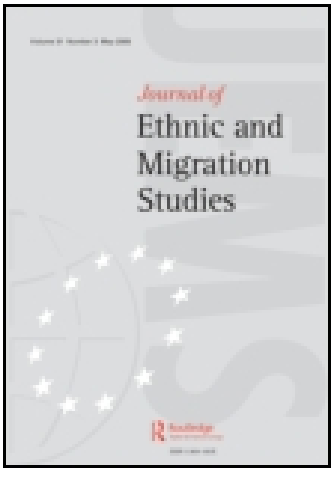

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Does Rural Origin Affect Immigrants' Contact with Natives? A Study of Turks in Six European Countries

Bram Lancee and Verena Seibel

This paper analyses differences in rural and urban origin in visits from natives and the occurrence of interethnic marriages of Turkish immigrants in six European countries. We argue that values and human capital explain the relationship between rural-urban origin and contact with natives. The value-based hypothesis stipulates that differences in contact with natives are due to values and predispositions that correlate with people's rural and urban origin. The human capital hypothesis predicts that variation between rural and urban origin can be ascribed to differences in human capital accumulation. Using the Six Country Immigrant Incorporation Comparative Survey (SCIICS), the results show that Turkish immigrants with a rural origin have fewer visits from natives and are less likely to intermarry. Furthermore, educational attainment, destination country language proficiency, religious identification and identification with the origin culture explain a substantial part of the rural origin effect. However, also when accounting for values and human capital, we find a significant direct effect of rural origin, suggesting that rural and urban immigrants build social relations differently.

Keywords: Urban and Rural Origin; Contact with Natives; Intermarriage; Turkish Immigrants

Introduction

Contact with natives[1] is beneficial for the cultural and economic integration of immigrants. Not only do natives possess better information about employment opportunities than co-ethnic peers (Muttarak and Heath 2010; Kanas, van Tubergen,

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and van der Lippe 2011; Lancee 2012b), they also provide opportunities to learn the host country language (Chiswick and Miller 2001).

While there is ample scholarly attention for the consequences of having contact with natives, its determinants are under-researched. Previous work shows that having contact with natives depends on education and language skills (Green, Tigges, and Diaz 1999; Nee and Sanders 2001; Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009). Yet, we know surprisingly little about how immigrants' origin affects having contact with natives. Virtually, no studies have paid attention to rural-urban differences. An exception is the study by van Tubergen (2010), who shows that refugees in the Netherlands who fled from major cities have better Dutch language proficiency than refuges originating from a village. In this paper, we study whether Turkish immigrants from rural and urban origin differ in their contact with natives.

Despite the scarce amount of research available, there are good reasons to expect why rural origin impacts having contact with natives. In the literature on social capital, rural and urban communities are traditionally seen as having different social relations (Wirth 1938; Sampson 1988; Ziersch et al. 2009). In rural areas, ties are often characterised by tight-knit bonds and close connections. According to the social homophily principle (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), one would expect that also after migration, rural migrants are more likely to build social relations with people from a similar background. On the other hand, social relations in urban areas are more impersonal and transitory (Hofferth and Iceland 1998). Migrants from urban areas are therefore more likely to build relations that diversify their network. Based on these differences, one would expect migrants originating from rural areas to have less contact with natives than migrants from urban origin.

There are, however, other arguments that explain why the amount of contact with natives varies according to rural and urban origin. We develop two hypotheses to explain why such differences are likely to occur. The value-based explanation postulates that differences in contact with natives are due to values and predispositions that correlate with people's rural and urban origin. The argument is rooted in the social distance between migrants and the native population: when social distance is larger, contact between immigrants and natives is less likely (Kashima and Loh 2006). According to the human capital explanation, variation in contact with natives can be ascribed to differences in human capital accumulation. There are structural differences between urban and rural areas in the origin country in the opportunities to acquire human capital. As a consequence, human capital is not distributed equally. Hence, the rural and urban differences in contact with natives are due to a composition effect.

In this study, we analyse whether contact with natives differs for migrants of rural and urban origin. Furthermore, we analyse to what extent this effect is mediated by differences in values and human capital. We contribute to literature by theorising why rural and urban origin matters for having contact with natives and interethnic marriages and we empirically test these explanations. We make use of the Six Country Immigrant Incorporation Comparative Survey (SCIICS, see Ersanilli and

Koopmans 2013) and analyse Turkish immigrants. The survey design enables us to analyse one migrant group in six destination countries (Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Sweden and Austria). The survey furthermore allows us to control for important factors, such as the size of residence, the proportion of natives in the neighbourhood and previous intermarriages within the family.

Contact with Natives: Visits from Natives and Interethnic Marriages

Possessing host-country specific resources is important for the position of immigrants in their host society. For example, Friedberg (2000) shows that host-country specific human capital is of high importance for immigrants' adaptation to the host society. This also holds for social resources; contact with natives is particularly beneficial in terms of cultural and economic integration (Kanas, van Tubergen, and van der Lippe 2011; Lancee 2012b). Because it provides access to host-country-specific resources, contact with natives is often referred to as immigrants' bridging social capital. Bridging ties include both strong and weak ties; they contain having a native partner or close native friends, as well as acquaintances or native colleagues.

To measure contact with natives, we make use of two classical items: visits from natives (Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009; Lancee 2012b, 2012a; Seibel and van Tubergen 2013) and intermarriage (Lievens 1999; Muttarak and Heath 2010; Carol and Ersanilli, forthcoming). Visits from natives are a general measure of host-country-specific social capital. Migrants might receive visits from close ties, such as family members or friends, or weak ties such as colleagues or acquaintances. Intermarriage, that is, the marriage between natives and immigrants, is among the strongest indicators of possessing host-country-specific social capital. As opposed to being married to a co-ethnic, being married to a native indicates low social distance between groups (Muttarak and Heath 2010, 276).

Rural and Urban Origin

Studies that analyse origin effects mostly compare countries (see, for example, van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap 2004). There are good reasons, however, to also expect differences *within* countries of origin to matter for the position of immigrants in the receiving society. Coming from an urban or rural area is likely to matter for various reasons. In Turkey, for example, differences in education (Tansel 2002) and values (Holmstrom 1973; Gündüz-Hosgör and Smits 2006) are particularly notable between rural and urban areas. If Turkish migrants have different characteristics depending on whether they migrated from urban or rural areas, it is likely that they also differ in building social relations in the destination country.

As a general hypothesis, we would therefore expect that migrants from urban areas have more contact with natives than migrants originating from rural areas. For example, Massey (1986) provides (descriptive) statistics showing that in the US, Mexican immigrants from rural areas have almost ten percent less native friends than

immigrants from urban areas. To our knowledge, there is no previous work that analyses *why* urban and rural origin affects having contact with natives in the destination country. We argue that two factors explain the relationship between rural-urban origin and immigrants' contact with natives: (i) values and attitudes and (ii) human capital.

The Value-Based Explanation

The value-based explanation stipulates that differences in social capital along the urban-rural divide are due to attitudes and predispositions that correlate with people's rural and urban origin. For example, while marriages with co-ethnics reflect the preservation of traditional values, marriages with natives indicate cultural assimilation (Beggs, Haines, and Hurlbert 1996; Timmerman 2006).

Attitudinal differences between immigrants and natives increase social distance: with larger social distance, it is more difficult for immigrants to make contact with natives. The concept of social distance stems from discrimination theory and refers to natives' attitudes towards immigrants and whether they feel specifically close or distant to each other (Bogardus 1959; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Social distance is larger when people are less similar to each other in terms of religion, values and traditions.

Previous work shows that strong religious identification increases social distance between immigrants and natives (Nesdale 2002; Lubbers, Molina, and McCarty 2007; van Tubergen 2007). In Western countries, Turks are often perceived as 'different' because of their strong religious attitudes (Diehl, Koenig, and Ruckdeschel 2009). As van Tubergen and Kalmijn (2005), put it for Western (and Christian) countries, natives' social distance toward ethnic groups partly overlaps with a distinction in religion, ranking Islamic, Buddhist and other non-Christian groups at the top of the social distance scale. Gungor, Fleischmann and Phalet (2011) conclude that the religious life of the second generation is part of a continued orientation toward the heritage culture in acculturating families and communities. When migrants' religious attitudes are different from those of the natives, it is less likely that contact is established. Previous work indeed finds that contact with natives is negatively associated with religious affiliation (van Tubergen 2007) and religiosity (Smits, Ruiter, and van Tubergen 2010; Fleischmann and Phalet 2011).

It is a well-documented finding that religious identification is higher in rural areas than in urban areas (Chalfant and Heller 1991; Norris and Inglehart 2005; Fleischmann and Phalet 2011). Turkish immigrants also differ strongly in their religious identification. As Diehl, Koenig and Ruckdeschel (2009, 293) argue, attitudinal variation of Turkish migrants in Germany might be due to 'factors related to the country of origin, e.g. urban versus rural background'. Because religious identification and rural-urban origin correlate, it is likely to explain the urban-rural differences in contact with natives.

Besides religious identification, also a strong identification with the origin country increases social distance (Verkuyten and Yildiz 2007; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, and Solheim 2009). It can hence be expected that those who identify more with the country of origin are less likely to develop contact with natives. Indeed, Lubbers, Molina and McCarthy (2007) show that among migrants in Spain, 'ethnic-exclusive' identifications (i.e. with one's own ethnic group) are strongest for those migrants who have few Spanish natives in their network. Similarly, Nesdale (2002) finds for immigrants in Australia that social involvement with co-ethnics is negatively correlated with identifying with the host-country. Yet, recent longitudinal research suggests that there is no relation, and that the association is caused by unobserved factors (Leszczensky 2013). Such an unobserved factor could be rural origin. Identification with the culture of origin is likely to differ across rural and urban origin. Particularly in Turkey, people in rural areas distinguish themselves in terms of attitudes and values from people living in urban areas. As early as 1973, Holmstrom reports that women from urban areas are more autonomous in terms of modern values than their village peers, a finding that is confirmed by Gündüz-Hosgör and Smits (2006).

To the extent that religious identification and identification with the country of origin correlate with rural origin, differences in contact with natives are thus explained by attitudinal differences. The value-based explanation therefore stipulates that immigrants from urban areas have more contact with natives, because for them, the social distance is smaller. Urban migrants are more similar to the native population in terms of attitudes. Therefore, urban migrants are perceived as less different by the native population than their rural peers. This is formulated in the first hypothesis:

> H1: Urban-rural differences in visits from natives and the likelihood to be intermarried exist due to differences in values in the form of religious identification and identification with the country-of-origin.

The Human Capital Explanation

The human capital hypothesis predicts that variation between rural and urban origin in contact with natives can be ascribed to differences in human capital accumulation. Put differently, because of different opportunities in the home country, immigrants from rural areas build social capital in the host country differently than immigrants from urban areas.

Immigrants with more human capital are likely to have more contact with natives. Many studies show that while lower levels of human capital are associated with ties to co-ethnics, higher educated immigrants have more ties with the native population (Green, Tigges, and Diaz 1999; Nee and Sanders 2001; Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009). Immigrants arrive with varying amounts of human capital, which affects 'their involvement with ethnic networks' (Nee and Sanders 2001, 393). Nee and Sanders (2001) find for ethnic minorities in the US that low-skilled migrants are

especially likely to turn to their co-ethnic communities for assistance in labour market integration. On the other hand, more highly educated immigrants find employment in native-dominated branches.

Also in the broader literature, the positive effect of educational attainment on social capital is undisputed (Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2008). For example, better educated individuals often originate from well-educated families who provide their family members with extensive networks (Kao 2004) and are also better able to mobilise social capital which perpetuates their social status (Bourdieu 1986). Furthermore, schools which promote higher educational attainment transfer certain social norms (Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2008). Immigrants who internalised social norms accepted by society via their educational pathway are more likely to establish contact with natives due to a common understanding of how to create and maintain social relations.

It can therefore be expected that immigrants with higher levels of human capital are better able to create and maintain contact with natives. Besides education, proficiency in the host-country language is an important determinant of having contact with natives. Immigrants with few host-country-specific language skills have little other choice than to rely on their ethnic community. The converse is also true: immigrants who do speak the host country's language are able to get in contact with natives and maintain those relationships (Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009).

Human capital in Turkey is, however, not equally distributed across regions. Previous studies show that Turks from rural areas have fewer opportunities regarding their educational development. For example, Tansel (2002) finds that in Turkey, people from urban areas have significantly higher school attainment than people from rural areas. Gündüz-Hosgör and Smits (2006) also find that women living in towns are exposed to better educational opportunities and possess higher household income than women from rural areas. An explanation for these differences is that urban areas offer a wider selection of schools than rural areas. This might also be the case for language proficiency. Dogancay-Aktuna (1998) reports better opportunities of learning foreign languages in urban areas. Also, van Tubergen (2010) finds for the Netherlands that refugees migrating from major cities possess much higher Dutch language proficiency than refugees from villages. It is therefore likely that Turks from urban areas have better opportunities to learning the host country's language than Turks from rural areas.

If Turks who migrate from urban areas are better educated and speak the host country language better than migrants from rural areas, we expect them to be better able to make contact with natives than their rural peers. Along that line of reasoning, differences in contact with natives are due to different stocks of human capital in the urban and rural population. This is formulated in our second hypothesis:

> H2: Urban-rural differences in visits from natives and the likelihood to be intermarried exist due to differences in educational attainment and host country language proficiency.

Data and Measurement

We test these hypotheses with data from the Six Country Immigrant Incorporation Comparative Survey (SCIICS, see Ersanilli and Koopmans 2013). The SCIICS is a name-based telephone survey conducted in 2008 among people of Turkish descent in the destination countries Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Sweden and Austria. The onomastic (name-based) sample was drawn from online telephone books, including mobile phone numbers. In order to guarantee cross-national comparison, the sample consists of a strictly defined target group. Only Turkish migrants aged over 18 who came during the guest-worker (before 1975) era and their descendants were sampled. This restriction allows for the comparison of immigrants between destination countries. In this study, it means that we can analyse variation in rural and urban origin in different destination countries. In each destination country, at least 500 Turkish migrants were interviewed, with a total number of 3585 respondents, aged 18–86. For our analyses, we select first-generation immigrants, resulting in 2498 observations for the analysis of visits and 1525 observations for the analysis of intermarriage. For the analysis of intermarriage, our analytic sample includes only people who are married. Also individuals who were married before migrating or who married in the year of migration are excluded from the sample.[2]

The sampling frame ensures that migrants are sampled from each region in Turkey, which is important for the analysis of rural and urban differences. Furthermore, information is provided about the region of origin (Eastern Anatolia, Central Anatolia, Black Sea, Mediterranean, Aegean, Marmara and Southeast Anatolia), as well as about the 60 provinces in Turkey that the respondents originated from. Last, the sample includes both cities and villages in the destination country, allowing us to control for rural-urban effects in the destination country.

We estimate OLS regression for our 'visits from natives' variable and linear probability models for interethnic marriages. For intermarriage, we also estimated all models with logistic regression, but results are substantially the same. Because in logit models, one cannot compare coefficients across models with different independent variables (Mood 2010) and because the results do not differ, we present the estimates obtained with the linear probability model. Last, since there are fewer interethnic marriages than co-ethnic marriages, we have far less 'ones' than 'zeros' in the regression. There is evidence that for rare events, the logit function underestimates the probability of events (King and Zeng 2001). We therefore estimated our models also using 'rare event logit', but the results did not differ.

Missing values are imputed using multiple imputation (m = 5, see also Royston 2004). Findings did not differ when estimating models on the imputed sample or when applying list-wise deletion; we present estimates based on multiple imputation. To account for clustering of people in regions, we estimate robust standard errors, clustered on the level of the province of origin.[3]

Measures

Dependent Variable

To measure contact with natives, we make use of two items: visits from natives at home and interethnic marriage. For *visits from natives*, respondents were asked: 'How many of the persons visiting you at home are of [survey country] origin?' (5-point scale, ranging from (almost) none to (almost) all). The variable hence refers to the share of visitors that are natives. This implies that also in cases where people receive relatively few visits, the measure adequately proxies the share of contact with natives. A disadvantage of the measure is that we do not know anything about the amount and nature of the visits, and therefore not about the size of the network and the tie strength of the contacts. Furthermore, we only capture visits from natives and not the other way around.[4] It could also be that people visit each other at home more in smaller towns and villages and this is less common in cities. If we find a negative effect of rural origin this might therefore be an underestimation. However, we argue that the variable is a good proxy for the contact with natives a person has. Moreover, the measure concurs with the measures of contact with natives used in previous studies (Aguilera and Massey 2003; Nannestad, Svendsen, and Svendsen 2008; Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009; Lancee 2010, 2012a).

To measure *interethnic marriage*, we construct a dummy variable indicating whether the spouse is from the host country (1), or a co-ethnic partner (0). A problem with this variable in cross-sectional analysis is that the event of marriage occurs before the measurement of attitudes and values, which makes causal inference impossible. However, since we are interested in the effect of rural origin (which undisputedly precedes marriage in time), while controlling for the correlation between origin and values, potential reversed causality between intermarriage and values does not bias the effect of rural origin. We come back to this in the discussion.

Rural Origin

Respondents indicated whether they grew up in a village or in a city/town. Additionally, we have information about whether immigrants moved to a city/urban area before migration. We therefore differentiate between growing up in a urban area (1), growing up in a rural area but moved to a city before migration (2) and growing up in a rural area (3). The variable refers to the respondent's subjective understanding of the term village and city/town. Hence, respondents decided themselves what they considered to be a city or a village.

Values

To measure religious identification, we constructed a scale that consists of five items (Cronbach's Alpha .70, Loevinger's H .52): Respondents were asked whether or not they agreed with the following statements (disagree, neutral, agree): 'Muslims should return to the roots of Islam', 'It is better if Muslim women wear headscarves outside', 'When somebody says something bad about my faith, I feel personally hurt', 'There

is only one interpretation of the Koran', 'The rules of the Koran are more important to me than the laws of [survey country]'. Identification with the country of origin is measured with the item 'We have to be careful not to lose Turkish culture due to immigration' (disagree, neutral, agree).

Human Capital

We include the level of education following the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) classification.[5] We also include a dummy indicating whether the respondent went to school in the host country (Kanas and van Tubergen 2009). We furthermore include the language proficiency in the destination country by including the respondents' self-estimated ability to have a conversation in the host-country language (5-point scale, ranging from 'always problems' to 'never problems'; comparable with the measure used by van Tubergen and Kalmijn (2005)).

Control Variables

For the selection of our control variables, we largely follow previous research on contact with natives (Martinovic, van Tubergen, and Maas 2009; Muttarak and Heath 2010). We control for the position on the labour market by including a categorical variable indicating the respondents' labour market status. We control for the 1.5-generation by including a dummy indicating those who were born in Turkey and migrated before the age of 18. Making contact with natives depends on the opportunities in the host country. Since migrants often live in segregated neighbourhoods, opportunities to make contact with natives depend on the number of natives who live in people's neighbourhood (Lancee and Dronkers 2011). Furthermore, where migrants live could be related to one's rural or urban origin. Unfortunately, we do not have an objective neighbourhood-level variable. We therefore include the respondents' own estimation of the share of natives in the neighbourhood (5-point scale, ranging from (almost) all to (almost) none).

The occurrence of intermarriage and visits from natives could also depend on having natives in the family. We therefore include whether or not people have family members who are married or cohabitate with someone from the destination country. We also control for the age at marriage. Last, we control for basic socio-demographics in the form of gender, age and in the analysis of visits from natives, for marital status. Since there is ample evidence that, besides the country of origin, the destination country also affects the position of immigrants in the host society, we include a dummy for each destination country and test with interactions if the rural origin effect varies across destination countries. Furthermore, it could be the case that the rural origin with a rural destination has different implications for contact with natives than the rural origin, urban destination. We therefore control for the number of inhabitants of the domicile in the residence country (in 100,000s). To capture differences in economic affluence of the origin, we include the GDP per capita in the origin province, measured in Euros. In Table 1, the descriptive statistics are presented, based on the sample for visits from natives.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics.

	Rural only		Rural-Urban		Urban only		
	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Range*
Visits from natives	1.88	.89	1.86	.86	2.17	.97	1–5
Native Spouse	.02		.03		.07		0/1
Co-ethnic spouse	.91		.90		.80		0/1
Unmarried	.07		.07		.13		0/1
Religious attitudes	.67	.29	.65	.30	.58	.30	0–1
Identification with origin culture	1.58	.79	1.51	.84	1.40	.89	1–3
Lower education and below	.44		.49		.26		0/1
Middle education	.32		.31		.41		0/1
Higher education	.24		.20		.33		0/1
Attended education in destination country	.51		.36		.60		0/1
Destination language proficiency	2.48	1.30	2.16	1.27	2.85	1.22	0–4
Not on the labour market	.47		.41		.43		0/1
Employed	.37		.42		.40		0/1
Self-employed	.08		.07		.09		0/1
Unemployed	.08		.10		.08		0/1
First generation	.30		.43		.27		0/1
1.5 Generation	.70		.57		.73		0/1
Male	.53		.65		.49		0/1
Age	47.45	12.64	51.38	11.94	46.89	12.76	18–86
No family members who are married with native	.67		.70		.58		0/1
One family member married with native	.20		.16		.26		0/1
Several family members married with native	.13		.14		.16		0/1
Share of natives in neighbourhood	3.54	1.17	3.64	1.07	3.65	1.11	0–4
Size destination community (in 100,000s)	2.90	5.14	3.21	5.87	2.92	4.73	0.00046–33.77
GDP Region of origin	1516.95	565.22	1590.26	652.32	1878.20	773.52	568–6165
Germany	.12		.20		.19		0/1
The Netherlands	.16		.17		.22		0/1
France	.23		.21		.11		0/1
Belgium	.16		.03		.18		0/1
Austria	.18		.23		.14		0/1
Sweden	.15		.16		.16		0/1
N	1302		366		830		

Source: SCIICCS; descriptive statistics after imputation.*Range refers to total sample.

Results

In Table 1, we see that visits from natives vary between Turks from rural areas and Turks originating from urban areas. Also, among immigrants with urban origin, 7% have a native partner compared to only 2% of the rural group. Table 2 shows the dependent variables and the origin variable by destination country. There is little variation across countries. An exception is Sweden: In Sweden, Turks have the highest mean for receiving visits from natives and 9% is married with a native Swede, compared to 2–4% in the other countries.

In Table 3, we proceed with estimating multivariate models that predict the share of receiving visits from natives. In model 1, we include the rural origin variable plus the control variables. Without accounting for attitudes and human capital, migrants from rural areas receive significantly less visits from natives. As can be expected, there are large effects for employment status. Also the estimated share of natives in the neighbourhood and natives in the family is strongly associated with visits from natives. However, the effect of rural origin is strong and statistically significant.

In model 2, we add the attitudinal variables. Religious identification and identification with the origin culture are both strongly and negatively associated with visits from natives. As expected, the rural origin effect decreases, suggesting that part of the rural effect can be explained by differences in values. To test whether the coefficient of rural origin decreases significantly across models, we make use of seemingly unrelated estimation and perform a t-test. The t-test indicates that this is indeed the case when comparing model 1 and model 2 ($p_{\text{rural-urban}} <.005$; $p_{\text{rural only}} < .001$).

In model 3, we test the human capital explanation. As expected, migrants with higher levels of education and better host-country language proficiency receive more visits from natives. However, whether education has been acquired in the destination country does not have any effect. Still, in line with our second hypothesis, the coefficients for rural origin decrease significantly when comparing model 3 to model 1 ($p_{\text{rural-urban}} <.001$; $p_{\text{rural only}} < .001$).

Model 4 in Table 3 includes both the human capital and value-based variables. Also, when comparing model 4 to model 2, the coefficient of rural origin is significantly smaller ($p_{\text{rural-urban}} <.001$; $p_{\text{rural only}} < .001$). This implies that human capital decreases the rural origin effect also when values are controlled for. When comparing model 3 to model 4, the decrease is only significant for those who moved from the countryside ($p_{\text{rural-urban}} =.236$; $p_{\text{rural only}} < .005$). Hence, when accounting for human capital, values explain part of the rural origin effect.

Although the coefficient of rural origin in model 4 decreases in size, it remains statistically significant. Immigrants from rural areas score around .12 points lower on the visiting scale than immigrants from urban areas. This seems little. However, the effect size is larger than that of being employed (compared to unemployment). Model 4 also suggests that there is a direct effect of rural-urban origin on contacts with natives. To the extent that our measures fully capture values and human capital,

Table 2. Descriptive statistics by destination country.

	Germany		Netherlands		France		Belgium		Austria		Sweden	
	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Mean/ Proportion	SD
Visits from natives	2.02	.87	1.98	.87	1.96	.95	1.97	.90	1.78	.86	2.16	1.07
Native spouse	.04		.04		.02		.03		.02		.09	
Co-ethnic spouse	.88		.88		.93		.91		.85		.77	
Unmarried	.08		.08		.05		.06		.13		.14	
Rural only	.40		.40		.19		.41		.28		.34	
Rural-Urban	.20		.14		.16		.03		.19		.15	
Urban only	.40		.46		.65		.56		.53		.51	
N	379		459		480		365		432		383	

Source: SCIICCS; descriptive statistics after imputation.

Table 3. OLS regression predicting visits from natives (N = 2498).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Urban-only origin	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
Rural-urban origin	−.230***	(.051)	−.183***	(.051)	−.137**	(.051)	−.120*	(.052)
Rural-only origin	−.216***	(.040)	−.159***	(.041)	−.154***	(.039)	−.122**	(.040)
Religious identification			−.328***	(.041)			−.275***	(.039)
Identification with origin culture			−.142***	(.026)			−.129***	(.025)
Lower education and below					ref.		ref.	
Middle education					.133*	(.054)	.077	(.049)
Higher education					.250**	(.078)	.160*	(.072)
Attended education in destination country					.117	(.074)	.105	(.074)
Destination language proficiency					.119***	(.015)	.095***	(.015)
Not in the labour market	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
Employed	.214***	(.037)	.145***	(.035)	.153***	(.037)	.110**	(.035)
Self–employed	.410***	(.090)	.313***	(.087)	.284**	(.087)	.231**	(.085)
Unemployed	.076	(.057)	.050	(.053)	.037	(.055)	.026	(.052)
1.5 Generation	.011	(.076)	.011	(.072)	−.046	(.077)	−.034	(.072)
Male	−.042	(.040)	−.073	(.038)	−.071	(.045)	−.090*	(.041)
Age	−.001	(.002)	−.000	(.002)	.009**	(.003)	.007*	(.003)
Married	−.004	(.079)	−.004	(.069)	−.016	(.071)	−.013	(.065)
Share of natives in neighbourhood	.131***	(.025)	.107***	(.023)	.112***	(.022)	.096***	(.021)
No family members married to a native	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
One family member married to a native	.235***	(.043)	.174***	(.039)	.187***	(.043)	.146***	(.039)
Several family members married to a native	.421***	(.069)	.322***	(.071)	.362***	(.066)	.291***	(.069)
Number of inhabitants in the municipality	−.005	(.003)	−.006*	(.003)	−.006	(.004)	−.006	(.003)
GDP in region of origin	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)	.000	(.000)	−.000	(.000)
Germany	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
The Netherlands	−.055	(.066)	.031	(.059)	.040	(.064)	.088	(.057)
France	−.000	(.072)	.070	(.067)	.046	(.071)	.093	(.066)
Belgium	−.020	(.061)	.098	(.062)	.019	(.057)	.109	(.060)
Austria	−.203*	(.078)	−.057	(.073)	−.120	(.074)	−.015	(.070)
Sweden	.099	(.108)	.054	(.084)	.043	(.087)	.015	(.074)
Constant	1.487***	(.224)	2.179***	(.212)	.689**	(.237)	1.473***	(.238)
Adj. R–Squared	0.116		0.184		0.162		0.207	

Source: SCIICS, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests), robust standard errors clustered on the level of origin region.

Table 4. Linear probability model predicting interethnic marriage (N=1525).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	b	se	b	se	b	se	b	se
Urban-only origin	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
Rural-urban origin	−.044**	(.015)	−.043**	(.015)	−.038*	(.015)	−.038*	(.015)
Rural-only origin	−.038***	(.011)	−.036**	(.011)	−.035**	(.011)	−.035**	(.011)
Religious identification			.001	(.010)			.005	(.011)
Identification with origin culture			−.020*	(.009)			−.019*	(.008)
Lower education and below					ref.		ref.	
Middle education					−.007	(.010)	−.009	(.010)
Higher education					.022	(.015)	.020	(.016)
Attended education in destination country					.019	(.013)	.018	(.013)
Destination language proficiency					.008	(.005)	.007	(.006)
Not in the labour market	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
Employed	.012	(.010)	.010	(.010)	.007	(.010)	.006	(.010)
Self–employed	−.005	(.015)	−.008	(.016)	−.016	(.015)	−.017	(.016)
Unemployed	−.009	(.013)	−.008	(.014)	−.013	(.013)	−.012	(.013)
1.5 Generation	−.002	(.035)	−.003	(.034)	−.004	(.034)	−.005	(.034)
Male	.007	(.010)	.007	(.010)	.009	(.011)	.009	(.010)
Age	.002	(.001)	.002	(.001)	.003	(.001)	.003	(.001)
Age at marriage	.009***	(.002)	.008***	(.002)	.008***	(.002)	.007**	(.002)
Share of natives in neighbourhood	.024***	(.005)	.023***	(.005)	.022***	(.004)	.022***	(.004)
No family members married to a native	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
One family member married to a native	.036*	(.014)	.034*	(.014)	.032*	(.014)	.031*	(.014)
Several family members married to a native	.069**	(.021)	.065**	(.021)	.063**	(.021)	.061**	(.020)
Number of inhabitants in the municipality	−.001	(.001)	−.001	(.001)	−.001	(.001)	−.001	(.001)
GDP in region of origin	−.000	(.000)	−.000	(.000)	−.000	(.000)	−.000	(.000)
Germany	ref.		ref.		ref.		ref.	
The Netherlands	−.014	(.014)	−.015	(.013)	−.004	(.015)	−.006	(.014)
France	−.008	(.023)	−.005	(.023)	−.008	(.024)	−.007	(.023)
Belgium	−.021	(.014)	−.017	(.015)	−.015	(.014)	−.013	(.014)
Austria	−.014	(.017)	−.009	(.017)	−.004	(.018)	−.002	(.018)
Sweden	.046	(.025)	.041	(.024)	.048	(.024)	.043	(.023)
Constant	−.294**	(.102)	−.245*	(.103)	−.346**	(.110)	−.304*	(.115)
Adj. R-Squared	.126		.131		.133		.138	

Source: SCIICS, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001 (two-tailed tests), robust standard errors clustered on the level of origin region.

urban migrants may indeed invest more in bridging ties and rural migrants in bonding ties. We come back to this in the discussion.

So far, we showed that both values and human capital explain a significant part of the effect of rural origin on having contact with natives. However, in addition, we can test whether values and human capital mediate the effect of rural origin. To do so, we follow Baron and Kennedy (1986). The independent variable should be a predictor of the mediating variable. That is, rural origin should significantly predict the human capital and value measures. Furthermore, for a variable to be a mediator, the independent variable needs to significantly reduce in size when adding the mediator variable. Whether there is a significant mediation effect is tested for with a Sobel test. The t-test we presented earlier compares the reduction in the origin coefficient while adding multiple variables (combining the influence of, for example, education and language proficiency). The Sobel test tells us whether individual variables are significant mediators. In Table 5, we present these statistics. All mediator variables can be predicted with our rural origin variable. We furthermore see that for receiving visits from natives, all variables are significant mediators. However, there is one exception: values are no significant mediator for those who moved to the city before migrating, and those people who grew up in the city.

In Table 4, we estimate models to predict intermarriage. The modelling strategy is the same as with contact with natives. Model 1 shows that migrants who have migrated from rural areas are significantly less likely to intermarry. The rural origin effect remains when accounting for the differences in values (model 2). Only identification with the origin culture is significantly negatively associated with interethnic marriage. The t-test indicates that the decrease in the origin variable is neither significant for the rural-urban nor the rural-rural coefficient ($p_{rural\text{-}urban}$ = .784;

Table 5. Values and human capital as mediator variables.

	Rural-urban origin				Rural only origin			
	Rural-urban as a predictor of mediator		P-value Sobel test		Rural origin as a predictor of mediator		P-value Sobel test	
Mediator	b	se	Visits from natives	Inter-marriage	b	se	Visits from natives	Inter-marriage
Religious identification	.038*	(.014)	.120	.829	.052***	(.012)	.002**	.826
Identification with origin culture	.047	(.055)	.81	.573	.095*	(.039)	.024*	.583
Educational attainment[a]	−.461**	(.143)	.000***	.102	−.543***	(.117)	.000***	.061
Language proficiency	−.285***	(.056)	.000***	.064	−.137***	(.035)	.000***	.033*

Models control for variables listed in Table 1. *Source:* SCIICS, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001, two-tailed tests. Robust standard errors clustered on the level of origin.[a]Ordered logit estimation.

$p_{rural\ only}$ = .263). Hence, attitudes do not explain a significant part of the rural origin effect on intermarriage.

In model 3, we include human capital. None of the human capital variables are significant. The rural origin coefficients remain significant, although they decrease slightly. According to the t-test, only the decrease of the rural-urban coefficient is significant ($p_{rural\text{-}urban} < .05$; $p_{rural\ only}$ = .179). This implies that human capital partly explains the differences between urban migrants and those who moved from rural areas to an urban area before emigrating. However, neither education nor language skills explain the rural-only effect.

When simultaneously accounting for values and human capital (model 4), the coefficients of rural-urban and rural origin remain statistically significant. That is, even when accounting for both values and human capital, 'rural' migrants are less likely to intermarry than 'urban' migrants, a difference in probability of 3.8 and 3.5 percentage points respectively. Like for visits from natives, this suggests that there might be a direct effect of rural origin on intermarriage. In Table 5, the statistics are presented for the mediator variables. The only significant mediator is language proficiency for rural origin.

We carried out the following sensitivity analyses. To see if the rural origin effect varies across destination countries, we estimated interactions. There were no significant interactions, except for one: the rural origin effect is stronger for immigrants who migrated to Sweden (both for visits and intermarriage). An explanation might be that compared to other European countries, Swedes hold the most liberal values and are the least religious (Ribberink, Achterberg, and Houtman 2013). For that reason, the social distance between Swedish natives and Turkish immigrants with a rural origin is likely to be particularly large.

It could also be that the match between rural origin and the size of the municipality in the destination country matters for contact with natives. For example, if people from the city and the countryside build social relations differently, migrants from rural areas who move to a city could have difficulties in establishing contact with natives. We therefore estimated interactions with rural origin and the number of inhabitants in the municipality of residence. However, this interaction was not statistically significant. This suggests that there is no destination effect with regard to community size. Last, there is ample evidence that for Turkish, migrants values (Baykara-Krumme and Fuß 2009), as well as intermarriage patters (Gonzalez-ferrer 2006; Muttarak and Heath 2010) vary between men and women. We therefore tested for interaction effects between rural origin and gender. Only for intermarriage, the rural effect is stronger for men than for women. One explanation could be that, particularly for rural-origin men, intermarriage is less frequent, because Western women are perceived as too modern (Lievens 1999).

Conclusion

In this paper, we analysed differences in rural and urban origin in interethnic contact and the occurrence of interethnic marriages of Turkish migrants in six European

countries. So far, research on the effect of people's origin within a sending country has hardly received scholarly attention. This is surprising, since particularly in non-Western countries, differences between rural and urban areas are prominent.

We find that Turkish migrants from rural areas have less contact with natives and are less likely to intermarry than migrants from urban areas. We hypothesised that the effect of rural origin can be explained with differences in values and human capital. The first hypothesis assumes that differences arise due to values that correlate with people's rural and urban origin. Turkish migrants who migrated from rural settings are more religious and identify more strongly with their home country than migrants from urban areas. Because religious identification and identification with the home country increase the social distance between immigrants and natives (Bogardus 1959; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap 2004), immigrants from rural areas, so we argue, have less contact with natives and are less often intermarried than immigrants from urban areas.

The second hypothesis predicted that differences in human capital account for variation between rural and urban origin in contact with natives. High levels of human capital imply social capital as well as certain behavioural norms, which are acknowledged in the destination countries (Kao 2004; Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2008). Both facilitate contact with natives. Since in Turkey, educational attainment is higher in urban than in rural settings (Tansel 2002; Gündüz-Hosgör and Smits 2006), we hypothesise that rural-urban differences in contact with natives and intermarriages are due to rural-urban variation in human capital.

The provided evidence shows that values and human capital explain a substantial part of the rural origin effect. Immigrants from rural areas have less contact with natives and are less likely to intermarry than immigrants from urban areas, and these differences can be partly explained by values and the composition of human capital. Furthermore, human capital and values mediate the rural origin effect for receiving visits from natives. This implies that part of the rural origin effect operates through its effect on human capital and values. In the case of intermarriage, we find little evidence for mediation.

After controlling for both values and human capital, the effect of rural origin remains statistically significant. A methodological explanation for this finding might be that human capital and values are measured imperfectly: would one have perfect measures that capture all variance, then the rural origin effect would disappear entirely. For example, there might be other values that matter, which we did not include in our model. It could also be that the rural origin effect remains significant, because there are other theoretically relevant variables that we did not include in our model. Because the existence of a direct rural origin effect is a 'rest' explanation, we cannot exclude potential bias due to omitted variables.

Keeping this in mind, another explanation could be that there is a direct effect of rural origin on contact with natives. A recurrent finding in the literature on social capital is that the social relations of residents in urban and rural communities are different (Korte and Ayvalioglu 1981; Sampson 1988; Amato 1993; Beggs, Haines,

and Hurlbert 1996; Hofferth and Iceland 1998; Ziersch et al. 2009). Relationships in rural areas are often characterised by tight-knit bonds and close connections. Also, networks of rural residents are more kin-centred than their urban counterparts. Social relations in urban areas, on the other hand, are rather impersonal and transitory (Hofferth and Iceland 1998). For example, Beggs, Haines and Hurlbert (1996) show that whereas rural residents possess more long-term relations, ties between urban residents are more often of short-term nature.

It might therefore be that people's urban or rural origin implies fundamental differences in social relations. The question is how these differences in the country of origin transfer to differences in contacts with natives in the destination country. One could think of two explanations. First, in line with Bourdieu's idea of habitus, the mechanism at work may be 'social practice': people build social relations depending on the 'habit' that is common in the urban or rural places where they originate. Along this line of reasoning, immigrants who originate from rural areas invest in bonding ties, characterised by homogeneity and kin-centred relations. Vice versa, immigrants from urban areas invest in bridging social capital. Consequently, urban-origin migrants develop more contacts with natives.

A second explanation for rural-urban differences refers to the consequences of migration itself. As a result of chain migration, ethnic communities can develop in the destination country. However, chain migration occurs less often among urban migrants, due to low levels of migration-related social capital (Roberts, Frank, and Lozano-Ascencio 1999; Fussel and Massey 2004). Hence, rural-originated migrants are more likely to have ties with co-ethnics, because those relationships might go back to the time before migration. Conversely, migrants from urban areas are less likely to follow their peers. Consequently, in the destination country, they have fewer opportunities to get in contact with co-ethnics and are therefore more likely to build contact with natives.

Our analyses also face some limitations. We have only cross-sectional data at our disposal, which makes it impossible to solve potential problems of reversed causality. For example, people might have certain religious identification, because they have many contacts with natives. Moreover, the event of intermarriage takes place before many of the other variables that we include. Fortunately, this problem does not apply to our main variable of interest, rural origin, which indisputably precedes our outcome variables in time. Although we may not be sure about the causal direction of the effect of religious identification on contact with natives, by including it, we do account for its correlation with rural origin. Another limitation is that we only analysed Turkish migrants. We therefore do not know to what extent our findings are generalisable to other ethnic groups. Future research could focus on the generalisability of our findings.

One should also consider the selective character of migration. If selection depends on migrant's origin, rural-urban differences in contact might be due to such selection processes. Borjas' hypothesis of negative self-selection (1987) states that in deprived

areas, the less skilled have the highest incentive to migrate. On the other hand, in areas with higher economic growth, such as cities, those with the greatest incentive to migrate tend to be higher skilled migrants. Furthermore, migrants from less developed origins, such as rural areas, have fewer incentives to migrate back, implying that they are more motivated to invest in bridging social capital in the destination country.

Selection can occur on observables, such as human capital or on unobservables such as unmeasured skills or motivation. In our analyses, we control for human capital, and the economic affluence of the origin region. Selection is thus only problematic insofar it is based on unmeasured ability or motivation. Research shows that migrants for whom migration is exhausting and enduring show high levels of motivation for economic and cultural integration (Friedberg 2000; Mattoo, Neagu, and Özden 2008). Migrants from rural areas face a more strenuous migration than urban migrants, for whom connections are shorter (Borjas 1987; van Tubergen, Maas, and Flap 2004). Furthermore, migrants from deprived areas might have fewer incentives to return to their geographical roots than migrants who expect a prosperous life after return migration (van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2005). According to this argument, people who emigrate from rural areas are more motivated to integrate in their destination country. Due to this higher motivation, rural migrants should be able to acquire host-country-specific social capital more easily. This suggests that, to the extent that migration from urban and rural areas is selective on motivation, our findings are underestimated.

We conclude, that for social integration, not only values and human capital, but also regional differences within the origin country might matter. Part of the effect of rural origin can be explained with values and human capital. However, there might also be a direct effect of rural origin. People from rural areas build social relations differently than people from urban areas, which may affect how contacts with natives are established in the destination country.

Notes

[1] In the following, contact to natives refers to both outcomes analysed in this study: visits from natives and interethnic marriages.

[2] 87 respondents are married to someone from another ethnic group (being neither of native nor of Turkish background). We excluded those cases from our analyses.

[3] We also estimated the models as random intercept models; this did not yield different results.

[4] The German Socio-Economic Panel Survey, however, does contain both receiving and visiting native Germans at home. The number of Turkish respondents who received visits is 93%, that of visiting is 92%. We hence conclude that although our measure only contains visits from natives, this is not likely to disturb our findings.

[5] The education variable has been recoded as: 1– no education/primary education, 2-lower secondary to upper secondary level, 3– vocational training and tertiary education.

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