescents of Turkish as well as those of former Yugoslavian origins and natives. For all other groups except those from the remaining group of countries, controlling for the aforementioned predictors leads to even lower statistically significant homogamy preferences than for natives. Apparently, value homophily indeed positively affects preferences for a co-ethnic partner, as the equipment with specific cultural resources seems to coincide with ethnicity. Therefore, ethnic homogamy can be seen as a side product of the search for a partner with similar cultural resources (Kalmijn 1998), as the preference for having a co-ethnic partner stems from the wish to interact with someone who shares one's basic concepts of social interaction. In the following analyses, we will, additionally, take a closer look at two migration-specific potential determinants of homogamy preferences: the wish to keep up customs and traditions of the own ethnic group and the strength of identification with this group.

Table 2 presents effects only for immigrant groups. While model 1 replicates the findings from model 1 in table 1, however, now with Turks as the reference category, model 2 includes a measure of the personal importance to maintain the cultural heritage in order to test hypothesis 1c.

In line with our assumptions, adolescents who consider it important to keep up the customs and traditions of their group have a 17 percent higher probability to also attach greater importance to having a co-ethnic partner, compared to both those who do not identify with another ethnic group than the native population and those who do not find it important to preserve their cultural heritage. Model 3 takes the strength of ethnic identity into account. The results support hypothesis 1d at least partly and show that only those who report to very strongly identify with their own ethnic group have significantly higher ethnic homogamy preferences, compared to all others (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.00 for all differences). Consequently, it seems that ethnic identity only makes a difference for those who have very strong feelings of belonging towards their own ethnic group. The remaining two groups do not differ significantly from one another. Keeping this confinement in mind, our migration-specific hypotheses are in line with the findings presented. However, the wish to keep up the own group's customs and traditions as well as the ethnic identification do little in explaining ethnic differences in homogamy preferences. Turks still show the strongest homogamy preferences, followed by former Yugoslavians. Both adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe show lower homogamy preferences, while Southern Europeans have the lowest rates. In the following analyses, we will test how preferences for a co-ethnic partner translate into actual ethnic homogamy in dating.

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31 Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.04 for all differences, except for differences to those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe: Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.08, and to the group of remaining countries: Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.09.

**Table 2: Effects of migration-specific predictor variables on ethnic homogamy preferences (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Origin group (ref.: TR)			
S-EUR	-0.39*** (0.07)	-0.36*** (0.07)	-0.38*** (0.06)
FYR	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.00 (0.06)
FSU/CEE	-0.26*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.22*** (0.05)
OTHER	-0.23*** (0.06)	-0.19*** (0.06)	-0.21*** (0.06)
Importance of cultural maintenance (ref.: no feeling of belonging)			
not important		-0.06 (0.05)	
important		0.17*** (0.04)	
Ethnic identification (ref.: no feeling of belonging)			
not strong			-0.04 (0.07)
fairly strong			0.04 (0.05)
very strong			0.20*** (0.04)
Current situation (ref.: school)			
VET	0.11* (0.04)	0.10* (0.05)	0.10* (0.04)
Other	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)
Female	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
Percentage of own ethnic origin in school	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Parents have upper secondary degree or higher	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.09* (0.04)
Age (ref.: 18 years)			
16-17	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
19-21	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Observations	1,063	1,063	1,063
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.21	0.20

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations, standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## 5.2 Explaining Ethnic Homogamy in Early Partner Choice

Table 3 presents the results from different logistic regressions predicting the likelihood of dating a co-ethnic partner instead of someone with a different ethnic background. Again, we report average marginal effects. In addition to the controls in the former multivariate analyses, we also control for both individual and perceived parental religious homogamy preferences in order to rule out the possibility of a spurious correlation between (perceived parental) ethnic homogamy preferences and actual ethnic homogamy due to preferences for a partner with the same religion. As in the previous analyses, we subsequently introduce the predictors first separately and in the later models simultaneously. As Turks show, on average, the highest ethnic homogamy preferences as well as the highest ethnic homogamy in dating, we will subsequently choose this group as the reference category for groups of origin in the following analyses.

Model 1 shows the effects of the origin group on the probability of having a co-ethnic partner, controlling for several confounding variables. The effects reflect the descriptive results of figure 3 to some extent. Not surprisingly, natives have the highest probability of having a co-ethnic partner compared to all other groups. Conversely, Turks have the highest probability of dating a co-ethnic partner compared to all other immigrant groups and thus are the minority group that most closely resembles native Germans in their homogamy propensity. There are no significant differences between the remaining immigrant groups with the exception of those forming the residual category, who have a significantly lower probability compared to all other groups in our sample except to those from the Former Yugoslavian Republic (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01 for all differences, except to former Yugoslavians). This should at least in part be due to constraints of the dating market, as the groups of Turks is the largest immigrant group and, accordingly, also the opportunities to meet potential co-ethnic partners are by far more numerous for members of this group, whereas the group of residual countries consists of several smaller immigrant groups. The same reasoning applies to explain why the native adolescents are most likely to be in a homogamous union: their chances to meet fellow native adolescents are simply very high. Thus, model 2 introduces our proxy for the structure of the dating market. The effect is in line with hypothesis 2a: A 10 percent increase in the availability of a co-ethnic peer results in a 3 percent increase in the probability of being in an ethnically homogamous relationship.

Furthermore, differences between Turks and all other immigrant groups are reduced considerably, and especially differences to Germans are greatly reduced and now range at the 10 percent level of statistical significance. The pattern of differences between ethnic groups, however, remains unchanged: The group of remaining countries and those from former Yugoslavian countries still show the lowest probabilities of dating a co-ethnic partner, with the former still differing significantly from all other groups (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01 for all differences, except to former Yugoslavians.). Consequently, controlling for the opportunity structure of the ethnic partner market can explain differences between natives and ethnic minorities to a considerable extent, though these still remain pronounced. However, the question remains whether this results from our rather imprecise measurement of opportunity structure, relying on only two classes of each school, or from the fact that the measurement might be outdated due to the time which has passed between the measurement of the proxy and the time of the interview. However, the clear and highly significant effect indicates at least a certain usefulness of the measurement.

Model 3 presents the effect of the personal homogamy preferences on the likelihood of dating a co-ethnic partner. As expected (hypothesis 2b), individuals with stronger homogamy preferences also have a higher probability of being with a co-ethnic partner. Our model predicts that for those to whom ethnic homogamy is fairly or very important, the probability of actually dating homogamously increases by 28 percent compared those who do not attach much importance to it, all other factors equal. Apparently, adolescents are indeed able to translate their preferences into actual dating behavior to a certain degree, although the effect seems rather low even under control of constraints on the dating market. Furthermore, ethnic differ-

ences are reduced substantially only between Turks and Southern Europeans, which are no longer significant. In contrast, the difference between Turks and natives is increased slightly and now range at a 5 percent level of statistical significance again. In this vein, ethnic homogamy preferences only do little in explaining ethnic homogamy rates.

We furthermore assumed an interaction effect between opportunity structure and ethnic homogamy preference, more specifically, we hypothesized the effect of ethnic homogamy preferences to be stronger if more co-ethnic peers were available (hypothesis 2c). Model 4 does not corroborate this hypothesis. No additional advantage of a more favorable dating market can be found for those who hold stronger ethnic homogamy preferences. The effect is small and even negative, but it does not differ significantly from zero. Moreover, both main effects remain virtually unchanged, and the linear combination of all three variables is still significantly different from zero, as the negative effect of the interaction does not outweigh the positive effect of the opportunity structure. Lastly, no change in ethnic differences can be obtained compared to model 3.

To assess the influence of parents on adolescents' partner choice, model 5 shows the effects of perceived parental preferences on ethnic homogamy incidence. As expected, adolescents who perceive their parents to have a stronger homogamy preference for them have a higher probability of actually dating a co-ethnic partner, all other factors held constant. This result supports our hypothesis 3b. However, and not surprisingly, this effect is not as strong as that of individual preferences. Furthermore, most ethnic effects remain the same (or even slightly increase) compared to model 2. Consequently, perceived parental preferences alone cannot account for ethnic differences in dating. Thus far, we cannot distinguish whether the parental preferences function through the intergenerational transmission of these preferences or through direct parental interference in the partner choice process. To do so, we will simultaneously introduce both variables in our model.

Model 6 presents the joint estimates for both personal and perceived parental preferences. Our results show that a large part of the parental influence on dating behavior seems to work through value transmission. Both effect size and statistical significance of parental preferences are reduced substantially, while effects of individual ethnic homogamy preferences remain more or less the same. However, we still find a statistically significant effect of parental homogamy preferences, thus corroborating our hypothesis 4a, which assumed an active involvement of parents in their offspring's partner choice process. Although we cannot investigate which of the proposed mechanisms are at work (matchmaking, advice, social sanctions, or social pressure), the results suggest that there exists some parental influence independent of or even against the preference of their children. However, it has to be noted that we could not use measures of the actual parental preferences but had to rely on the adolescents' perceptions of the parental preferences, which causes the problem that children might not judge their parent's preferences correctly. A direct measure would minimize this source of error. Turning to the effects of origin groups, we see that differences compared to model 3 are minor. Natives still have a higher probability of ethnically homogamous dating compared to all immigrant groups (Wald test: Probability  $>$  Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.01 for all differences). On the other hand, adolescents from the group of remaining countries have the lowest probability of ethnically homogamous dating compared to all other groups, with the exception of former Yugoslavians (Wald test: Probability  $>$  Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.02 for all differences except to former Yugoslavians). The latter differ from all other groups but those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe (Wald test: Probability  $>$  Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.02 for all differences except to those from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe), who in turn only differ from natives, Turks, and those from the group of remaining countries (Wald test: Probability  $>$  Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.02 for the respective differences). All in all, controlling for ethnic homogamy preferences, perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences, and the structure of the dating market in addition to model 1 has only a comparatively weak effect on ethnic differences, with the exception of differences between natives and immigrants, as well as differences between Turks and Southern Europeans.

**Table 3: Effects of predictor variables on ethnically homogamous dating (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Origin group (ref.: TR)							
GER	0.24*** (0.04)	0.10+ (0.06)	0.13* (0.05)	0.13* (0.05)	0.13* (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)	0.14* (0.06)
S-EUR	-0.17** (0.05)	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.13* (0.06)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)
FYR	-0.29** (0.09)	-0.23* (0.09)	-0.23** (0.09)	-0.24** (0.09)	-0.26** (0.09)	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.28* (0.12)
FSU/CEE	-0.17*** (0.05)	-0.13* (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.13* (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.15* (0.07)
Rest	-0.36*** (0.07)	-0.29*** (0.07)	-0.32*** (0.10)	-0.33*** (0.10)	-0.29*** (0.07)	-0.33*** (0.09)	-0.31*** (0.08)
Percentage of own ethnic origin in school							
		0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
x Ethnic Homogamy preferences							
				-0.01 (0.01)		-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Ethnic Homogamy preferences							
			0.28*** (0.05)	0.30*** (0.05)		0.27*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.05)
Perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences							
					0.17*** (0.05)	0.07* (0.03)	0.06 (0.07)
x GER							-0.01 (0.07)
x S-EUR							0.01 (0.09)
x FYR							0.05 (0.15)
x FSU/CEE							0.07 (0.09)
x Rest							-0.02 (0.12)
Current situation (ref.: school)							
VET	0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)
Other	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Female	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Parents have upper secondary degree or higher							
	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06+ (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
Age (ref.: 18 years)							
16-17	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
19-21	-0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)

**Table 3: Effects of predictor variables on ethnically homogamous dating (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions) (cont.)**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Religious homogamy preferences	0.07 (0.05)	0.07 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Perceived parental religious homogamy preferences (ref: not important)							
Don't know	0.00 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Important	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)
Observations	960	960	960	960	960	960	960
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.45	0.52	0.52	0.48	0.52	0.52

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations; standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Finally, we expected that the direct influence of parental preferences on adolescents' dating behavior might differ between cultural groups (cf. hypotheses 5a to 5e): Adolescents from more collectivistic groups should align their partnership choices more closely with their parents' will compared to adolescents from more individualistic groups and especially natives. To test this assumption, interaction effects between groups of origin and perceived parental homogamy preferences are added to model 6. However, the results in model 7 do not support any of our hypotheses with regard to differences in the parental involvement between collectivistic and individualistic origin groups. No group shows significant interaction effects, meaning that no group exhibits a significantly different influence of parental preferences on the adolescents' dating choices from Turkish parents. This means that perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences do not influence the dating behavior of adolescents differently for different groups of societies. Furthermore, the main effects of ethnic origin are only altered slightly, meaning that group differences from model 6 remain virtually the same for those whose parents do not attach greater importance to their child having a co-ethnic partner.<sup>32</sup> For those whose parents do maintain higher ethnic homogamy preferences regarding their children, some further differences emerge: While the group of remaining countries still has a significantly lower probability of dating homogamously than any other group but those from former Yugoslavia (test for linear combinations of coefficients:  $P > |z|$ : 0.01 for all differences except to former Yugoslavians), adolescents from the Former Soviet Union now differ significantly only from natives. On the other hand, they do not differ from any other immigrant group anymore except for the group of remaining countries (test for linear combinations of coefficients:  $P > |z|$ : 0.02 at least for difference to Germans and the group of remaining countries). Lastly, those from the Former Yugoslavian Republic differ significantly only from Germans and Turks (test for linear combinations of coefficients:  $P > |z|$ : 0.02 at least for both differences). No further differences between groups can be found if we compare only those whose parents attach greater importance to their children dating homogamously. Although investigating differences be-

32 With the exception of differences between former Yugoslavians and Southern Europeans, where no significant difference can be obtained (Wald test: Probability > Chi<sup>2</sup>: 0.08).

tween groups of origins only for those whose parents attach greater importance to ethnic homogamy of their children can reduce differences between groups, no distinct, group-specific influence of parental preferences can be found. These results do not corroborate our hypotheses: At least with the data at hand, direct parental influence does not seem to vary between origin groups.

In the following concluding paragraph, we will review the results described above, discuss shortcomings of our analyses as well as implications for further research.

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## 6 Summary of Results and Discussion

In this research project, we were interested in the influence of personal and parental homogamy preferences on the actual partner choice among descendants of immigrants in Germany. We first wanted to explore the potential dependence of homogamy preference on conservative and traditional orientations as well as on the personal importance to uphold the cultural heritage of the own ethnic group, and on the strength of identification with this group. Subsequently, we wanted to see in how far these homogamy preferences shape the actual partner choice. With regard to the parental influence, we were interested in parent's indirect influence through the intergenerational transmission of homogamy preferences during the socialization process and in their direct involvement in the partner choice process, as for example through the use of social pressure.

We can report several interesting findings: First, we found that ethnic differences exist both in homogamy preferences and in homogamy in the actual partner choice. Regarding homogamy preferences, adolescents of Turkish and former Yugoslavian origin exhibited on average the highest preferences for a co-ethnic partner, followed by native Germans, Southern Europeans, and the residual country group, who generally do not differ in their preferences. Adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe had even significantly lower homogamy preferences than their native peers, although these differences do not seem too pronounced. The same pattern was found with regard to the ethnic homogamy preferences of the parental generation that tends towards holding on average slightly stronger homogamy preferences regarding their children. These differences are, however, only significant for Turks and those from the Former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, all in all, intergenerational transmission seems to be quite pronounced.

Second, with regard to the determinants of homogamy preferences, we found that adolescents hold stronger homogamy preferences the more conservative and more traditional orientations they have. Regarding traditionalism, the important divide seems to be between the most egalitarian and all others. Additionally, descendants of immigrants who endorse the maintenance of their cultural heritage and identify strongly with their own ethnic group also have a stronger preference for a co-ethnic partner, although the former effect is only relevant for those who identify the strongest with their own ethnic group. The results regarding the determinants of homogamy preferences are in line with our hypotheses. Differences between groups in their conservative, traditional, and ethnic orientations can in part explain ethnic differences in homogamy preferences.

Third, we find that homogamy preferences have a strong significant effect on the likelihood of having a co-ethnic partner. This effect, however, does not seem to depend on the opportunity structure of the ethnic dating market, which has an independent effect. Parental homogamy preferences have a similar but lower effect. When introducing both at the same time, it becomes apparent that the parental preferences are mediated through the children's preferences to some extent. This finding supports our assumption about the intergenerational transmission of homogamy preferences within the family. However, even under con-



trol of individual preferences, we find an effect of perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences on the actual partner choice. What kind of parental involvement (matchmaking, advise, social sanctions, or social pressure) lies behind this effect, however, cannot be retained from the results.

Fourth, regarding actual partner choice, we find that natives have the significantly highest homogamy rates, followed by Turks, who show by far the highest homogamy rates of all immigrant groups under consideration. Adolescents from smaller immigrant groups overall show the lowest rates of homogamy in dating, followed by former Yugoslavians. Adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe as well as from Southern Europe show similar and intermediate homogamy rates. After controlling for dating opportunities as well as personal and perceived parental homogamy preferences, those from the Former Yugoslavian Republic and especially those from the residual immigrant group show the lowest probability of ethnic homogamous dating, followed by adolescents from the Former Soviet Union or Central and Eastern Europe. Of all immigrant groups under consideration, adolescents with an immigrant background from Southern Europe as well as those with a Turkish background have the highest probability of dating within their own ethnic group. Lastly, natives have by far the highest probability of dating someone with the same origin, after controlling for personal and perceived parental preferences as well as socio-demographic and structural factors. Furthermore, we did not find proof for the assumption that parents and their preferences influence the dating behavior of their children differently in different immigrant groups. We assumed that adolescents from more collectivistic societies are more likely to adjust their partner choice to their parents' will or that their parents might get directly involved in the partner choice process, compared to adolescents from more individualistic societies. We could, however, not detect this effect. To find out whether this is due to insufficient measurement of parental preferences, insufficient measurement of collectivism or simply due to a missing variation in parental involvement in the partner choice of adolescents is up to further research. A reason why we could not find differences in parental active involvement between collectivistic and individualistic groups might also very well be that parents from collectivistic origins might not perceive it as important to interfere in dating during adolescence but rather only when relationships become more serious and permanent, as in the case of cohabitation and marriage (Edmonds and Killen 2009). Parents might perceive early interethnic romantic relationships to be less likely to prevail and, thus, might interfere less at this stage, but might exert stronger influence the more serious stages the relationship reaches (c.f. Edmonds and Killen 2009; Munniksmä et al. 2012). Lastly, the non-existing effect might be due to selection of adolescents among the group of dating youth. Those whose parents oppose interethnic dating might simply be more likely not to date at all and, thus, would be excluded from these analyses. These questions, however, cannot be answered without directly considering the issues laid out above.

Unfortunately, our study has several limitations and drawbacks: First, we did not have a direct measure of parental preferences but only adolescents' personal assessments of the importance their parents ascribe to them having a co-ethnic boy- or girlfriend. It might, however, be the case that the children do not know the preferences of their parents or over- or underestimate them. Unfortunately, we do not know whether and, if they do, to what extent the perceived parental preferences deviate from their actual preferences. Further, we could not derive from our results in which way the parents interfere in their children's partner choice. Future quantitative research should take a closer look at the possibilities parents can directly get involved in the partner choice of their children and to what extent this is common. Several studies have investigated this in qualitative research, but mostly among groups that are known for the parental involvement in their children's partner choice. To our knowledge, only very few studies have investigated this matter quantitatively (c.f. van Zantvliet et al. 2014).

Apart from that, we had to rely on a very crude categorization of ethnic groups due to the limited number of observations. Only Turks, as the biggest immigrant group, could be studied separately in multivariate analyses. Furthermore, our measure of ethnic origin relies on national affiliation and, thus, might be too

crude even on the single-country level. For instance, ethnic differences inside or across national areas are not considered, such as differences between Turks and Kurds in Turkey or Kurds from other regions. Consequently, a more appropriate measure of ethnic origin that is not confined to national borders is necessary to better investigate these issues and to test the theoretical assumptions.

Lastly, our measure for the opportunity structure of the ethnic dating market can only be seen as an approximation of the current situation of adolescents, as it reflects the situation in schools four years earlier to measuring the dating situation. Hence, adolescents might have changed schools (especially those attending *Hauptschule* tracks) or left the city. However, behind our measurement lies the assumption that the situation in schools is systematically related to the situation during adolescents' free time, also at the time of the survey. A more direct measure, for instance on district level at the time of survey via register data, would be more precise; however, this would consider ethnic background only by means of citizenship.

Nevertheless, our study contributed relevant insights to the research on early romantic relationships among immigrants in Europe. Further, to our knowledge, this is the first study to directly assess the relationship between personal homogamy preferences and actual ethnic partner choice. It additionally shows where such homogamy preferences partly originate from and investigates the parental direct and indirect involvement in ethnic partner choice. The active parental involvement has so far mostly been studied with regard to cohabiting or married unions, in which it seems to exist to diverging degrees. Further research should analyze the different ways of parental influence more closely and also quantitatively.

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## 8 Appendix

### 8.1 Tables

**Table A1: Descriptive overview of all variables used in the analyses**

	GER	TR	S-EUR	FYR	FSU/CEE	OTHER
Background of partner						
Native partner	0.89	0.30	0.40	0.40	0.58	0.58
Same background	0.00	0.58	0.16	0.07	0.14	0.03
Different background	0.11	0.12	0.44	0.53	0.28	0.39
Personal ethnic homogamy preferences (0/1)	0.22	0.57	0.10	0.50	0.18	0.19
Perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences (0/1)	0.23	0.72	0.26	0.63	0.24	0.23
Personal compared to perceived parental homogamy preferences (0/1)						
Lower	0.19	0.29	0.24	0.26	0.23	0.22
Same	0.62	0.59	0.60	0.61	0.66	0.58
Higher	0.19	0.12	0.16	0.13	0.11	0.20
Conservatism: family values (0-3)	2.02	2.96	2.21	2.87	2.33	2.31
Traditionalism: Egalitarian versus traditional gender-roles (0/1)	0.60	0.30	0.55	0.43	0.58	0.48
Ethnic identity						
No belonging	--	0.31	0.20	0.29	0.50	0.46
Not at all strong	--	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00
Not very strong	--	0.08	0.17	0.09	0.09	0.11
Fairly strong	--	0.24	0.40	0.35	0.22	0.20
Very strong	--	0.36	0.23	0.26	0.18	0.23
Importance of keeping customs and traditions						
No belonging (other than native)	--	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Not important	--	0.31	0.20	0.29	0.50	0.46
Important	--	0.12	0.38	0.16	0.23	0.20
Current situation						
School	0.61	0.64	0.64	0.65	0.73	0.81
Vocational Education and Training	0.33	0.25	0.22	0.22	0.20	0.12
Other	0.06	0.11	0.14	0.13	0.07	0.07
Percentage of own group in federal state x 10 (%)	6.65	2.14	0.62	0.47	0.75	0.32
Female (0/1)	0.53	0.66	0.65	0.50	0.57	0.61
Age						
Ages 16-17	0.33	0.31	0.31	0.39	0.24	0.34
Age 18	0.58	0.55	0.52	0.43	0.59	0.52
Ages 19-20	0.09	0.14	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.14
Parents have upper secondary degree or higher (0/1)	0.48	0.27	0.30	0.43	0.52	0.58

**Table A1: Descriptive overview of all variables used in the analyses (cont.)**

	GER	TR	S-EUR	FYR	FSU/CEE	OTHER
Personal religious homogamy preferences (0/1)	0.15	0.67	0.17	0.53	0.24	0.26
Perceived parental religious homogamy preferences						
Don't know	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.14	0.02
Not important	0.80	0.21	0.76	0.34	0.53	0.60
Important	0.16	0.78	0.22	0.66	0.33	0.38
Number of observations in analyses						
Table 1 and descriptive analyses	1,111	345	120	96	256	238
Table 2		350	119	98	252	244
Table 3	517	127	69	31	125	91

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All variables are dummies and all values are percentages, if not indicated differently. All percentages except those for partner's ethnic background refer to the sample of model 1 and are adjusted for sampling probability.

**Table A2: Differences in personal and perceived parental ethnic preferences between different origin groups (OLS regressions)**

	Ethnic homogamy preferences	Perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences
Origin group (ref.: GER)		
TR	0.79*** (0.08)	1.08*** (0.09)
S-EUR	-0.10 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
FYR	0.68*** (0.15)	0.88*** (0.15)
FSU/CEE	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)
OTHER	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.08)
Intercept	0.88*** (0.02)	0.89*** (0.03)
Observations	2166	2166
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.08

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations, standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table A3: Differences between own and perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions)**

	Own compared to perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences		
	Lower	Same	Higher
Origin group (ref.: GER)			
TR	0.10** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)
S-EUR	0.05 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.07)
FYR	0.07 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)
FSU/CEE	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.08* (0.04)
OTHER	0.03 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)
Observations	2166	2166	2166
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.00	0.01

Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations, standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**Table A4: Ethnic differences in dating someone with a native, same, or different background (average marginal effects after binary logistic regressions)**

	Background of partner		
	native (0/1)	same (0/1)	different (0/1)
Origin group (ref.: GER)			
TR	-0.40*** (0.05)	-0.19*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
S-EUR	-0.34*** (0.05)	-0.39*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.05)
FYR	-0.34*** (0.06)	-0.49*** (0.09)	0.28*** (0.06)
FSU/CEE	-0.24*** (0.04)	-0.41*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)
OTHER	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.60*** (0.06)	0.21*** (0.04)
Observations	960	960	960
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.18	0.42	0.08

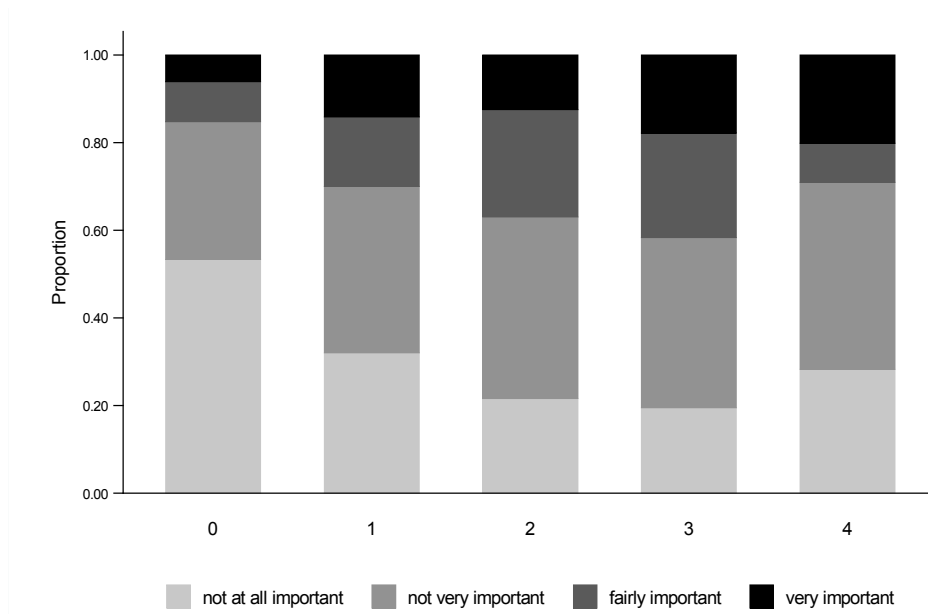
Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations, standard errors in parentheses.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

+  $p < 0.1$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

## 8.2 Figures

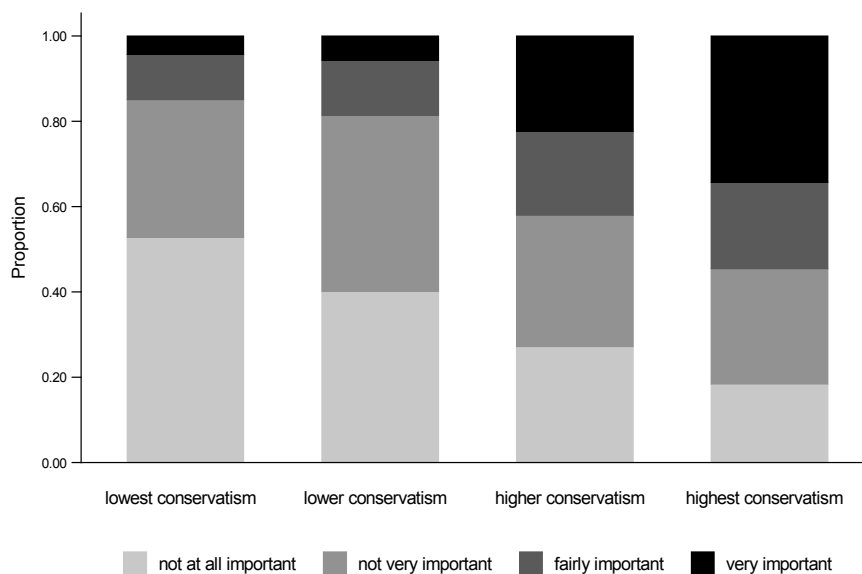
**Figure A1: Number of endorsements of traditional gender roles in relation to ethnic homogamy preferences**



Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

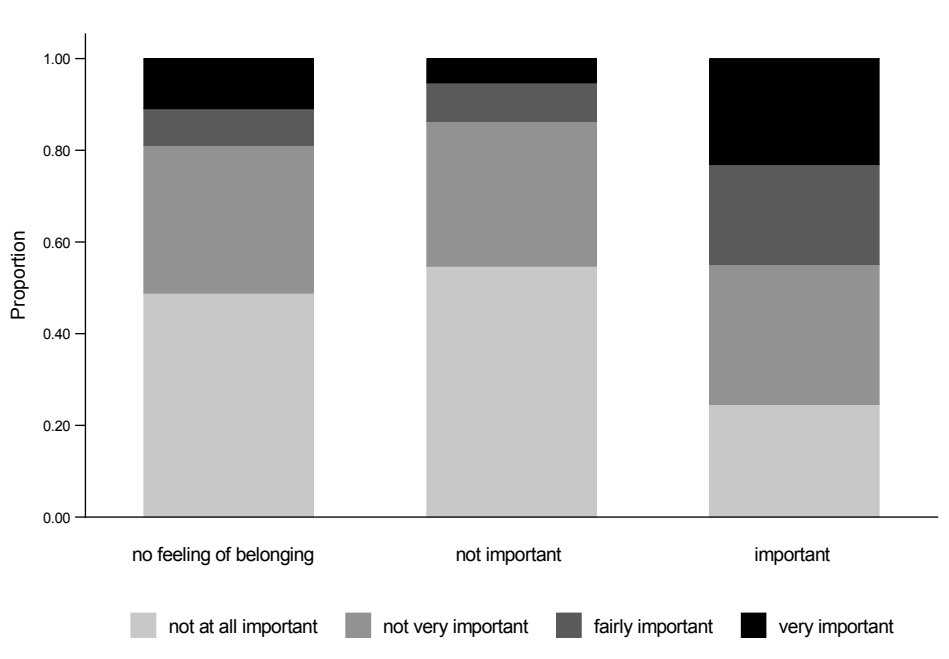
**Figure A2: Strength of conservative orientations in relation to ethnic homogamy preferences**



Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

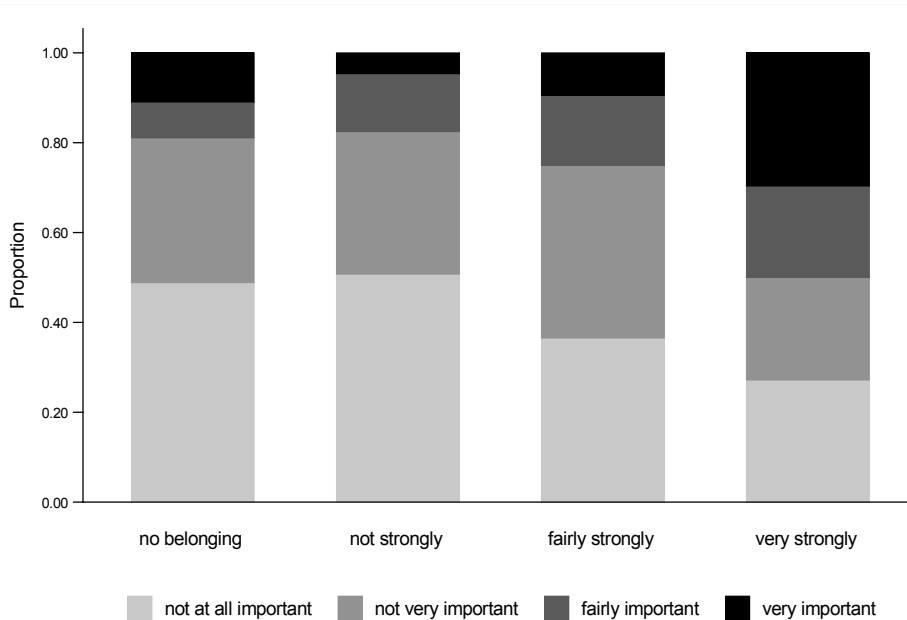
**Figure A3: Importance of keeping up customs and traditions of own ethnic group in relation to ethnic homogamy preferences**



Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

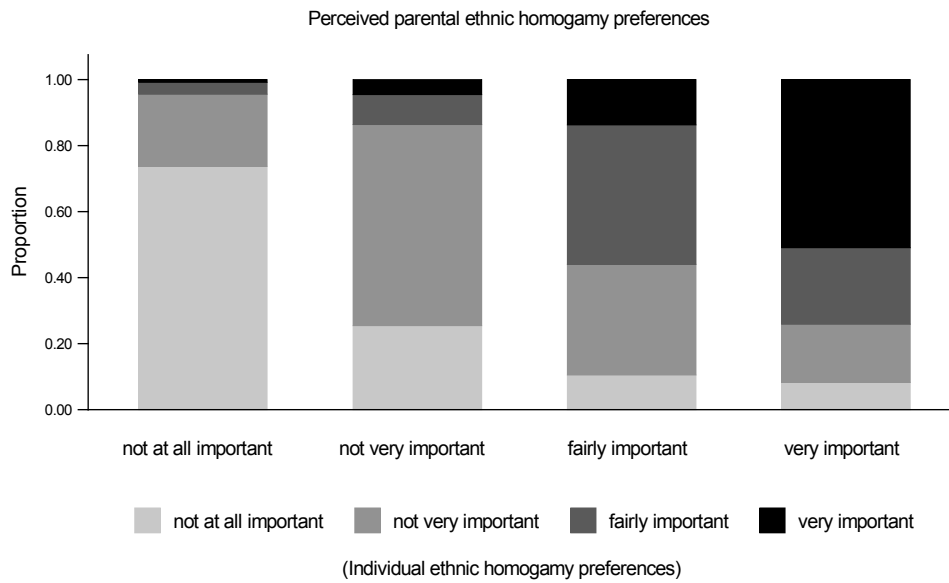
**Figure A4: Strength of ethnic identification in relation to ethnic homogamy preferences**



Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability.

**Figure A5: Perceived parental ethnic homogamy preferences in relation to own ethnic homogamy preferences**



Source: CILS4EU v1.2.0, v2.3.0, and v3.1.0, as well as CILS4EU-DE v1.0.0. Own calculations.

Note: All models are weighted for sampling probability