

Université de Montréal

Interethnic conjugal unions among 1.5 and 2nd generations of Arab Canadians

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cette étude, j'examine la propension à former une union interethnique parmi les Canadiens arabes de seconde génération et de génération 1.5 en utilisant les données du recensement canadien de 2016. L'analyse descriptive montre que les unions interethniques sont fréquentes au sein de cette population. Environ la moitié des hommes (56%) et des femmes (49%) sont dans une union interethnique avec une personne non-Arabe d'origine immigrante ou un(e) Canadien(ne) de troisième génération ou des générations suivantes. La régression logistique multinomiale révèle que les hommes et les femmes avec un niveau d'éducation plus élevé, une ascendance partiellement arabe et un statut d'immigrant de deuxième génération sont significativement plus enclins à être en union interethnique qu'à être en union intraethnique avec un immigrant de première génération. Conformément à la théorie de l'assimilation segmentée, ces résultats suggèrent que l'intégration socioéconomique et l'acculturation contribuent à la propension des descendants arabes à former des unions avec des individus non-arabes. La propension des descendants arabes à être en union intraethnique avec des immigrants de première génération ou des descendants est aussi une problématique dont je discute.

Mots-clés: union interethnique, deuxième génération, génération 1.5, régression logistique multinomiale, niveau de scolarité atteint, ascendance arabe, statut d'immigrant, union intraethnique, théorie de l'assimilation segmentée

SUMMARY

In this study, I examine the propensity to form interethnic unions among the 1.5 and second generations of Arab Canadians using the 2016 Canadian census data. The descriptive analysis shows that interethnic unions are common within this population. About half the men (56%) and the women (49%) are in an interethnic union with a non-Arab person with an immigrant background or a Canadian of third generation or subsequent generations. The multinomial logistic regression reveals that men and women with higher educational attainment, part Arab ancestry and second-generation immigrant status are significantly more prone to be in an interethnic union than in an intraethnic union with a first-generation immigrant. In accordance with the segmented assimilation theory, these results suggest that socioeconomic integration and acculturation contribute to the propensity of Arab descendants to form unions with non-Arab individuals. The propensity of Arab descendants to be in intraethnic unions with first generation-immigrants or with descendants of immigrants (1.5 and second generations) is also discussed in this thesis.

Keywords: interethnic union, second generation, 1.5 generation, multinomial logistic regression, educational attainment, Arab ancestry, immigrant status, intraethnic union, segmented assimilation theory

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RÉSUMÉ	5
SUMMARY	7
TABLE OF CONTENTS	9
LIST OF TABLES	11
LIST OF FIGURES	13
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	15
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	17
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	18
1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	20
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	22
2.1. THE ARAB COMMUNITY IN CANADA.....	22
2.1.1. <i>History of Arab migration to Canada</i>	22
2.1.2. <i>Partner selection in traditional Arab culture</i>	23
2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	25
2.2.1. <i>Perspectives on integration</i>	25
2.2.2. <i>Classic assimilation theory</i>	26
2.2.3. <i>Alternative theories</i>	28
2.2.4. <i>Segmented assimilation theory</i>	29
2.3. INTERETHNIC UNIONS AMONG DESCENDANTS OF IMMIGRANTS	30
2.4. DETERMINANTS OF INTERETHNIC UNIONS	32
2.4.1. <i>Level of education</i>	33
2.4.2. <i>Gender</i>	36
2.4.3. <i>Year of birth and age at union formation</i>	38
2.4.4. <i>Arab ancestry</i>	38
2.4.5. <i>Conjugal status</i>	39

2.5. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES	40
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	42
3.1. SOURCE OF DATA.....	42
3.2. POPULATION OF INTEREST	43
3.3. VARIABLES.....	46
3.3.1. <i>Dependent variable</i>	46
3.3.2. <i>Independent variables</i>	48
3.4. METHOD OF ANALYSIS	51
CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTIVE AND MULTIVARIATE ANALYZES	54
4.1. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS.....	54
4.2. MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS	65
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions depending on educational attainment</i>	65
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions by generational group</i>	67
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions depending on Arab ancestry</i>	68
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions by generation status</i>	68
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions by region of residence</i>	68
<i>The propensity to live in interethnic unions by population centre indicator</i>	69
CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	73
5.1 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS	73
5.2 CONCLUSION	78
APPENDIX	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - Distribution of 1.5 and 2nd generations men and women aged 25 years and over living in union by demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables	45
Table 2 - Odds ratios of types of union according to demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables, women aged 25+	71
Table 3 - Odds ratios of types of union according to demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables, men aged 25+	72
Table 4 - Distribution of the type of union of males and females by demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables	80

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Prevalence (%) of the type of union of women according to the level of education	55
Figure 2 - Prevalence (%) of the type of union of men according to the level of education	56
Figure 3 - Percentage of women in each type of union by generational group	57
Figure 4 - Percentage of men in each type of union by generational group	57
Figure 5 - Percentage of women by type of union and Arab ancestry	58
Figure 6 - Percentage of men by type of union and Arab ancestry	58
Figure 7 - Percentage of women by conjugal status and type of union	59
Figure 8 - Percentage of men by conjugal status and type of union	60
Figure 9 - Percentage of women in each type of union by generation status.....	61
Figure 10 - Percentage of men in each type of union by generation status.....	61
Figure 11 - Percentage of women by type of union and region of residence	62
Figure 12 - Percentage of men by type of union and region of residence	63
Figure 13 - Percentage of women by type of union and population center indicator	64
Figure 14 - Percentage of men by type of union and population center indicator	65

List of acronyms and abbreviations

TeO: Trajectories and Origin Survey

ROC: Rest of Canada

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Studies of Canadian Census data show that the weighted total number of people in Canada who were born in an Arab country (first generation and 1.5 generation) or have at least one parent born in an Arab country (second generation) was 1,261,000 in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2020). Arab Canadians represented 3.5% of Canada's population at that time (Statistics Canada, 2020).

Among Arab Canadians, descendants of immigrants (immigrants from the 1.5 and second generations) are of particular interest. Forming a unique group in terms of identity development, they hold a lesser attachment than their parents to the country of origin. Moreover, although they might share some of their parents' struggles, they do not share their experiences. Since birth or their early years in the host country, 1.5 and 2nd generations have been socialized into the values of their country of birth or host country as well as the values of their immigrant families. They may be more familiar with Canada's institutions than their parents. Nonetheless, over their personal and professional trajectories, they may be challenged by the pressures of two different cultural universes that they will attempt to merge. While on this path to integration, they have the potential to instill significant changes into their ethnic groups as well as their wider communities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Santelli, 2016).

Although they have origins in countries that are culturally, religiously and ethnically diverse, Arab Canadians can be regrouped under the unique banner of the Arab ethnicity since they share a language, customs and traditions and history of foreign domination, colonialism and political uprising (Hourani, 1991). This is based on a premise rooted in the political pan-Arabist ideology promoted in the Arab world during the 20th century. According to this ideology, Arabs form one unique nation irrespective of the divisive boundaries created by sectarianism and territorial limits among others. Although politically this ideology is no longer strongly promoted nowadays, many Arab communities around the world have built their identities around it and are influenced in their lifestyle by its ideas, whether they live outside the Arab world or in it. Many of these communities feel pride in these origins.

This ethnic identity of Arab Canadians of 1.5 and 2nd generations (hereafter, I refer to 1.5 and 2nd generations as descendants) makes their road to integration even more relevant to focus on, especially given the prevailing stigma. In fact, negative stereotypes against Arabs have multiplied in the last decades because of the geopolitics of the Middle East and the proliferation of terrorist groups linked to the region. For instance, while the Arab identity in the United States has been reinforced by an adhesion to the ideology of pan-Arabism (or Arab nationalism) among others, many Arab Americans have still chosen to disengage from their culture of origin in an attempt to escape the stigma (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). Within this context, I examine the propensity of Arab descendants to be in an interethnic union (*i.e.* a marriage or common law union, with a person outside one's ethnic community).

In the literature, various words are employed to qualify interethnic unions (Charsley, 2012, cited in Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016: 499). Researchers use terms such as “exogamy”, “heterogamy”, “intermarriage”, “cross-border marriage” and “mixed marriage” to describe marriages that cross various types of social barriers (social, ethnic, religious, national) (Bizman, 1987, Burma, 1963, Furtado & Theodoropoulos, 2011, Lee *et al.*, 1974, cited in Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016: 501). The term “intermarriage” in particular is used to refer to cohabitations and dating situations as well as marriages that are boundary-crossing (Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016: 499). When the boundaries crossed are specifically ethnic, the expression “interethnic marriages” is used (Bizma, 1987, Burma, 1963, Furtado & Theodoropoulos, 2011, Lee *et al.*, 1974, cited in Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016: 501).

I focus on the propensity of Arab descendants to enter an interethnic union since who they marry and unite to is not only indicative of their level of integration (Gordon, 1964 & Kalmijn, 1998, cited in Pailhé, 2015; Algan *et al.*, 2012, cited in Hamplová & Bourdais, 2010), it can also indicate the dissipation of the barriers between their ethnic group and others (Gordon, 1964 & Lieberman and Waters, 1988, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). Also, given my ethnic background, I have witnessed discussions on partner selection and observed patterns in some Arab communities in Montreal that have awakened my curiosity and a desire to know more about the union formation patterns among Arab Canadians. What especially has cultivated my interest for this subject is an observation I have had when it comes to the couples formed by the Arab

descendants that surround me. I have noticed that higher-educated females from my national-origin groups (Lebanese and Iraqi) often enter their first union with men from their group with a lower level of education despite their preference for higher educational attainment in their future partner.

Therefore, in this thesis, I examine the union formation patterns of Arab descendants of immigrants by focusing on their propensity to be in interethnic unions in relation to their level of education and other determinants. Since there is no Canadian-focused quantitative analysis of interethnic unions on this particular immigrant population according to my knowledge, this thesis contributes to the Canadian literature on interethnic unions among Arab Canadians, who form an understudied group.

1.1. Research questions

Several studies on intermarriage show that the level of education is a determinant of intermarriage (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011). In this thesis, I study the levels of interethnic unions among Arab descendants in Canada aged 25 years and above, in relation to their educational levels. I also examine the general patterns of types of union in relation to sociodemographic variables (age, sex, conjugal status) and other variables such as region of residence and Arab ancestry. I address the following research questions:

1. How prevalent are interethnic conjugal unions (marriage and common law unions) among descendants of Arab immigrants (specifically, 1.5 and 2nd generations)?
2. What is the percentage of Arab descendants who live in an interethnic conjugal union either with a non-Arab of immigrant origin (i.e., a descendant of immigrants or a first-generation immigrant) or with someone from the third generation or more (i.e., a spouse who is Canadian-born with both parents also born in Canada)?
3. Are higher-educated Arab descendants more likely to have interethnic unions than lower-educated descendants?
4. Are male descendants more likely to enter interethnic conjugal unions than female descendants?

5. Are older descendants more often in interethnic unions, while younger ones are more often in intraethnic unions?

6. Are descendants with part Arab ancestry (only one of the parents is Arab) more often in interethnic unions than in intraethnic ones than descendants with full Arab ancestry (both parents are Arab)?

7. Are descendants more often living common law when in interethnic unions, and more often living under matrimonial law when in intraethnic unions?

The thesis proceeds as follows. In chapter 2, I review the literature and provide a historical context of Arab immigration to Canada and traditional Arab culture and its role in partner selection. In chapter 2, I also discuss various theoretical frameworks regarding assimilation and integration of immigrants and interethnic unions as well as previous findings on the trends of partner's selection among Arabs and other immigrant groups. In Chapter 3, I present the source of data, the population of interest and the methodology. In chapter 4, I describe the key results of the descriptive and multivariate analyses. Finally, in chapter 5, I discuss the findings in relation to past literature and the theoretical frameworks previously described. I conclude by discussing the relationship between the prevalence of interethnic unions and the integration of immigrants as well as the implications of the study. I also suggest a few relevant study projects that could be done in the future.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Arab community in Canada

2.1.1. History of Arab migration to Canada

Until the end of the 19th century, the population of Canada was largely limited to Indigenous peoples, French and British settlers and their descendants (Driedger, 1996, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010) and people of African descent, some of whom had arrived in Canada at the beginning of the colonization period (Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010). During the first half of the 20th century, Canada welcomed immigrants from other European countries while keeping its doors closed to newcomers from the rest of the world. This changed in 1967 when non-European immigrants were allowed to immigrate after the point-based immigration system was established (Kelley 1998, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010). As a result, migration waves to Canada have been increasingly diversified (Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010). For instance, 73% of immigrants who came to Canada in the 1990s belong to a visible minority group (Statistics Canada, 2003a, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010).

Arab migration has spread through four migration waves since the end of the 19th century. The first wave started in 1882 and ended with the beginning of the First World War; it came from Greater Syria (present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the Palestinian territories, Israel and parts of modern Turkey) (Zahler, 2009). This wave numbered 9,000 Syrians who mostly worked as small merchants and were mainly Christians. While the great majority of these immigrants established in Quebec and Ontario, a significant minority also settled in Alberta and in the Atlantic provinces. The second immigration wave started after the Second World War and lasted until 1982 (1975 according to Abu-Laban). Aside from small Arab communities in a few other provinces, Quebec and Ontario remained the main provinces of settlement for this group of immigrants. The composition of this group was, however, much more diverse this time in matters of country of origin. The immigrants originated primarily from Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco and Syria (Abu-Laban, 1979), among whom some emigrated from Egypt but were actually of

Armenian, Greek and Jewish European origin. Furthermore, in the 1960s and the 1970s, the immigrants were mostly French-speaking, English-speaking or both. Although this second wave was mostly composed of Christians, it also included Sunni Muslims, Shia Muslims and Druze. (Antonius, 2011, cited in Jean-Marie Tremblay, 2014). According to Abu-Laban's (1981) analysis of the data on Arab migration to Canada, this second wave resulted in between 50,000 to 60,000 individuals of Arab origin in 1971 and 70,000 to 80,000 in 1975 (Antonius, 2011, cited in Jean-Marie Tremblay, 2014).

Starting in 1975, the linguistic profile of the population of Arab immigrants to Canada changed as the number of immigrants with no French-speaking or English-speaking background was on the rise. This third wave of immigrants, which still largely included people from Lebanon and Egypt, was increasingly comprised of people from the rest of the Levant (Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Palestine), Tunisia and Morocco. The oil countries of the Arabian Peninsula also seemed to be among the countries of origin of Arab immigrants to Canada, but they were mainly a country of residence for several immigrants originating from Egypt and the Levant. These immigrants were mostly English-speaking, and many settled in cities such as Montreal and Toronto. Following this wave, there were 215,313 Arab immigrants in Canada, among whom the great majority (93%) arrived between 1962 and 1992. The fourth and last wave occurred in the 1990s and was mainly composed of Muslims. It consisted of French-speaking Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians fleeing political violence (Antonius, 2011, cited in Tremblay, 2005). The 2016 census shows that the total number of people who were born in an Arab country (first and 1.5 generations) or have at least one parent born in an Arab country (second generation) is 1,261,000 (Statistics Canada, 2020). Based on the most recent data, Arab Canadians represent 3.5% of Canada's population (Statistics Canada, 2020).

2.1.2. Partner selection in traditional Arab culture

The Arab community in Canada has certain traditions regarding partnership. Traditionally, in Arab culture, the modesty code often imposes strict sex-segregation and, therefore, dating and courtship, which exist in Canada, are forbidden. Moreover, women are discouraged from expressing interest in a man and are deemed immodest if they do. Women, in particular, face

strict limitations that control personal conduct and impose chastity. These restrictions are meant to preserve family honor in traditional Arab culture, in which women's behavior and chastity are viewed as symbols of honor. They are also meant to insure the daughters' suitability for marriage within the community (i.e., endogamous marriage). Female reputation being considered "sacred", stains on it, like for instance pre-marital sex, would make a woman in the eyes of her community unsuitable for marriage. In Canada, restrictions on female behavior are more common among first-generation immigrants, who especially display concern over female behavior. In this context, arranged marriage in which parents and other family elders take charge of partner selection with little regard for the preferences of the prospective partners or to the concept of romantic love is often the norm. Love is believed to be a feeling that should occur following marriage. Arab parents favor marriages to first cousins, especially to those on the paternal side. Along with more recent immigrants from Arab countries who had gotten married before their migration, Arab immigrants from the former waves were often part of such arrangement (Abu-Laban, 1979).

In the Arab world as well as in Canada, contemporary times have witnessed changes among Arabs in regard to patterns of mate selection. There has been a growing tendency amongst families to allow their children to choose their future partners, in particular among the better educated and within urban areas. Parents of the more recent generations are also less controlling with their daughters, although dating generally remains forbidden for them but approved for their brothers. The first generation of Arab immigrants tends to disapprove of these changes in attitudes that are very present among the third generation. Despite the changes, there are still restrictions regarding male-female interactions that contribute to perpetuating the control on partner selection by family elders. Parents, especially those who are first-generation immigrants, prefer endogamous marriage for their children and since they cannot use direct pressure anymore towards mate selection, they rely on indirect pressure to influence their children into selecting a partner within their group (Abu-Laban, 1979). Simultaneously, children of immigrants seek to merge and balance the values of their immigrant families with those of the country of immigration where they were raised (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Santelli, 2016). Despite sometimes conflicting with the values of the country of

immigration, Arab traditions affect descendants to some extent in their partner choice (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Santelli, 2016).

Van der Hoek & Kret (1992) discuss how the traditional practices of immigrant populations in the Netherlands affect the mating patterns of the next generation. Since immigrant families place great importance on partner selection, they impose their mating-related customs on their unmarried offspring. Women are particularly subject to these traditions, resulting in social control. Although social control has declined over time (especially in the Moroccan community), the power that parents have over their children's partners' choices remains substantial (Lodewijckx *et al.*, 1997, cited in Lievens, 1998 and cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

2.2. Theoretical framework

2.2.1. Perspectives on integration

Within host countries, the views on immigration are divided. Some consider it endangering to national identity and social cohesion, while others rejoice at its diversifying impact on society. Consequently, while interethnic unions are considered transgressive by some since they do not conform to the idea of an "us and them", they are seen in a positive light by others, who view them as a sign of integration (Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016).

According to the literature, intermarriage leads to integration (Gordon, 1964, Hwang, Saenz and Aguirre, 1997 & Lieberman and Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). Through this type of marriage, minority groups see their cultural differences fade across generations (Kalmijn, 1998). This goes against the idea often mentioned by researchers of one's ethnic human capital, i.e., "languages, customs and traditions" (Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011: 156) being carried on through marriage (Hartung *et al.*, 2011). Gordon (1964, cited in Kalmijn, 1998) shows that intermarriage indeed reduces the social distance between the majority and immigrant populations. Along with Lieberman and Waters (1998), Gordon (1964) and Lieberman and Waters (1988, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002) claim that marrying outside one's community can most effectively dissipate the ethnic barriers between both populations). Kalmijn (1998) adds that through intermarriage, minority groups see the negative attitudes and

biases against them tone down. These conclusions on the social impact of intermarriage make sense since intermarriage may be a boundary-crossing type of partnership for the people involved in this type of union (Kalbach, 2002).

While intermarriage might lead to integration and reduction in social distance, Borgadus (1959) and Gordon (1964) consider high intermarriage rates to be the consequence of lesser social distance (Murphy, 2015). Studies on intermarriage indeed consider the common occurrence of this type of union to be indicative of higher social cohesion (Giorgas & Jones, 2002, Kennedy, 1943, Price 1982, cited in Osanami Törngren *et al.*, 2016). The prevalence of intermarriage may be an indicator of openness and equality between ethnic groups since it indicates «groups boundaries, social distance, and acceptance of minorities» (Kalbach, 2002, Tzeng, 2000, Qian and Lichter, 2007, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010: 3). According to Kalmijn (1998), it signals frequent social interaction and strong social acceptance between immigrant populations and the majority population. Hence, many researchers consider intermarriage to be a consequence or an indicator of integration (Gordon, 1964 & Kalmijn, 1998, cited in Pailhé, 2015; Algan *et al.*, 2012, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010) as well as a factor (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). For instance, the likelihood that a member of an immigrant group marries someone from the majority increases with their level of assimilation to the culture of the host country (Gordon, 1964, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

2.2.2. Classic assimilation theory

The discussion on the integration of immigrant groups in the United States has often been centered around the notion of assimilation. Called a socially desirable goal, assimilation to the mainstream population is expected of newcomers. The US-originated *assimilation theory* established by Gordon (1964) claims that there is an eventual acceptance by immigrant populations of their new social environment and through increasing contact with the majority (Safi, 2008), causing them to be ultimately absorbed by them (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In other words, immigrant groups become similar over time to the population of their host country (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). The fewer differences there are between immigrant populations and the majority, the faster this absorption occurs (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). In France, the

notion of assimilation is defined even more strictly, since it focuses primarily on erasing newcomers' differences (Santelli, 2016).

In his approach, Gordon (1964) describes the assimilation process as “unidirectional, inevitable, and sequential” (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). In other words, immigrants will definitely leave their culture of origin behind while adapting to the culture of the host society. With each subsequent generation, members of immigrant populations reduce their contacts with individuals from their ethnicity. The preference for ethnicity in the partner choice would then lose its importance (Alba, 1990, Waters, 1990, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). Intermarriage would happen more frequently, suggesting that the assimilation process has reached its last stage. This would also mean that the different ethnic components of the population interact and accept each other (Gordon, 1964, Lieberman & Waters, 1988, Kalmijn, 1998, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019).

Pagnini and Morgan (1990) validate the assimilation theory by invoking the case of integration of Southern Europe immigrants in the United States (Safi, 2008). At the time of their arrival, these immigrants were very different culturally and socio-economically from the descendants of the earlier Northern European immigrants to the United States. However, a significant rate of intermarriage with the latter, along with the arrival of other immigrants who were perceived as even more distinctive from the majority, contributed to closing that gap (Alba, 1990, Lieberman & Waters, 1988, Pagnini & Morgan, 1990, Safi, 2008, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019).

Critics of the notion of assimilation refer to the bias of ethnocentrism beliefs; in contrast, Sayyad (1994) describes the concept of assimilation as a shift “from the most radical *otherness* to the most total *identity*” («*altérité* la plus radicale à l'*identité* la plus totale») (Santelli, 2016: 45). Moreover, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) criticize assimilation theory for ignoring the complexities of the integration process. They claim that it does not acknowledge disparities by social class, period of arrival and generation status existing within an immigrant group, or the heterogeneity of the mainstream population. Furthermore, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) reject the assumption made by this theory according to which every descendant of immigrant assimilates into the host society, claiming that the reality shows otherwise. In fact, depending on the circumstances around their immigration, there are several outcomes possible, and they

are difficult to predict. Some descendants will smoothly blend in with the majority and will not use their ethnic identification unless convenient. Others will find strength in their ethnicity and will make use of the resources of their community to pursue their social and economic goals. Finally, some children of immigrants will be vulnerable to marginalization by the host society due to an ethnicity-based subordination (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

While assimilation theory is supported by several examples cited in various studies, it also encounters some counter-examples, such as the case of the Black community in the United States. Decades after the abolishment of slavery and the State anti-miscenegation laws forbidding interracial marriages, the Black community keeps low exogamy rates with the White majority in a context where race-based discrimination is still common (Heer, 1966, Kalmijn, 1993, Wong, 2003, cited in Safi, 2008). This contradicts the aspect of the assimilation theory claiming that, after years and generations, descendants of immigrants will increasingly intermarry with the majority in spite of the context. Moreover, several examples contradict the idea that exogamy leads to assimilation. For instance, although they marry endogamously at high rates, the Irish and Jewish communities in the United States are well integrated socio-economically (Safi, 2008). The same is observed for Asian and Portuguese communities in France (Safi, 2006, cited in Safi, 2008). Inversely, Black Caribbeans in Great Britain (Muttarak, 2003, cited in Safi, 2008) and the African and North African communities in France (Safi, 2006, cited in Safi, 2008) have disadvantageous socio-economic situations despite manifesting a high propensity to exogamy. The various counter-examples above show the theory's weakness in predicting the integration paths of many ethnic groups (Kulczykcki & Lobo, 2019). In spite of them, many researchers defend its validity (Alba & Nee, 2003, Bean and Stevens, 2003 & Blau & Mackie, 2016, cited in Kulczykcki & Lobo, 2019).

2.2.3. Alternative theories

The frequent criticism of the assimilation theory has led to the development of alternative theories. For instance, with the increasingly diverse migrant waves from non-European countries after the modification of the U.S. immigration policy opening the doors to non-Europeans immigrants, pluralist perspectives on integration emerged including multiculturalism.

In a multiculturalist society, ethnic communities can develop socioeconomically while holding onto their cultural identity and living separately from the host society (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005, Parekh, 2006, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). When an ethnic group settles in a particular neighborhood and lives somewhat separately from other groups, forming an enclave community (Bonacich & Modell, 1980, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019), we witness multiculturalism. In the U.S., the Jewish community is one of the several communities that formed an ethnic enclave (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). In Canada, the Indian community in Brampton (suburb of Toronto) and the North African community in Montreal's Little Maghreb ("Le Petit Maghreb") are other immigrant populations living in this type of setting.

According to Hang, Saenz and Aguirre (1997), the French structuralist theoretical approach should be considered as well when discussing the question of intermarriage. Elaborated for the study of social stratification, this theory claims that mating patterns between social classes – or between immigrant groups in this case – are indicative of class and group boundaries (Bozon & Héron, 1987a, 1988, Desrosières, 1978, Girard, 1964, de Singly, 1987, cited in Safi, 2008).

2.2.4. Segmented assimilation theory

Portes and Zhou (1993) elaborate a theory that takes into account the contradictions of the classic theory: the *segmented assimilation theory*. This theory, which is adapted to the more recent migrant waves, considers the cultural and socio-economic differences existing between and within groups when analyzing integration paths. This means that this approach doesn't restrict ethnic groups to one single path and one single inevitable outcome, which is being absorbed into the mainstream population (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001 & Portes & Zhou, 1993, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019; Portes & Zhou, 1993 & Zhou, 1997, cited in Safi, 2008). It considers the diversity of journeys of children of immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993, cited in Santelli, 2016). The marital patterns of Latino and South East Asian immigrants attest to this diversity of paths since they follow both the classic theory and the segmented assimilation theory (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). In fact, while they do marry within their region-origin group, they do not marry within their national-origin group much more frequently than contemporary European immigrants (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2015, cited in Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019).

2.3. Interethnic unions among descendants of immigrants

Former immigrant generations appear to be more prone to intermarrying than more recent immigrant generations (Lieberson & Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). Their higher propensity to intermarriage is observed in several countries, such as Australia (Giorgas and Jones, 2002, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006), Belgium (Lievens, 1998, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006) and the United States (Kalmijn 1998; Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002; Pagnini & Morgan, 1990, cited in Kalmijn and van Tubergen, 2006).

In the United States, using the Census data from 1991, Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) note that US-born Arabs marry non-Arabs more often (86% among men; 84% among women) than foreign-born Arabs (67% among men; 38% among women). The difference is particularly important among women. Indeed, the authors observe that nativity is a quite significant determinant of intermarriage, especially for women. The regression analysis shows that among men, the native-born have twice the odds of intermarrying compared to the foreign-born whereas, among women, they have four times the odds of the intermarrying compared to the foreign-born (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). Using the 2001 Census of Canada, LeGrand and Meunier (2009) have similar findings that show that second generation immigrants are more often in interethnic unions than first generation immigrants (Meunier, 2012).

The fact that children of immigrants are more prone to intermarrying than are recent immigrants is likely related to their stronger socialization into the host society (Gordon, 1964, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). This socialization stems partly from their higher socio-economic status, making spheres of life outside ethnic enclaves more accessible to them (Massey & Denton, 1985, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). They have gained this socio-economic advantage due to a longer duration of residence or a younger age at migration in the country. In fact, the longer the time spent in the country and the younger their age at arrival are, the faster the accumulation of human capital (Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011) and thus the stronger their socialization. The term 'socialization' refers to the fact that individuals are raised according to the destination country's values, through the education system and the media, and that they evolve in relation to its institutions. Moreover, without mentioning the effect of

human capital, being born or immigrating during childhood (e.g., before 12 years old) are factors that make someone relatively more socialized into the host country (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Santelli, 2016).

On the other hand, numerous studies show that Belgian-born children of immigrants from Turkey and Morocco maintain high rates of intramarriage over the years (Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009, Lievens, 1997, Lodewijckx, 2010, Reniers & Lievens, 1997 & Reniers, 1998, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011). It is also the case of Dutch-born children of immigrants from these countries who exhibit little propensity to entering interethnic unions (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011). In 2011, using data from the Belgian project of *The Integration of the European Second Generation* (TIES), Hartung *et al.* (2011) show similar patterns applied to common-law unions as well as marriages: 71% of the young second-generation immigrants of Turkish origin are in intraethnic unions with immigrants of the first generation. In the case of the young second-generation immigrants of Moroccan origin, 61% of them are in intraethnic unions. Moreover, the percentages of intraethnic unions of second-generation immigrants of Turkish origin and Moroccan origin with the second generation are considerably lower, respectively 16% and 20%, respectively. Finally, the shares of interethnic unions with Belgians natives (11% and 13%) and with people of other origins (2% and 7%) are also quite small (Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

In 2015, a study by Pailhé on French-born children of immigrants with similar origins mirrors those results. Using data from the *Trajectories and Origins* (TeO) survey, Pailhé, like Hartung *et al.* (2015), notes that the second-generation immigrants in France often marry first-generation immigrants of their ethnicity (Hamel *et al.*, 2015, cited in Pailhé, 2015). However, she points out that in contrast with the second generation of Turkish immigrants, the second generation of North African immigrants in France exhibit some union formation patterns that diverge from those of their parents and converge to those of the mainstream French population. This convergence – possibly related to reduced parental involvement in partner choice across generations as seen in the case of the Moroccan community (van Zantvliet *et al.*, 2014) – is especially strong in the case of Muslim descendants whose parents' migration dates to the first migration waves (Pailhé, 2015).

Overall, the literature establishes that generation status and age at migration are associated with the likelihood of intermarriage (Aba & Golden, 1986, cited in Chiswick & Houseworth, 2010; Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002; Lieberman & Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). This means that being from the second generation or having arrived to the host country at an early age makes one more prone to choose their conjugal partner outside of their ethnic group. Also, second-generation immigrants who marry intraethnically may not be a homogeneous group in regard to partner selection. For instance, Lodewijckx (2010) and Reniers (1998) say that they are of two types: those who marry first generation immigrants and those who marry descendants. Each type of marriage may correspond to distinct social and symbolic roles (Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

2.4. Determinants of interethnic unions

The decision to intermarry tends to be explained in studies mostly by “preferences, opportunities, and third parties” (Kalmijn, 1998; Lieberman & Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006: 374). According to Kalmijn (1998), when individuals intermarry, they choose partners based on personal preferences regarding socioeconomic and cultural levels such as educational attainment, professional status and income. In regard to the cultural aspect, they seek partners who share similar “values, opinions, [lifestyle], knowledge and worldview” (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006: 374). Moreover, whether or not a descendant marries someone outside their ethnic group depends on their contact opportunities with their community, other immigrant groups and the rest of the population. When descendants have increased contacts with their co-ethnics, they are more likely to intramarry (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). In contrast, when they have increased contacts with people outside their community, they are more likely to intermarry. Finally, “third parties” refer to “the family, the religious community and the state” (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006: 374), who are participants in the marriage process. In fact, third parties have an influence on the choice of partner of descendants since they may impose their marriage ideals. Also, a descendant may be more likely to intramarry if they have been socialized into their community and therefore have developed a greater sense of belonging to their group (Kalmijn and van Tubergen, 2006).

2.4.1. Level of education

Various studies (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007; Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002; Lievens 1998, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011) show that higher education is associated with intermarriage among descendants of immigrants. In 2002, using 1990 U.S. Census, Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) observe that the propensity to intermarry among Arab Americans becomes higher when their level of education increases. For instance, the descriptive analysis shows that 62% of men and 52% of women with less than a high school education intermarry, compared to 83% of college graduates for both men and women. Furthermore, the regression analysis reveals that men with a college degree have twice the odds of men with less than a high school education to marry someone outside their community. Female college graduates are also more likely to marry non-Arabs than women with less than a high school education.

Using data from the U.S. census bureau's American Community Survey on the 2007-2011 period, Kulczycki and Lobo (2019) find high intermarriage rates within the Arab American community, which includes both Christian Arab Americans and Muslim Arab Americans. In fact, the descriptive results show that around seven out of ten descendants of Arab origin, both men and women, are in interethnic marriages. The authors also find that it is college graduates who are most frequently married to a person of a different ethnicity (77%). The opposite is also true: those with less than a high school education are least frequently intermarried (32%). This shows the positive association between educational attainment and interethnic unions. Furthermore, the regression analysis shows that almost consistently the odds of crossing the ethnic boundary in marriage increase with the level of education. Indeed, except in the case of women with a high school diploma, as descendants' level of education increases, they become more susceptible to intermarrying. For instance, Arab American men who are high school graduates have 1.8 times the odds of intermarrying compared to their counterparts with less than a high school education (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019).

Using data from national surveys in the Netherlands, Kalmijn & van Tubergen (2007) similarly show that the level of education influences the chances of intermarrying of second-generation immigrants and first-generation immigrants. Moreover, the effect of educational attainment on intermarriage rates is nearly linear. This means that the higher the educational level completed

is, the greater the propensity of intermarrying becomes. Indeed, the results show that individuals with a primary school education have 1.5 times the odds of those with a higher-secondary education of marrying someone from their community (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). Pailhé (2015) also notes that the observed convergence of union formations patterns among second generation immigrants in some ethnic groups, i.e., North Africans, to the ones among the mainstream French population is in part due to their higher education levels.

Based on Belgian data, Hartung *et al.* (2011) show that higher educational attainment affects mostly positively the levels of interethnic unions among young second generation immigrants of Turkish and Moroccan origin. The descriptive results show that when young descendants have less than a higher secondary education (no diploma, primary education, lower secondary, *i.e.*, grades 9 to 11) (European Commission, 2020) they mostly unite to first generation immigrants (80%). In contrast, only 57% of young descendants with a tertiary education marry first generation immigrants. Compared to descendants with less than a higher secondary education, descendants with a tertiary education are more often in intraethnic unions with someone from the second generation or in interethnic unions with a non-Arab from a migrant background or a Belgian native. Among the least educated, one out of ten descendants is in union with someone from the second generation compared to one descendant out of five among the most educated. Moreover, while the levels of interethnic unions with Belgian natives are low among the least educated descendants (8%), they are substantial among the most educated: one out of five descendants is in a partnership with a Belgian native (20%). Finally, although interethnic unions with non-Arabs with immigrant background become more frequent with higher educational attainment, they remain rare (1% among those with less than secondary education and 5% among those with tertiary education). Indeed, they represent the most unusual type of union. Furthermore, the regression analysis reveals that the odds of descendants with a higher secondary education (*i.e.*, grades 12 to 15) (European Commission, 2020) or a tertiary education of uniting to a second-generation immigrant rather than to a first generation immigrant are twice that of descendants with lower secondary. When it comes to the odds of descendants of uniting with a Belgian native compared to those of uniting with a first generation immigrant,

they are four times higher for those with a tertiary education than for those with a lower education (Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

Researchers explain the effect of the level of education on intermarriage among immigrant populations in various ways. While pursuing a higher level of education, members of immigrant communities have increased access to settings, such as universities and high-status occupations, occupied by higher-educated individuals (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006: 376). Therefore, they become more likely to interact with members of the native majority along with members of other immigrant communities (Cohen, 1977, Kalmijn, 1998, Lieberman & Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007; Hartung *et al.*, 2011), making them more open to people from diverse backgrounds (Cohen, 1977, cited in Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011). In 2006, Furtado called this the 'cultural adaptability effect' (Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011). Moreover, Furtado (2006) refers to the 'enclave effect' to describe when someone moves out of their ethnic enclave (the neighborhood where their ethnic group is predominant) to another area, where they pursue higher education and become less attached to their family and community (Kalmijn, 1998, cited in Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011).

A higher level of education also affects the propensity of intermarriage by altering one's preferences. For instance, higher-educated individuals might attach less value to sharing the same ethnicity as their partner since they get a "lower marginal benefit" (Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011: 160) from it. Instead, the level of education can become the criteria they seek in a partner. Mare (1991) and Schwartz and Mare (2005) observe that university graduates search for partners who match their educational level more than any other individuals. Indeed, people with lower educational levels are less selective in regard to their partners' levels of education (Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2008).

Based on the assortative matching theory, individuals look for partners whose level of education are similar to theirs. This theory proposes that, if someone has a considerably higher, or lower, educational level than the average educational level of their ethnic group, they are more likely to intermarry in order to find a partner whose educational level matches theirs (Chiswick and Houseworth, 2011: 160). On the other hand, if they have a level of education that matches their

community's average, they are more likely to intramarry (Furtado, 2012). Using census data from the 1970 Fourth Count Population Summary Tape Files, SF 4, Furtado (2012) finds support for the assortative matching theory by examining the effect of education on matrimonial patterns of children of immigrants in the United States. In conformity with this theory, the results show a smaller gap between partners' levels of education in intermarried couples than in intramarried ones. Also, in intermarried couples, both men and women appear to have higher averages of educational levels – an additional year in school – than in intramarried couples. Furthermore, Furtado (2012) found that the effect of educational attainment on intermarriage is not linear and varies across ethnic groups. Indeed, its effect depends on the difference in educational attainment between a descendant and his/her community under the assortative matching mechanism.

2.4.2. Gender

Among ethnic minorities, men display higher intermarriage rates than their female counterparts with the exception of Asian men versus Asian women (Jacobs and Labov 2002, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). This gender gap is shaped by two main factors: the relative numbers of men and women belonging to the same ethnic group on the marriage market and the influence of third parties on women's mating patterns in some ethnic communities (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006). For instance, in France, some parents of North African, Sahelian African and Turkish origin put so many restrictions on their daughters' social and sexual behavior that these women eventually internalize the idea that their parents would be opposed to an interethnic conjugal union. This makes them less likely to consider an interethnic union (Santelli and Collet, 2012). In the Netherlands, using the Dutch national survey, van Zantvliet *et al.* (2015) show that the propensity to intermarry among Moroccan and Turkish descendants decreases when parents intervene in the choice of their partners. Since the odds of parents intervening in the choice of partner in the case of their daughters are 1.8 times higher than in the case of their sons, it is women particularly who are less likely to intermarry (van Zantvliet *et al.*, 2015; Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

However, Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) found that, among native-born Arab Americans, there is little difference between men's and women's propensity to intermarry. While 86% of U.S.-born Arab men marry non-Arabs, U.S.-born Arab women do so almost as frequently (84%). Furthermore, the authors show that, although the determinants of integration such as nativity, part Arab ancestry and English language skills affect both genders' propensity to intermarry, they are particularly important in the case of women (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). Kulczycki and Lobo's 2019 analysis reaches similar conclusions. Among native-born Arabs in the U.S., the difference in the propensity to intermarry between the genders is small. While 87% of men marry non-Arabs, 83% of women do so. The determinants of integration have a stronger impact on women's propensity to intermarry than on men's (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019).

Hartung *et al.* (2011) examine gender differences in interethnic and intraethnic unions among Turkish and Moroccan descendants. When distinguishing between two types of interethnic unions, those with Belgian 'natives' (i.e., Belgians of the third generation or more) and those with people of other origins, the authors found that second-generation men are about twice more often in interethnic unions with Belgian natives (15% of Turkish descendants and 18% of Moroccan descendants) than second-generation women (8% of both Turkish and Moroccan descendants). Meanwhile, second-generation men are in interethnic unions with people of other origins as often (2% of the Turkish and 7% of the Moroccan) as their women counterparts (2% of the Turkish and 6% of the Moroccan). When the authors distinguish between two types of intraethnic unions (those with second-generation immigrants and those with first-generation immigrants), they also observe differences by gender. Men are more often in intraethnic unions with the second generation (19% of Turkish descendants and 22% of Moroccan descendants) than women (14% and 18%, respectively). However, they are less often in intraethnic unions (64% of Turkish descendants and 53% of Moroccan descendants) with the first generation than women (77% and 67%, respectively). Overall, compared to men, women have a lower propensity to live in a union with a Belgian native and a similar propensity to live in one with a person of another immigrant origin. They also have a lower propensity to enter in a union with a second-generation immigrant, and a higher propensity to enter in a union with a first-generation immigrant. Women's lower propensity to unite to Belgian native partners may be

explained by the opposition of parents to their daughters having such partners (Corijn & Lodewijckx, 2009, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011). In fact, the results show that immigrant parents from Morocco and Turkey often push their children to leave their partner if s/he is a Belgian native (Hartung *et al.*, 2011).

2.4.3. Year of birth and age at union formation

Several studies find that the year of birth and intermarriage are positively associated: older descendants are more often in interethnic unions (Corijn and Lodewijckx, 2009, Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007, Lievens, 1998, Schoenmaeckers *et al.*, 1999 & Sherkat, 2004, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011). Indeed, Kulczycki and Lobo (2019) find that intermarriage rates are higher among older age groups. Regardless of the nativity status (U.S. born, foreign-born), Arab Americans in older age groups (35-44, 45+) are more likely to be in an intermarriage than those in younger age groups (under 35 years of age). For instance, Arab Americans who are 45 years old and above are four times more often married to non-Arabs (80%) than to Arabs (20%). In contrast, among those aged 35 years or younger, about 59% are married to non-Arabs and 42% are married to Arabs (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2019). In contrast with previous studies, Furtado (2012) observes that partners in interethnic marriages are, on average, two to three years younger than partners in intraethnic unions.

When it comes to the age at union formation, Hartung *et al.* (2011) do not observe any causal link with interethnic mating. They do not find a statistically significant difference in the mean age at union formation between intraethnic unions and interethnic unions among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in Belgium. This suggests that, when women marry first-generation or second-generation men, they do not follow the traditional path of early marriage. Finally, Hartung *et al.* (2011) find that the likelihood of being in a union with a first-generation immigrant rather than with a second-generation immigrant increases with age.

2.4.4. Arab ancestry

Women with part Arab ancestry have higher propensity to intermarry compared to women with full Arab ancestry. Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) show that having part Arab ancestry multiplies the odds of intermarrying by ten for Arab American women and by six for Arab American men,

foreign-born and native-born (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). These patterns have persisted over time. Kulczycki & Lobo (2019) found that having part Arab ancestry multiplies by eleven the odds of Arab American women of intermarrying and by eight the odds of Arab American men of intermarrying.

2.4.5. Conjugal status

Cohabitation is an increasingly popular living arrangement among couples in Western countries and common-law unions represent a non-negligible share of unions among immigrant populations (Corijn, 2010, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011; Corijn and Klijzing, 2001). Hartung *et al.* (2011) show that, in Belgium, 6% of second-generation Turkish descendants and 11% of second-generation Moroccan immigrants cohabit with their partners. The literature shows differences in the tendency to cohabit between interethnic and intraethnic couples. When a union is characterized by a higher level of commitment like marriage rather than cohabitation, the union is more often intraethnic than interethnic (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000, Blackwell & Lichter, 2004 & Schoen & Weinick, 1993, cited in van Zantvliet *et al.*, 2015). Hartung *et al.* (2011) also observe that second generation immigrants from Turkey and Morocco live in unions with Belgian natives more frequently when they cohabit than when they marry. Kalmijn and van Tubergen (2007) argue that, when cohabiting, people show more flexibility in choosing their partners. However, when marrying, they might feel the need to adhere more strongly to a conventional type of union (Hartung *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, cohabiting couples tend to be more highly educated (Corijn, 2010, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011) making relevant analyzing the interactions between educational attainment, conjugal status and the propensity to live in an interethnic union.

Meunier's analysis of Canada's 2001 census data shows that men of 1.5 and 2nd generations have a higher likelihood of cohabitating than their female counterparts (Meunier, 2012). Although small, the difference between men and women is larger in the rest of Canada (ROC) than in Quebec. The findings show that both men and women descendants, whether they live in the ROC or Quebec, are more likely to cohabit when one of their parents was not born abroad. When it comes to descendants from North African and Middle Eastern countries in

particular, the results are similar: men have higher odds of being in common-law unions than women. Moreover, those who reside in Quebec are more likely to be in common-law unions than those who reside in the ROC (Meunier, 2012).

2.4.6 Language

English language skills appear to be a significant determinant of intermarriage in the U.S. context among Arab Americans (Kulczycki and Lobo, 2002). Within Canada, language is an important variable to consider when looking at interethnic unions because French is the majority's language in Quebec, while English is the majority's language in the rest of Canada. The fact that Arab Canadians are often French-speakers may weigh in on the likelihood of being in a conjugal union with a third-generation Canadian in Quebec. Indeed, French-speaking Arab Canadians may be seen as part of the larger 'French family' (Hamplovà and Le Bourdais, 2010: 24) and, therefore, be more easily welcomed by French Canadians when it comes to conjugal unions. However, the empirical evidence does not support such claim. Interethnic unions between 'non-White' French-speakers in Montreal and French-speaking 'Whites' are comparable to those between 'non-White' English-speakers in Toronto and English-speaking 'Whites'. Surprisingly, 'non-White' French-speakers in Montreal are less likely to be in unions with 'White' persons of the same linguistic background than 'non-White' English-speakers in Vancouver (Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010).

2.5. Research hypotheses

1. In accordance with the assimilation theory which assumes that intermarriage becomes increasingly common across generations, and according to Kulczycki and Lobo's results (2019) that show that in the United States intermarriage is common amongst the second generation of Arab descendants, I expect interethnic unions to be common among Arab descendants in Canada.

2. Like second-generation immigrants of Moroccan and Turkish origin in Belgium (Hartung *et al.*, 2011), I also expect 1.5 and second-generation Arab Canadians to be more likely to enter in

unions with individuals from the third generation or more than with immigrants of non-Arab origin.

3. Considering that several studies (e.g., Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002; Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Hartung *et al.*, 2011) establish that higher education affects interethnic marriages, I expect that higher-educated Arab descendants are more likely to be in interethnic unions than lower-educated Arab descendants.

4. Based on studies showing that the propensity to have an interethnic union is higher among men (e.g., Jacobs and Labov, 2002, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006) and assuming the maintenance of Arab traditions previously discussed (Abu-Laban, 1979) when it comes to partner choice among women, I hypothesize that Arab Canadian men are more prone to live in interethnic unions than Arab Canadian women.

5. Since various studies show that the propensity to have interethnic unions is higher among older age groups (Corijn and Lodewijckx, 2009, Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007, Lievens, 1998, Schoenmaeckers et al., 1999 & Sherkat, 2004, cited in Hartung et al., 2011), I predict that older descendants are more often in interethnic unions and that younger ones are more often in intraethnic unions.

6. Considering the results of Kulczycki and Lobo (2002; 2019) on Arab ancestry, I expect that descendants with part Arab ancestry are more likely to have an interethnic union than Arab descendants who are fully Arab.

7. Finally, based on the literature previously discussed, I predict common-law living to be more prevalent in interethnic unions than in intraethnic unions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Source of data

To answer the questions above, I use the *Public Use Microdata File* (PUMF) of the 2016 Canadian Census, which I access through one of the research data centers (RDC) of Statistics Canada (STC)¹. The 2016 Census was conducted using a short-form questionnaire sent to every household and a long-form questionnaire sent to a 25% sample of the population. The 2016 Census distinguishes itself from the 2011 Census by the mandatory nature of its long form questionnaire, which in 2011 had been replaced by a voluntary questionnaire of the National Household Survey. This compulsory nature contributes to the census' data quality by increasing its representability of the Canadian population. Indeed, with more than 8 millions of Canadian respondents to the long-form questionnaire – the data used in this study - the 2016 Census should represent the entire Canadian population. Moreover, with the 663 variables it contains, the 2016 Census is an extensive source of data covering various dimensions of the lives of Canadians such as immigration, ethnicity and education (Statistics Canada, 2018).

Conducted every five years, the Census provides cross-sectional data. Therefore, the PUMF cannot provide information on past dissolved unions of respondents. Considering the association between intermarriage and divorce (Kalmijn & van Tubergen 2006), interethnic unions may be more likely to dissolve than intraethnic ones among Arab Canadians. Therefore, they may be declared in lower numbers and be underestimated in my analysis (Kulczycki &

¹ I want to thank the *Quebec Interuniversity Centre for Social Statistics* for allowing me access to the 2016 Canadian Census data and for providing me with the tools and documentation to work on this data efficiently. The analysis presented in this paper was conducted at the Quebec Interuniversity Centre for Social Statistics which is part of the Canadian Research Data Centre Network (CRDCN). The services and activities provided by the QICSS are made possible by the financial or in-kind support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI), Statistics Canada, the Fonds de recherche du Québec and the Quebec universities. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors, and not necessarily those of the CRDCN, the QICSS or their partners.

Lobo, 2002). The results would then be biased by selective attrition. Furthermore, the PUMF does not contain any variables related to religion. This does not allow me to analyze the effect of religious belonging on the propensity to intermarry despite past literature showing that religion affects union formation patterns (Kalmijn *et al.*, 2005 & Boyd *et al.*, 2006, cited in Meunier, 2012).

The absence of the variable of religion may affect the relationship between age groups and the type of union. Descendants in older age groups may appear more likely to be in interethnic unions than those in younger age groups. This could be incorrectly attributed to the effect of year of birth when it could actually be due to the fact that the first waves of immigrants to Canada from the Arab world were mainly Christians while the more recent ones have been increasingly composed of Muslims. Indeed, the change in the religious composition of migrant waves from the Arab world across the years may affect the results if like suggested by Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) Arab Christians are more likely to marry outside their ethnic group than Arab Muslims. According to Kulczycki and Lobo (2002), Arab Muslims could be less likely to intermarry than Arab Christians in the United States because of their religious and cultural identity being further apart from that of the mainstream American society, which is mainly Christian, than the religious and cultural identity of Arab Christians.

3.2. Population of interest

I focus on female and male descendants of Arab origin aged 25 years old or above who are part of a census family as an opposite-sex married spouse or an opposite-sex common law partner with a person aged 25 years old or above. The expression “descendants of Arab origin” refers to people who are born in an Arab country and who immigrated to Canada before the age of 13 (1.5 generation) and to Canadian-born people who have at least one parent born in an Arab country (second generation) (Meunier, 2012). An Arab country is any of the 22 member-states of the Arab League (Eglitis-media, 2020). These states consist of North African countries (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia), Mauritania, some East African countries (Comores, Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan), countries of the Arabian Peninsula (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar,

Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Iraq), Yemen and the Levantine countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestinian territories).

Finally, I analyze women and men separately. The dataset has 8,960 women who are 1.5 or second generation of Arab descent (36,940 when sampling weights are applied) compared to 8,330 men who are 1.5 or second generation of Arab descent (34,360 with sampling weights) (Table 1). Since I assume that technology permits a Canada-wide market for conjugal unions, I consider descendants all across Canada. However, I exclude from the population of interest descendants and their partners when they are aged below 25 based on the fact that Canadians graduate with a bachelor's degree on average at the age of 25 years old (Statistics Canada, 2015). This exclusion is also based on the facts that the average age at marriage is 29.6 for women and 31.0 for men (Statistics Canada, 2013) and that the percentages of Canadians in a union below the age of 25 are small compared to those of Canadians aged above 25. While 44% of Canadians aged between 25-29 are in a union, that is the case of 1.1% of Canadians aged between 15-19 and of 15% of those aged between 20-24 (Government of Canada, 2017). I also exclude descendants who are in same-sex unions based on the concept of minority stress. According to this concept, the marginalization of LGBTQ individuals as a sexual minority by their families, friends and society may cause them to have fundamentally different behaviors from heterosexual individuals (Andersen, 2015). Moreover, considering the incomplete nature of the Census' data collection on 14 Aboriginal reserves (Statistics Canada, 2018), I do not include Arab descendants who are in unions with Indigenous individuals living on reserves. Finally, by not including immigrants who arrived in Canada at 13 years old or later (first generation immigrants), I eliminate descendants who formed a union before immigrating to Canada. Thus, I do not question like several previous researchers whether the reported intraethnic unions were formed in Canada or in the country of origin, where the decision to marry may be influenced by determinants specific to that country (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). I am also less likely to obtain results that are affected by the union formation patterns of first generation immigrants who have had a short period of socialization into the host country and a long period of socialization into the country of origin since they have arrived during their teen years between the ages of 13 and 18.

Table 1 - Distribution of 1.5 and 2nd generations men and women aged 25 years and over living in union by demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables

	Female	Male
Generational group	100.0	100.0
25-34	45.5	33.7
35-44	30.6	34.9
45-54	14.8	19.1
55-64	6.5	7.7
65+	2.5	4.6
Generation status	100.0	100.0
1.5 gen.	52.7	54.7
2nd gen.	47.3	45.3
Conjugal status	100.0	100.0
Living common law	14.6	17.7
Married	85.4	82.3
Type of union	100.0	100.0
Intraethnic - desc.	28.1	30.2
Intraethnic - 1st gen.	22.5	12.5
Interethnic - others	26.6	28.6
Interethnic - 3rd gen. +	22.8	28.7
Region of residence	100.0	100.0
Qc	37.6	37.6
ROC	63.4	62.4
Population centre indicator	100.0	100.0
Rural	4.0	5.0
Small pop. centres	3.8	4.3
Med. pop. centres	3.7	3.9
Large urban pop. centres	88.4	86.7
Arab ancestry	100.0	100.0
Full Arab	64.3	65.0
Part Arab	35.7	35.0
Level of education	100.0	100.0
Less than high school	5.2	6.3
High school/equivalent	15.9	17.7
Prof. training/postsecondary	23.3	26.2
University	55.6	49.9
Unweighted total	8 960	8 330
Weighted total	36 940	34 360

Source: Statistics Canada - 2016 Census of Canada

Unweighted data= 17 290

Weighted data= 71 300

3.3. Variables

3.3.1. Dependent variable

The dependent variable is the type of union of Arab descendants. It has four categories characterized by the generation status and ethnicity of the descendants and their partners. Ethnicity is established using census variables such as the place of birth (POB) and the parents' place(s) of birth (POBF and POBM). Contrary to the census variable of ethnicity that is based on self-declaration and is subject to contextual (Jedwab, 2008 & Lieberson & Waters, 1988 cited in Murphy, 2015) and individual influences (Waters, 1999, cited in Murphy, 2015), the variables of place of birth are better defined and provide data that can be deemed more accurate (Murphy, 2015) for the purpose of this study.

Ethnicity is defined in a way that Arab origin supersedes foreign origin and Canadian origin, and foreign origin supersedes Canadian origin. This means that if the place of birth of an individual or the place of birth of one of their parents is an Arab country, they are considered Arab, even in cases where the individual's place of birth or one of their parents' places of birth is Canada or a non-Arab country. Furthermore, if their place of birth or the place of birth of one of their parents is a non-Arab country, they are considered non-Arab with an immigrant background, even in the cases where the person's place of birth is Canada or one of their parents' places of birth is Canada. For a person to be considered belonging to the third generation or more, they must be born in Canada and have both parents be born in Canada.

Using the variables of place of birth, I could have distinguished the respondents based on their region of origin: North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia), Mauritania, East Africa (Comoros, Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan), the Arabian Peninsula (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Iraq), Yemen and the Levant (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestinian territories). Considering that the Arab world is not culturally, racially and religiously homogeneous (Hourani, 1991), using this classification could have shown differences in the results on union formation patterns across the regions. For example, the results could display a considerably higher likelihood of descendants of North African and of Levantine origin of being in interethnic unions in comparison to descendants from the Arabian Peninsula, in

particular in the case of women. With this type of categorization, I could also have been able to observe the prevalence of interregional unions (or unions between Arabs from different regions). Nonetheless, I have not used this classification due to the size of the population of male and female respondents. In fact, there may not be enough respondents not to lead at the time of the analysis to aggregate data with unreasonably small frequencies. By dividing the population sample of Arab descendants into categories based on the region of origin, the number of observations when it comes women from the Arabian Peninsula in common-law unions for instance could be insufficient to insure data accuracy (Wasserman & Ossiander, 2018). Also, given the data confidentiality measures at Statistics Canada, the access to aggregate data is not possible when the number of observations in a category is too small.

Generation status is also established using POB (place of birth of person), POBF (place of birth of father) and POBM (place of birth of mother) along with AGE_IMM (age at immigration). While the descendants (1.5 or 2nd generations Arabs) constitute the unit of analysis, the partners may be 1st generation Arab immigrants, Arab descendants (1.5 or 2nd generations), non-Arabs with an immigrant background (1st generation immigrants, 1.5 or 2nd generations of other origins) or people with a third-generation status or more (Canadian-born individuals with two Canadian-born parents).

Thus, a union is either:

- Intraethnic intergenerational (reference category): A union between an Arab descendant and a first-generation Arab immigrant;
- Intraethnic intragenerational: A union between two Arab descendants;
- Interethnic with migrants of other origins: A union between an Arab descendant and a non-Arab of immigrant background;
- Interethnic with a partner of the third generation or more: A union between an Arab descendant and a Canadian-born with two Canadian-born parents.

I use the categorization above for the variable of type of union because I want to distinguish between two types of intraethnic unions based on generation status. Some Arab descendants

may have a preference to marrying a first-generation Arab immigrant rather than an Arab descendant and vice-versa. Indeed, throughout my interactions with the Lebanese Arab community in Montreal, I have come in contact with Arab male descendants (and families of descendants) expressing a preference for marriage with women from the homeland rather than for women who grew up in Canada, whom they perceive as having different values. I have also met Arab female descendants expressing a preference about marrying a descendant rather than a first-generation immigrant since the former seems more likely to share a similar understanding of gender norms and has a similar background.

In my analysis, I often refer to people of “third generation or more” as people of “third generation” for the sake of readability. Moreover, I define as “interethnic” a union with someone of third generation regardless of the possibility that some individuals of third generation may have Arab origins through their grandparents or more distant ancestors. The reason for this is that I define Arab ethnicity based on the census variables of place of birth and the parents’ place of birth. Based on these variables, it is not possible to identify Arabs of third generation since they were born in Canada to Canadian-born parents. However, using the “ethnic origin” census variable on ethnic and cultural origins of ancestors could have allowed me to identify those with Arab roots.

3.3.2. Independent variables

I observe the variations of the type of union mainly according to the level of education of descendants. From a seven-categories variable on education from the census (HCDD_7V), I create a synthesized four-categories variable. Its categories are: 1. Less than high school (reference category); 2. High school or equivalent; 3. Professional training or postsecondary; 4. University. This categorization is inspired by the one applied by Hamplovà and Le Bourdais (2008) which classify individuals as having either “No training”, “High school”, “Training”, “Postsecondary” or “University” (Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2008: 853). In the analysis, I will often refer to the second category and third category only as “High school” and “Training/postsecondary” for the sake of conciseness.

Moreover, I observe the changes in type of union according to the extent of Arab ancestry of descendants. Using the census variables on the father's and the mother's place of birth, I create a variable on having part Arab ancestry, rather than having full Arab ancestry (reference category). I consider respondents with either the mother or the father born in Arab country partly Arab, while I consider respondents with both parents born in an Arab country fully Arab. When it comes to the very few respondents who are born in an Arab country with neither parent born in an Arab country, I include them with fully Arab descendants. I also examine the variations in type of union according to conjugal status. Using the variable of marital status (de facto) from the Census (MARSTH), I create the variable of conjugal status to distinguish the descendants who are married from the ones who are living common law.

Based on the idea of social interactions with third generation Canadians and the community encouraging or discouraging interethnic unions, I decided to explore the levels of the various types of unions according to the level of urbanization of the residential areas of descendants. I use the census variable POP_CNTR_IND, which distinguishes four levels of urbanization: 1. Rural (reference category); 2. Small Population Centres; 3. Medium population Centres; 4. Large urban population Centres. I also take into account the region where the descendants live by creating a variable (Region of residence) distinguishing between descendants who live in Quebec and those who live in the rest of Canada (ROC) using the census variable of the province or territory of residence (PR).

I also explored the variations between types of unions across generation status among descendants, who either belong to the 1.5 generation or to the second generation by using the variable on generation status mentioned earlier. Finally, I observe differences in the prevalence of interethnic unions and intraethnic unions based on the year of birth of the descendants. In order to distinguish the patterns by cohort (e.g. the 25-34 generational group), I observe the variations by year of birth or age at the time of the census using a variable of 10-year age groups I created based on a variable from the census of 5-year age groups (AGEGR5). The first generational group is 25-34 years based on the fact that Canadians graduate with bachelor's degrees on average at 25 years old (Statistics Canada, 2015). When it comes to the last generational group, it starts at the age of 65, and it includes all older ages, based on normal

retirement age and on the fact that at older ages descendants are less numerous in the database.

The 10-year age groups are:

- 25-34 (reference category)
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65+

Finally, while the database of the census contains multiple variables on language, I choose not to use any in spite of the Canadian linguistic duality and the distinction I make between Quebec and the ROC. The fact that the findings of Hamplovà and Le Bourdais (2010) do not show a duality between French and English Canada in terms of union formation patterns partly explains why I have taken this decision. Furthermore, the expected complexity of addressing the linguistic question on a methodological and analytical level plays a role in my decision to omit the linguistic aspect. One methodological challenge to take into account is the selection of the variable that would be the most effective to include among all those available (knowledge of official languages, home language, mother tongue, first official language spoken and language of work).

The omission of a variable on language may have an effect on the measurement of some of the independent variables used such as generation status or region of residence. I may find that descendants of 1.5 generation are less likely to be in interethnic unions than descendants of 2nd generation. This could incorrectly be attributed to the generation status variable when it could actually be a linguistic explanation that makes second-generation immigrants more likely to be in interethnic unions than immigrants of 1.5 generation. Indeed, second-generation immigrants may often have better skills in the majority language than immigrants of 1.5 generation and, therefore, be more comfortable interacting and establishing relationships with non-Arab members of with the local population. Furthermore, I may find that interethnic unions are more common in Quebec than in the ROC and incorrectly attribute that to the region of residence

variable when language could be the factor that is associated with higher interethnic unions between Quebecers and French-speaking Arab descendants.

3.4. Method of analysis

I analyze the relations between the type of union and the various independent variables using descriptive statistics, including figures and cross-tabulations. I then run multivariate analyses using multinomial logit models.

The multinomial logistic regression method is appropriate for the analysis because it allows the use of a categorical dependent variable (intraethnic intergenerational, intraethnic intragenerational, interethnic with a non-Arab of immigrant background, interethnic with a partner from the third-generation or more). Moreover, multinomial logistic regression allows the simultaneous inclusion of different types of independent variables, including the categorical ones of this study (e.g., level of education, Arab ancestry, conjugal status). For instance, it is possible to estimate the likelihood of university graduates of being in an interethnic union with a person from the third generation or more versus an intraethnic union with a first-generation Arab immigrant compared to people with less than a high school education.

The multivariate analysis is composed of two multinomial logistic regressions, one for female descendants and one for male descendants. Expressed in terms of odds ratios for each independent variable, the results of these regressions are regrouped into two gender-specific tables, each comprising a logit model for every category of the type of union, except the reference category (intraethnic intergenerational unions); I select intraethnic intergenerational unions as the reference category because intraethnic unions represent the norm and because the choice of the intergenerational type might be less linked to the influences of the values of the host country than the choice of the intragenerational union. In the logit models, I estimate the odd ratios for each category of the type of union to represent the effect of the independent variables on the likelihood of having either type of union rather than an intraethnic intergenerational union. The models predict how each variable of interest affects the odds of being in a particular type of union (intraethnic intragenerational, interethnic with others of migrant origin and interethnic with third generation Canadians) versus the odds of being in an

intraethnic intergenerational union, while controlling for other variables of interest. For example, it shows how having part Arab ancestry rather than full Arab ancestry affects the odds of descendants of being in an interethnic union with a third generation Canadian rather than in an intraethnic intergenerational union. Except for conjugal status, I consider all the variables of interest (level of education, age group, Arab ancestry, generation status, region of residence and population centre indicator) in the logit models because the descriptive analysis below shows that they are all associated, to a various extent, with the variable 'type of union'. I choose to exclude the variable of conjugal status as an independent variable from this multivariate analysis because the type of union is not possibly dependent on the conjugal status since people may choose a partner first and then decide whether they will cohabit with them or marry them.

When applying the methods presented above, I do not take into account the size of the potential pools of partners who are first-generation Arab immigrants, non-Arabs with an immigrant background and third-generation Canadians. This means that I do not compare the sizes of the pools of available partners to one another. Therefore, I will not be able to evaluate the effect of the pool size on the likelihood of any type of union, and I will not be able to tell whether descendants live more or less often in a particular type of union due to higher or lower availability of this type of partner. If for instance the potential partners' pool size of third-generation Canadian women were much larger than that of Arab female descendants and if the likelihood of male descendants to be in a union with a third-generation Canadian was higher than that of the female descendants, then I may incorrectly attribute this higher likelihood to gender differences in favor of men rather than to a lower availability of Arab female descendants than of third-generation Canadian women in the marriage market.

Moreover, if I observe that interethnic unions are more common in former birth cohorts of descendants than in recent ones, then I may incorrectly associate that to generational differences in favor of older generational groups rather than to a lower availability of potential Arab partners in the marriage market. The reference is the time when the former birth cohorts were first starting to form conjugal unions.

By not taking into account the size of the pools of the various potential partners, I may also find that Arab descendants are more often in interethnic unions with the third generation than with non-Arabs with an immigrant background. I may explain this discrepancy incorrectly by invoking a preference of Arab descendants for the latter over the former when it could be explained otherwise by a smaller number of non-Arabs with an immigrant background in comparison to the number of third-generation Canadians who form the dominant population.

The level of urbanization, measured by the population centre indicator, may not explain the difference in proportions between the two types of interethnic unions since there are usually more people who are from the third generation in areas characterized by a lower level of urbanization than people who are non-Arabs with an immigrant background.

I do not consider the openness or closeness of potential partners from three different groups to which the partners of Arab descendants could belong to: Canadians of third-generation or more, non-Arabs of migrant origin and first-generation Arab immigrants. Indeed, I only consider the willingness of Arab descendants to form interethnic unions despite the fact that third-generation Canadians, for instance, may be more or less interested in being in an interethnic union with an Arab descendant. As in the case of Arab descendants, the likelihood of third generation Canadians of being in this type of union may be affected by various factors such as the level of education, age and other personal characteristics.

Without taking into account their openness and the factors that influence this openness, I may incorrectly attribute to the age of Arab descendants, a possible observation where descendants in older age groups are less likely to be in interethnic unions than descendants of younger age groups. However, it may be due to other factors that involve third-generation Canadians rather than Arab descendants. For example, third-generation Canadians who were born in the 1970s for instance may be less likely to consider a union with Arab descendants than third-generation Canadians who were born in the 1990s.

In the following chapter, I present the figures of the descriptive analysis and the multinomial logistic models of the multivariate analysis. Throughout chapter 4, I describe and examine the results presented in those outputs in relation to the research questions.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTIVE AND MULTIVARIATE ANALYZES

4.1. Descriptive analysis

The descriptive results in Table 1 are consistent with hypothesis 1. They support the claim that interethnic unions are prevalent, but not the claim of hypothesis 2 that interethnic unions with the third generation are more common than those with others (non-Arabs of immigrant backgrounds). There are indeed considerable percentages of descendants in interethnic unions as 27% of women and 29% of men are in interethnic unions with non-Arabs of immigrant backgrounds and 23% of women and 29% of men are in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians. However, contrary to hypothesis 2, there is almost no difference between the percentages of men in interethnic unions with 'others' (non-Arabs with an immigrant background) and those in interethnic unions with the third generation. Nonetheless, among women, interethnic unions with others are slightly more prevalent than those with the third generation.

The results in Figure 1 partially support hypothesis 3 by showing that higher-educated women are more likely to live in interethnic unions than less-educated women, but they can also be more likely to live in intraethnic unions in some cases. Among women with a university degree or with professional training or postsecondary education, 53% and 50% respectively are in interethnic unions. On the other hand, among women with a high school education or with less than a high school education, the percentages of women in interethnic unions are lower as 44% and 32% of them live in this type of union. Moreover, the results unexpectedly show that women with a university degree are more likely to be in intraethnic unions with descendants (30%) than women with a high school education or a professional training or postsecondary education (28% and 22%).

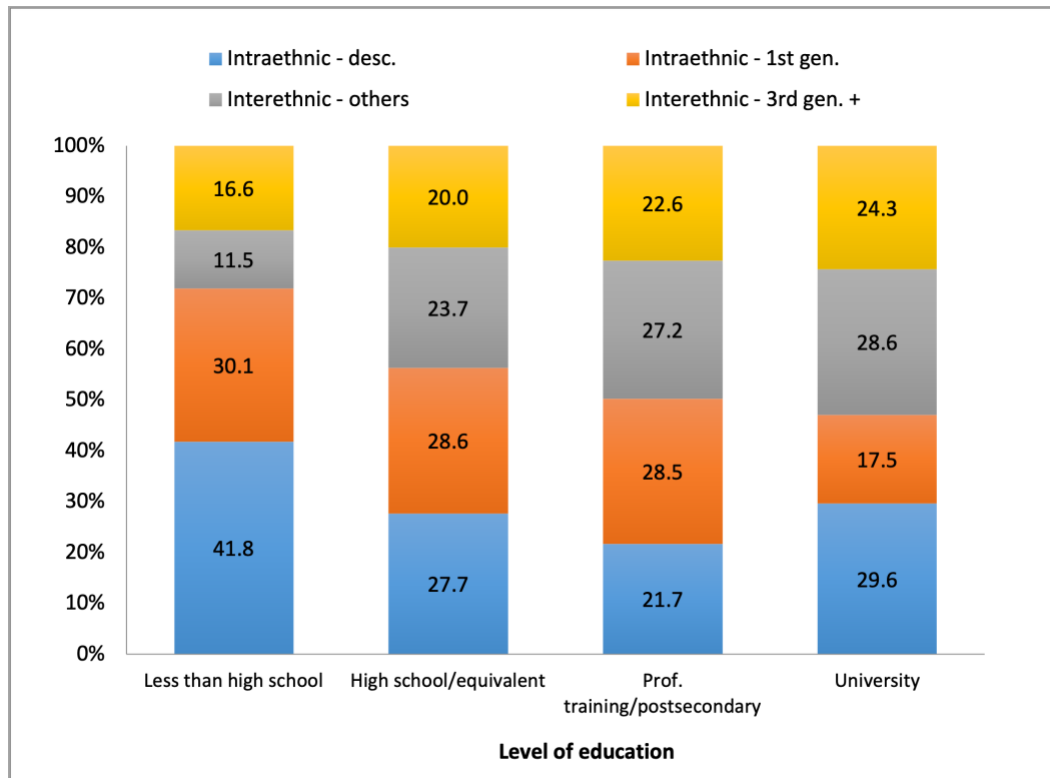


Figure 1 - Prevalence (%) of the type of union of women according to the level of education

Nonetheless, the results for men in Figure 2 are not as consistent with hypothesis 3. While these results show that men with less than high school are the least likely to be in interethnic unions (42%), men with professional training or postsecondary education, rather than those with a university degree, are the most likely to be in interethnic unions (58% vs. 63% respectively). The percentages of university graduates in interethnic unions are comparable to that of high school graduates (56%). Surprisingly, men with a university degree are more likely to be in intraethnic unions with descendants (34%) than men with a high school education (26%) or a professional training or postsecondary education (23%). They are also less likely to be in interethnic unions with the third generation (26%) than men with these educational levels (31% and 34%).

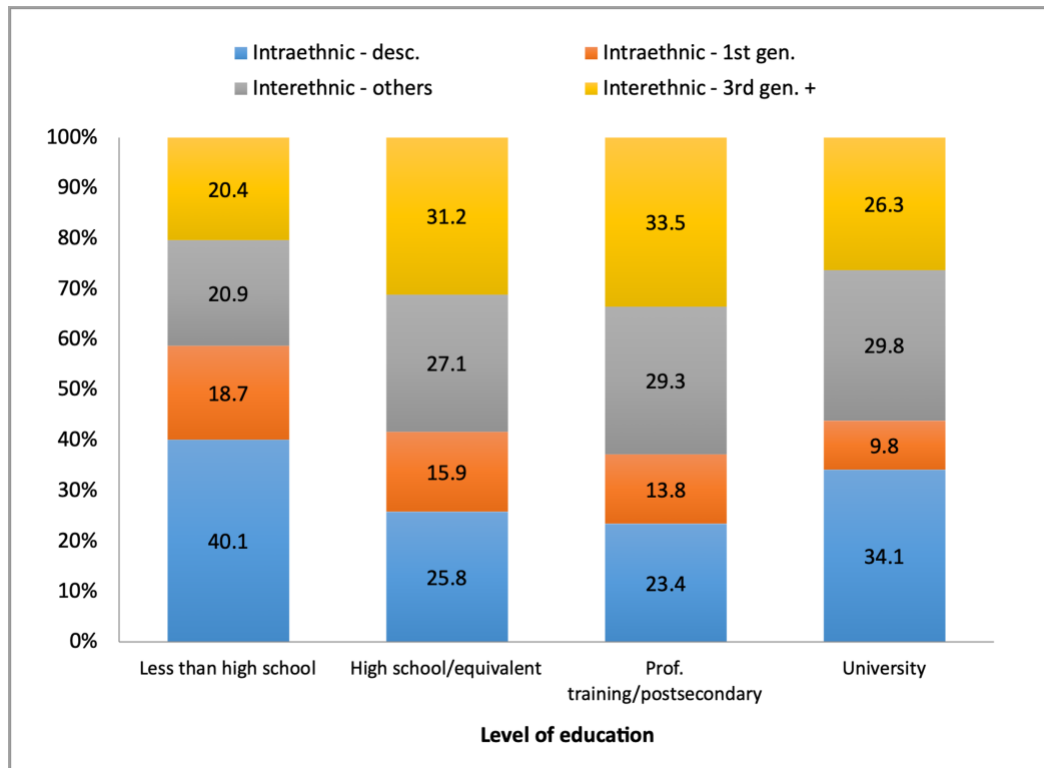


Figure 2 - Prevalence (%) of the type of union of men according to the level of education

Furthermore, the results in table 1 are consistent with hypothesis 4 since they show that men are more likely to be in interethnic unions (56%) than women (49%). This difference between men and women results from the fact that men are more likely to be in unions with third generation Canadians (29%) than women (23%) and that women are more likely to be in unions with first generation Arab immigrants (23%) than men (13%). Also, the results in Figures 3 and 4 are partially supportive of hypothesis 5 by showing that except in the case of women aged 65 years and over, older descendants are more likely to be in interethnic unions than younger descendants who are inversely more likely to be in intraethnic unions than older descendants. For example, more than two thirds (68%) of women aged between 55-64 are in interethnic unions compared to less than half of the women aged between 25-34 (40%). In fact, younger female descendants aged between 25-34 are much more often in intraethnic unions (60%) than older female descendants aged between 55-64 years old (33%).

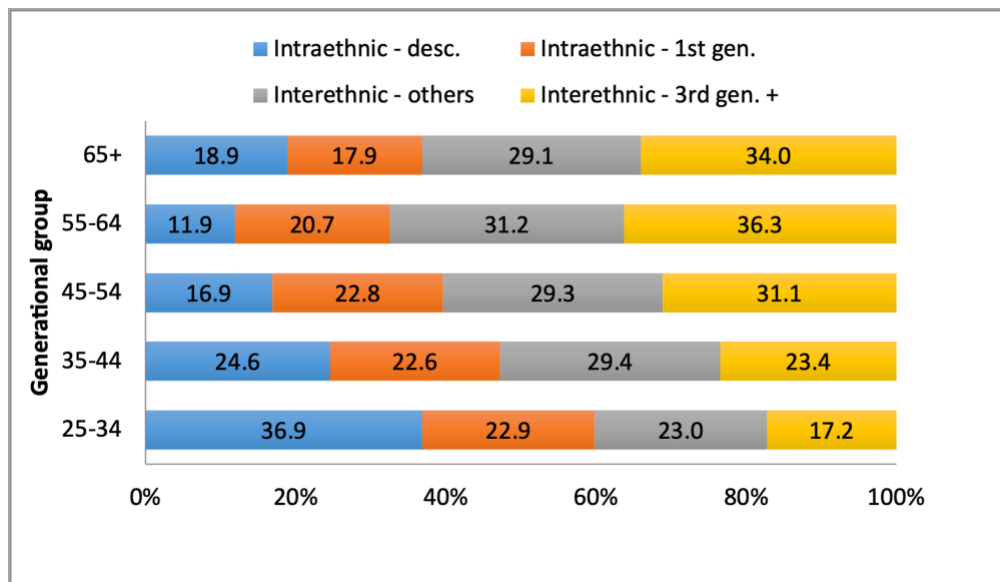


Figure 3 - Percentage of women in each type of union by generational group

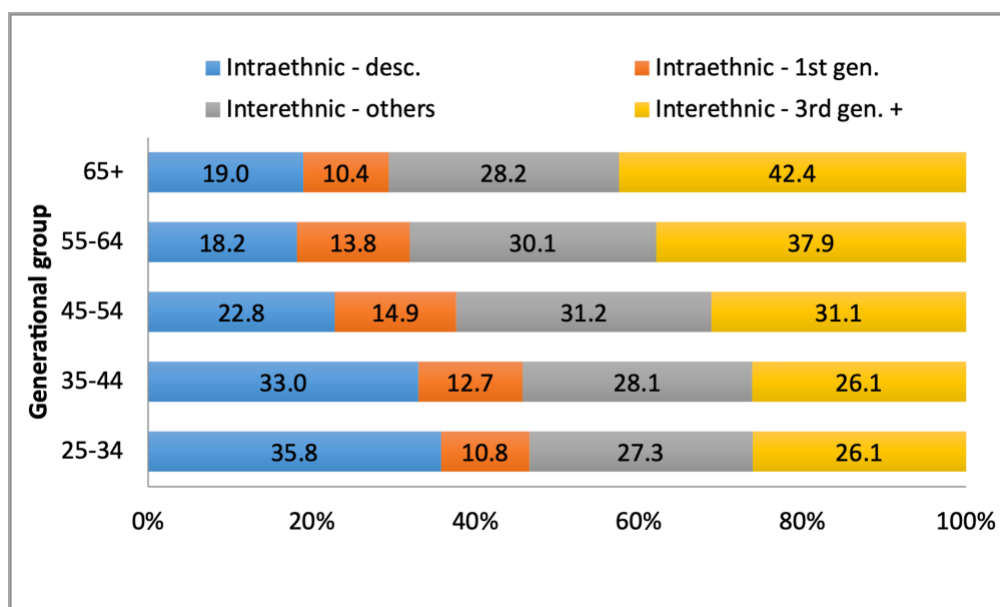


Figure 4 - Percentage of men in each type of union by generational group

The results in Figures 5 and 6 are consistent with hypothesis 6 since they show that Arab descendants who are partly Arab are more likely to live in an interethnic union and that those who are fully Arab are more likely to live in an intraethnic union. For instance, when male Arab

descendants have part Arab ancestry, the majority of them (81%) are in interethnic unions while less than half (44%) of those with full Arab ancestry are in this type of union.

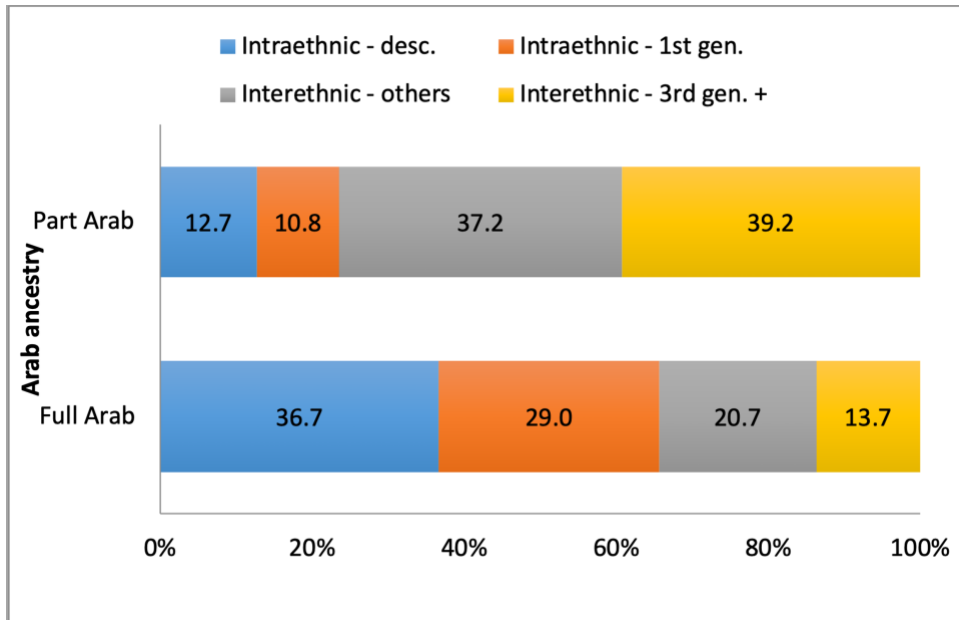


Figure 5 - Percentage of women by type of union and Arab ancestry

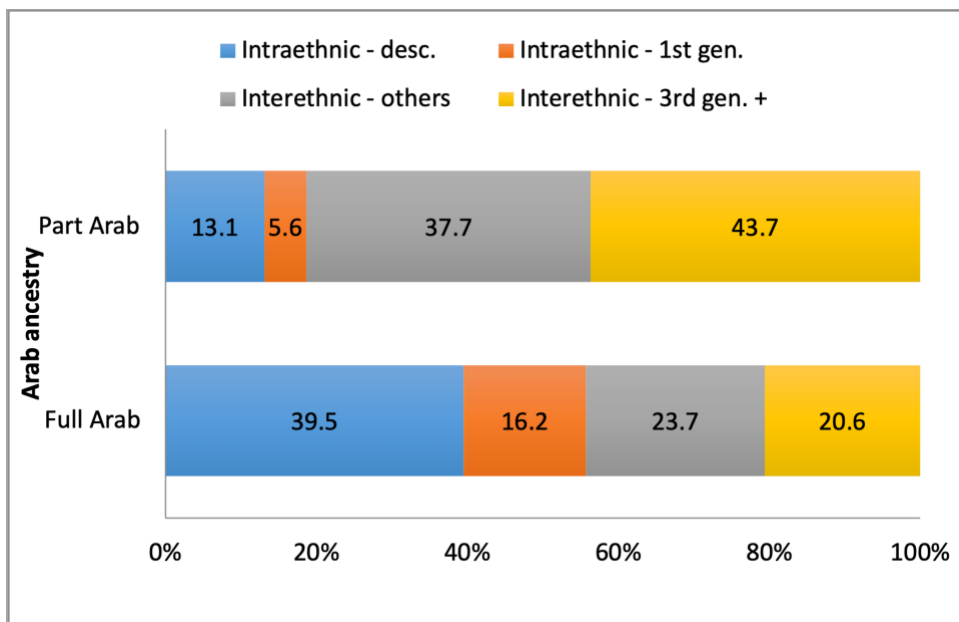


Figure 6 - Percentage of men by type of union and Arab ancestry

Finally, the results in Figures 7 and 8 support hypothesis 7 by showing that both male and female descendants who are in intraethnic unions are much more likely to be married to their partners. Indeed, less than 5% of descendants who have an Arab partner are in a common-law union. Furthermore, descendants in interethnic unions with the third generation cohabit in higher proportions (33% of women and 36% of men) than descendants in interethnic unions with migrants of others origins (19% of women and 21% of men).

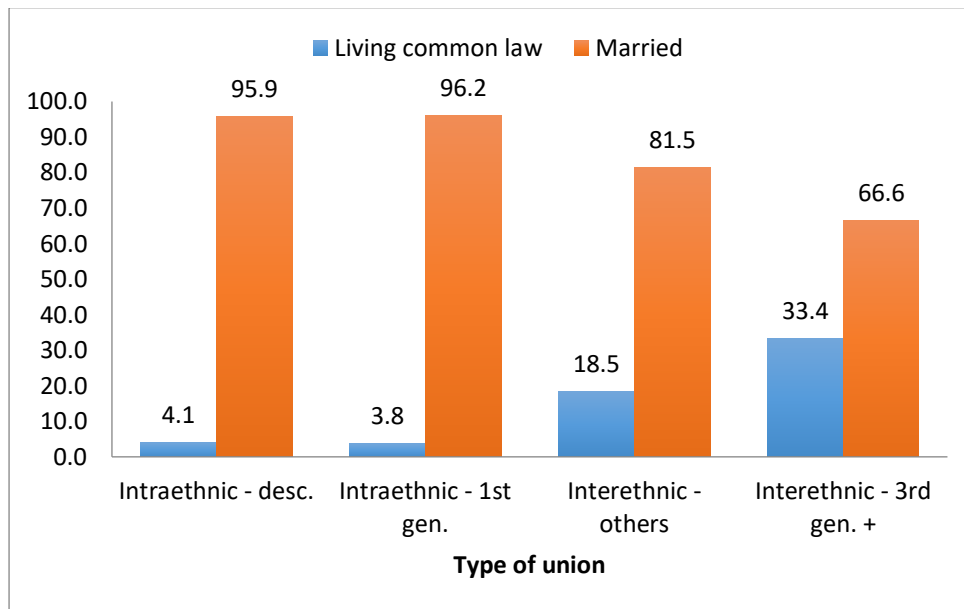


Figure 7 - Percentage of women by conjugal status and type of union

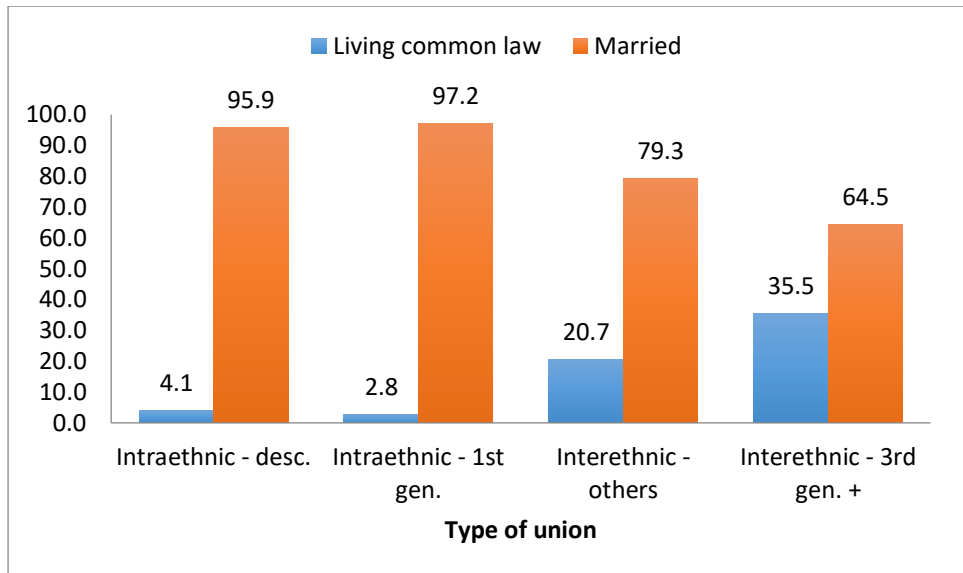


Figure 8 - Percentage of men by conjugal status and type of union

When it comes to the results that are unrelated to the hypotheses, they show through Figures 9 and 10 that the distribution of type of union varies by generation status, especially among men. Indeed, second-generation immigrants are more likely to be in interethnic unions (64% of women and 71% of men) than immigrants of 1.5 generation (36% of women and 46% of men). Stated differently, immigrants of 1.5 generation are more likely to be in intraethnic unions than second-generation immigrants.

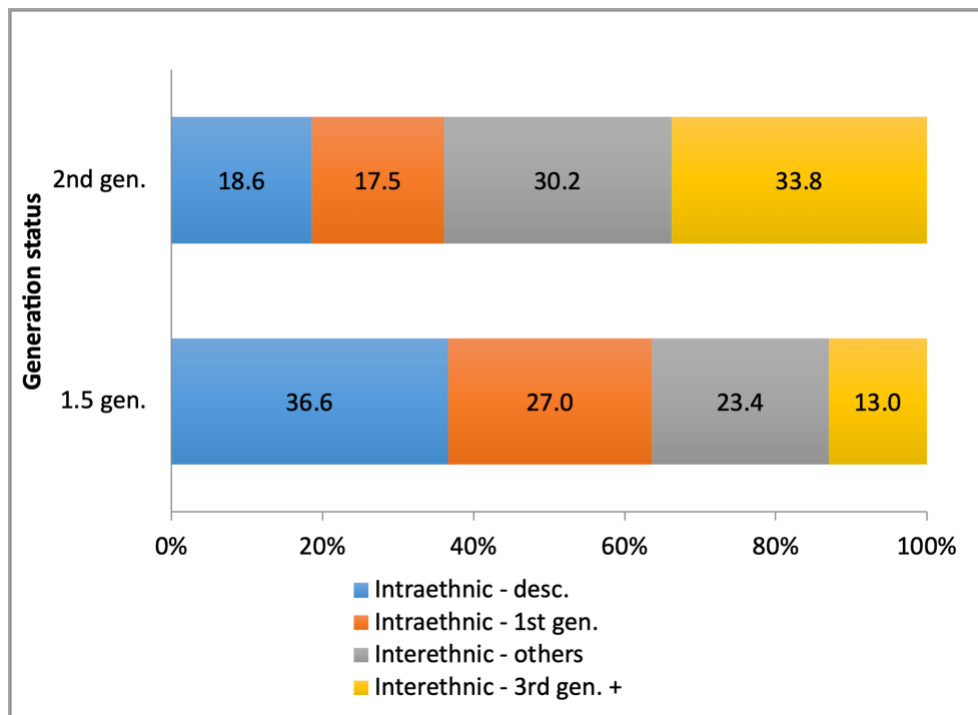


Figure 9 - Percentage of women in each type of union by generation status

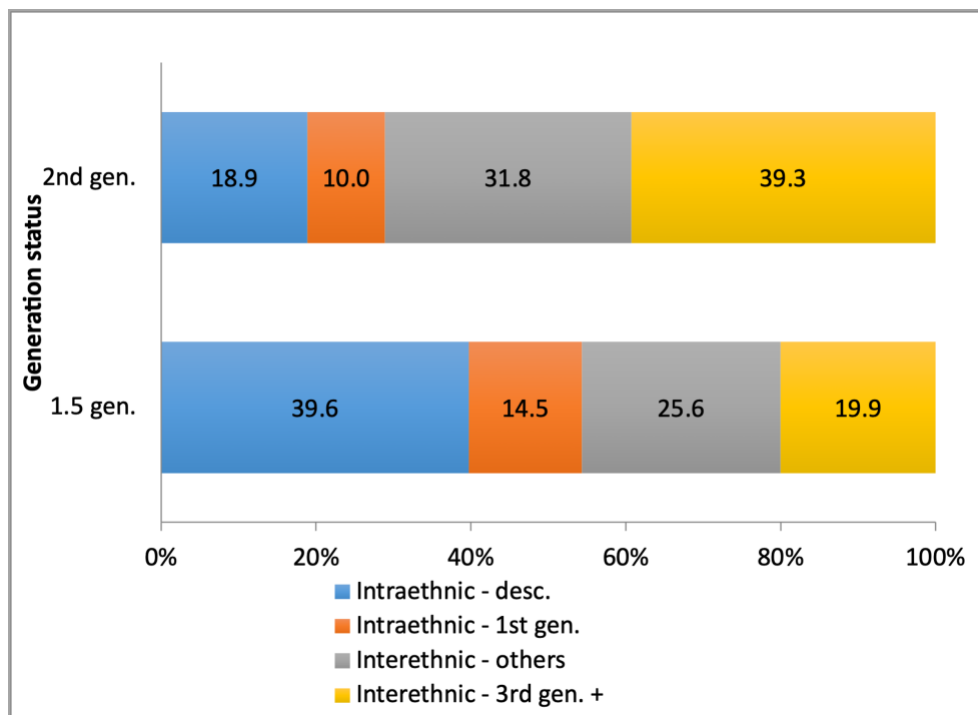


Figure 10 - Percentage of men in each type of union by generation status

Moreover, the results in Figures 11 and 12 show that, although interethnic unions are slightly more common in Quebec (51% among women and 59% among men) than in the ROC (49% among women and 56% among men), the type of union does not vary much by region of residence. However, there is an exception when it comes to the propensity to live in an interethnic union with non-Arabs of immigrant backgrounds or in an interethnic union with third generation Canadians. Descendants residing in Quebec seem to be more prone to live in an interethnic union with third generation Canadians (28% of women and 33% of men) than descendants residing in the ROC (20% of women and 26% of men), who are, on the other hand, slightly more likely to live in interethnic unions with non-Arabs of immigrant backgrounds (29% of women and 30% of men) than Quebec residents (23% of women and 27% of men).

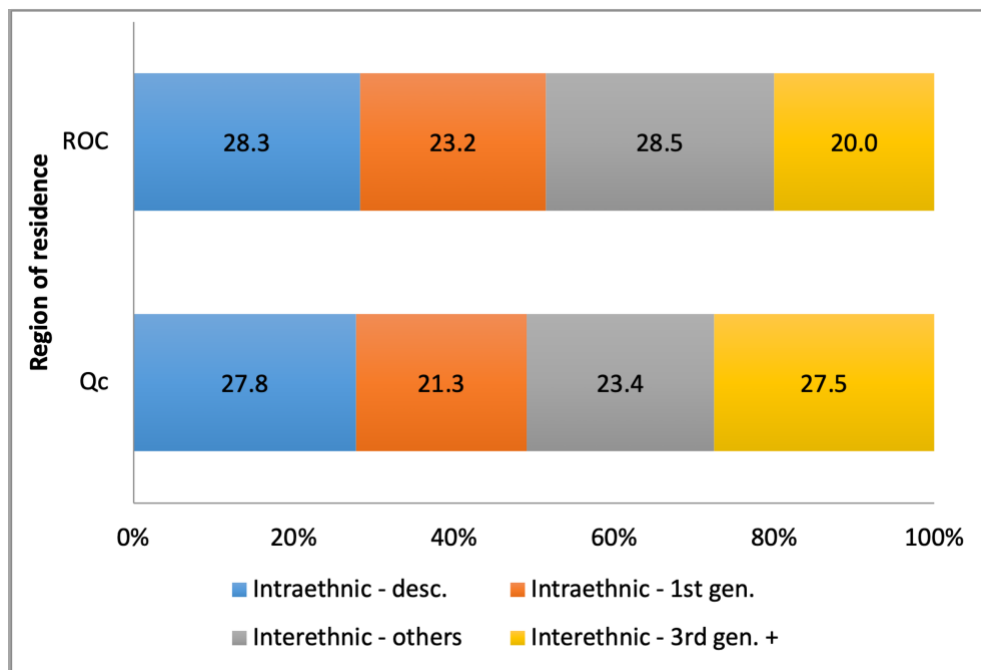


Figure 11 - Percentage of women by type of union and region of residence

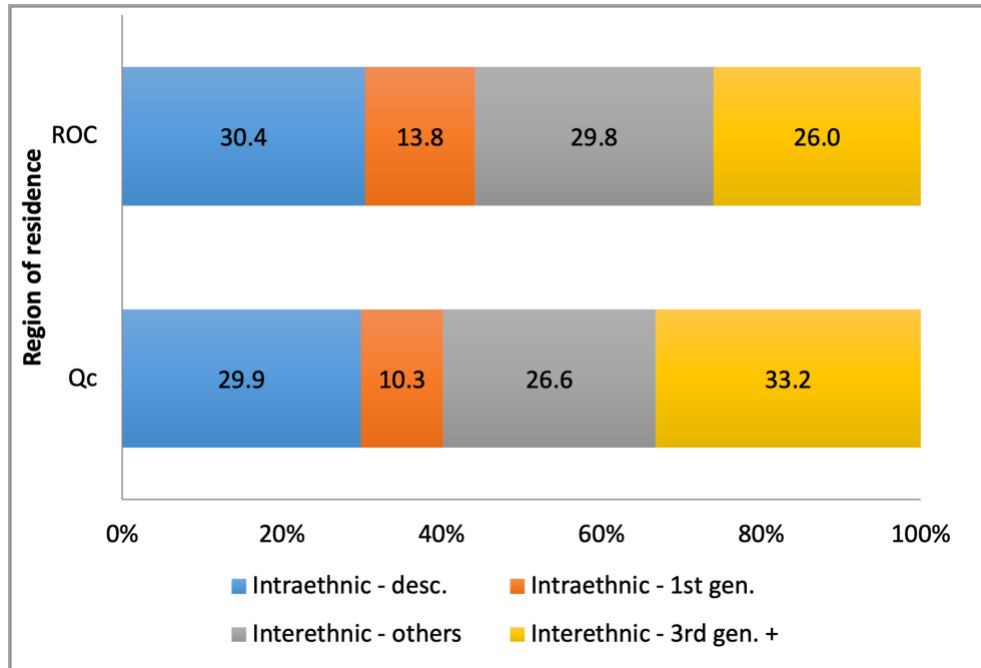


Figure 12 - Percentage of men by type of union and region of residence

Finally, the results in Figures 13 and 14 show that the lower the level of urbanization of the area where a descendant lives, the more likely they are to live in an interethnic union with a third generation Canadian and the less likely they are to live in an intraethnic union with a descendant or a first generation immigrant. In the case of intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants, the findings show that women in large urban population centres are more likely to have Arab partners who are first generation immigrants (24%) than women in medium population centres (14%) and than women in small populations centers (10%) and in rural regions (10%). Also, men in large and medium urban population centres are more likely to have a first generation Arab immigrant partner (13% and 15% respectively) than men in small population centers (7%) and in rural regions (6%).

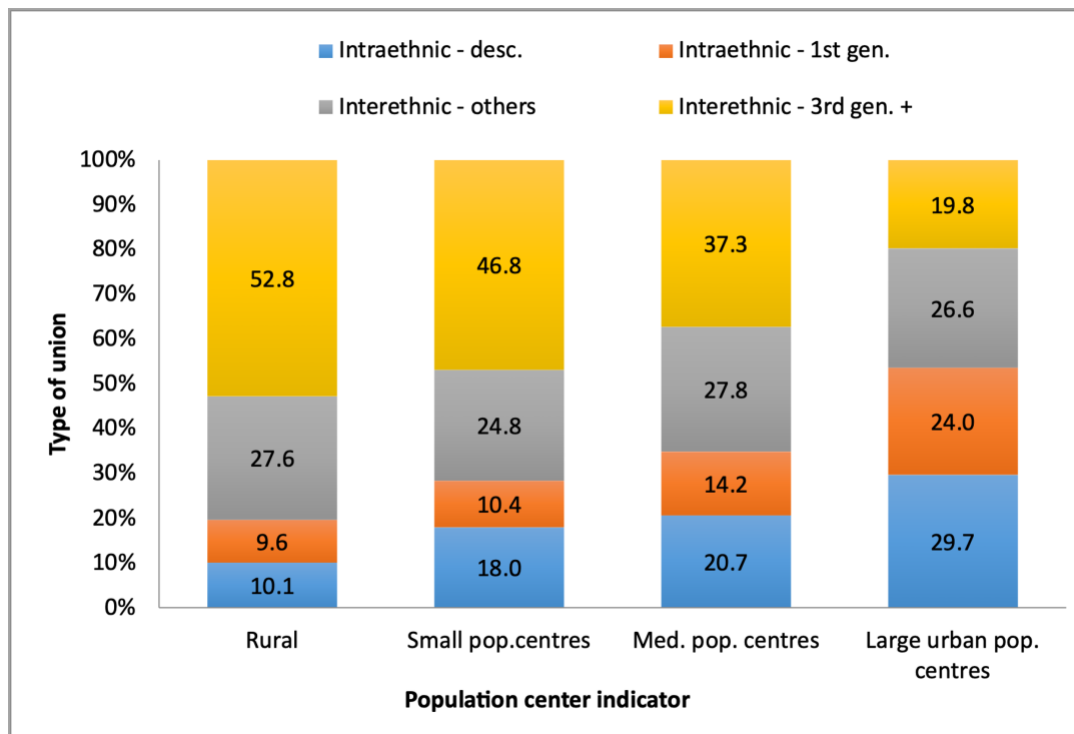


Figure 13 - Percentage of women by type of union and population center indicator

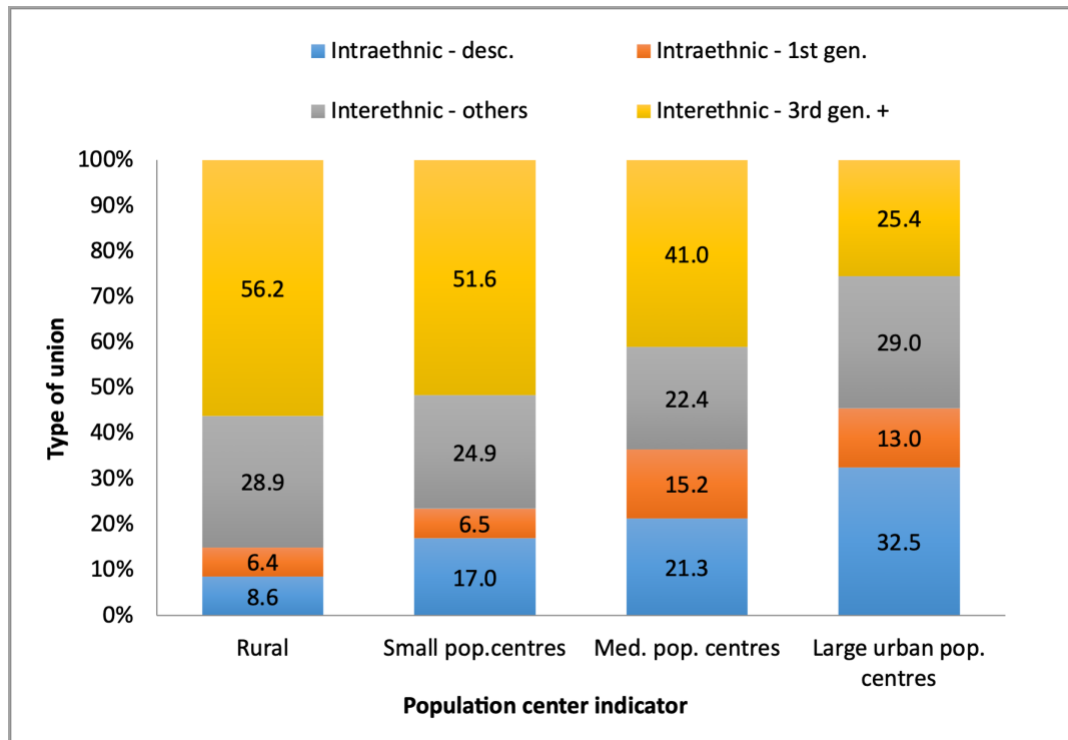


Figure 14 - Percentage of men by type of union and population center indicator

4.2. Multivariate analysis

Below, I summarize the multivariate results in relation to the hypotheses and compare them to the descriptive results².

The propensity to live in interethnic unions depending on educational attainment

For the most part, the results of the multivariate model about the effect of educational attainment on the odds to live in interethnic unions concord with hypothesis 2 as well as with the main descriptive results in figures 1 and 2. They concern the fact that higher-educated Arab descendants are more likely to be in interethnic unions than lower-educated Arab descendants. Indeed, the results of the multivariate analysis show that both more educated men and women

² Since the direction between the variables of type of union and conjugal status is not causal, I do not consider the results in the multivariate analysis that are related to conjugal status.

have significant higher odds of being in interethnic unions with non-Arabs with an immigrant background than in intraethnic intergenerational unions. These odds increase across educational levels. For instance, women's odds of being with migrants of other origins are twice higher than their odds of being in intraethnic intergenerational unions when they have a high school education (OR=2.1, $p<0.001$) or training or postsecondary education (OR=2.5, $p<0.001$) in comparison to women with less than a high school education. Their odds are multiplied by five (OR=5.0, $p<0.001$) when they have a university degree.

When it comes to interethnic unions with the third generation, the results show that except for women with a high school education, men and women with higher levels of education have statistically significant higher odds of being in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians than in intraethnic intergenerational unions compared to men and women with less than high school. Indeed, the likelihood of being in this type of interethnic unions also increases across higher levels of education. For example, men's odds of being with third generation Canadians are two to three times higher than their odds of being in intraethnic intergenerational unions when they have a high school education (OR= 2.3, $p<0.001$) or a university degree (OR= 3.4, $p<0.001$) rather than less than a high school education.

The multivariate analysis also shows that when compared to women with less than high school, women with higher levels of education, with the exception of those with a university degree, have lower odds of being in intraethnic unions with descendants than of being in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants. The odds of being in intraethnic intragenerational union rather than in an intraethnic intergenerational union are 30 percent lower for women with a high school education or the equivalent (OR= 0.7, $p<0.01$) and 50 percent lower for women with professional training or postsecondary education (OR = 0.5, $p<0.001$) in comparison to women with less than a high school education. As for men, table 3 shows that compared to men with less than high school, those with a university degree have higher odds of living in intraethnic unions with descendants (OR= 1.5, $p<0.01$) than of living in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants. The odds of men with high school or professional training and postsecondary education being in an intraethnic union with a descendant rather

than in an intraethnic union with a first generation immigrant is not statistically different from the odds of men with less than high education (OR= 0.8, $p<0.1$).

The propensity to live in interethnic unions by generational group

As in the main descriptive results in Figure 3, the multivariate results are supportive of hypothesis 5 in the case of women. It shows that women aged above 34 years old have higher odds of living in interethnic unions with others or with third generation Canadians versus in intraethnic intergenerational than women aged between 25-34 years old. The odds of living in an interethnic union with a third generation Canadian are multiplied by a factor of 4.8 ($p<0.001$) in the case of women aged between 55-64.

In the case of men, the multivariate analysis are not as similar to the descriptive results in Figure 4 as they only partially support the claim of hypothesis 5: there is no statistically significant difference in the odds of living in interethnic unions with migrants of other origins rather than in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants among men aged 35 years old and over compared to men aged between 25-34. However, men aged between 55-64 and 65 years old and above have higher odds of living in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians rather than in intraethnic intergenerational unions (OR= 1.8, $p<0.001$; OR= 2.6, $p<0.001$ respectively) when compared to men aged 25-34 years old.

Finally, except for women aged 65 years old and over, women have increasingly lower odds across age groups of being in intraethnic unions with descendants than of being with first generation immigrants in comparison to women aged between 25-34. For instance, when women are aged between 35-44, these odds are reduced by a factor of 0.7 ($p<0.001$) and when they are aged between 55-64, the odds are reduced to a greater extent, this time by a factor of 0.4 ($p<0.001$). Except for men aged between 35-44, men in all age groups have similarly lower odds of being in intraethnic unions with descendants than of being in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants in comparison to men aged between 25-34. For example, the odds of being in intraethnic intragenerational union rather than in an intraethnic intergenerational union are 50 percent lower for men aged between 45-54 years old (OR= 0.5, $p<0.001$) and 40 percent lower for men aged 65 years old and above (OR = 0.6, $p<0.05$).

The propensity to live in interethnic unions depending on Arab ancestry

Consistent with the descriptive results in Figures 5 and 6, the multivariate analysis are consistent with hypothesis 6 by showing that men and women with part Arab ancestry have statistically significant higher odds of living in interethnic unions with others or with third generation Canadians than of living in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants compared to their counterparts with full Arab ancestry. Indeed, in comparison to descendants with full Arab ancestry, the odds of men and women with part Arab ancestry to be in interethnic unions with others or in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians versus in intraethnic intergenerational union are about four times higher. In regard to intraethnic unions, the results show that the odds of men and women with part Arab ancestry living in intraethnic intragenerational unions versus in intraethnic intergenerational unions are comparable to that of their counterparts with full Arab ancestry.

The propensity to live in interethnic unions by generation status

Consistent with the descriptive results in Figures 9 and 10, tables 2 and 3 show that women and men with second generation status are more likely than their counterparts with 1.5 generation status of living in interethnic unions than in intraethnic intergenerational unions. Compared to the descendants of 1.5 generation, second generation Arab Canadian men and women especially have higher odds of being in interethnic unions with the third generation than in intraethnic unions with the first generation. For instance, the odds of women of the second generation of being in interethnic unions with the third generation are almost three times higher (OR=2.7, $p<0.001$) in comparison to women of 1.5 generation. Finally, the results in tables 2 and 3 show that women and men with second-generation status have notably lower odds (OR = 0.8, $p<0.01$; OR= 0.7, $p<0.001$ respectively) of living in intraethnic unions with descendants versus living in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants than their counterparts of 1.5 generation status.

The propensity to live in interethnic unions by region of residence

The findings of the multivariate analysis are generally consistent with those of the descriptive analysis. The results in tables 2 show that the odds of women living in the rest of Canada (ROC)

of being in interethnic unions with the third generation or in intraethnic unions with descendants versus being in intraethnic unions with the first generation are comparable to the odds of their counterparts living in Quebec. However, women in the ROC do have higher odds (OR= 1.5, $p < 0.001$) of being in interethnic unions with migrants of other origins than of being in intraethnic intergenerational unions compared to women living in Quebec. In contrast, the odds of men in the ROC living in interethnic unions with non-Arabs of migrant backgrounds are comparable to those of men in Quebec (OR = 1.1, $p > 0.1$), but men in the ROC have lower odds of being in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians or in intraethnic union with descendants versus intraethnic union with first generation migrants than men in Quebec (OR = 0.8, $p < 0.01$ in each case).

The propensity to live in interethnic unions by population centre indicator

The results in tables 2 and 3 only partially support the results seen in figures 13 and 14 according to which descendants in areas characterized by higher levels of urbanization are less likely to be in interethnic unions with the third generation or in interethnic unions with non-Arabs of migrant backgrounds than descendants in areas characterized by lower levels of urbanization. The multivariate analysis shows that among women, only those who live in large urban population centres have lower odds of living in interethnic unions with non-Arabs of migrant backgrounds (OR = 0.5, $p < 0.001$) or in interethnic unions with the third generation (OR = 0.2, $p < 0.001$) versus living in an intraethnic union with a first-generation immigrant compared to women who live in rural areas. When it comes to men, those who live in medium population centres or in large urban population centres have lower odds of being in an interethnic union than in an intraethnic union with a first-generation immigrant compared to men who live in rural settings. For example, the odds of men in medium population centers of being an interethnic union with others or with the third generation versus being in an intraethnic intergenerational union are 70 percent lower (OR= 0.3, $p < 0.001$) than the odds of men in rural regions. Finally, the odds of Arab men and women descendants in rural areas of living in intraethnic unions with descendants versus living in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants are not statistically significantly different from the odds of Arab descendants in more urbanized areas.

Table 2 - Odds ratios of types of union according to demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables, women aged 25+

FEMALE	Intra with desc. VS intra with 1st gen.imm.			Inter with imm. VS intra with 1st gen.imm.			Inter with 3rd gen/+ VS intra with 1st gen.imm.		
<i>Independent variables</i>	<i>Model</i>			<i>Model</i>			<i>Model</i>		
	OR	[95% Conf. Interval]		OR	[95% Conf. Interval]		OR	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Level of education									
High school/equivalent	0.7**	0.5	0.9	2.1***	1.5	3.1	1.3	0.9	1.8
Prof. training/postsecondary	0.5***	0.4	0.7	2.5***	1.8	3.6	1.4*	1.0	2.1
University	1.1	0.8	1.4	5.0***	3.5	7.1	3.4***	2.4	4.8
(Less than high school)									
Generational group									
35-44	0.7***	0.6	0.8	1.4***	1.2	1.6	1.4***	1.2	1.7
45-54	0.5***	0.4	0.6	1.7***	1.4	2.0	2.7***	2.2	3.3
55-64	0.4***	0.3	0.5	2.4***	1.8	3.1	4.8***	3.6	6.5
65+	0.7	0.4	1.1	2.3***	1.5	3.6	3.8***	2.4	6.1
(25-34)									
Arab ancestry									
Part Arab	1.0	0.8	1.2	3.8***	3.2	4.4	4.3***	3.7	5.1
(Full Arab)									
Generation status									
2nd gen.	0.8**	0.7	0.9	1.4***	1.2	1.6	2.7***	2.3	3.1
(1.5 gen.)									
Conjugal status									
Married	1.0	0.7	1.4	0.2***	0.1	0.2	0.1***	0.1	0.1
(Living common law)									
Region of residence									
ROC	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.5***	1.3	1.7	1.0	0.8	1.1
(Qc)									
Population center indicator									
Small pop.centres	1.5	0.8	2.8	0.9	0.5	1.6	1.0	0.6	1.7
Medium pop. centres	1.2	0.6	2.2	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.6	0.4	1.1
Large urban pop.centres	0.9	0.6	1.5	0.5***	0.3	0.7	0.2***	0.1	0.3
(Rural)									
Constant	2.3**	1.2	4.1	1.2	0.7	2.1	3.6***	2.0	6.3
Log pseudo likelihood	-43627.3			-43627.3			-43627.3		
Pseudo R2	0.1			0.1			0.1		
N= 36 940									
Source: Statistics Canada - 2016 Census of Canada			Unweighted data= 17 290			Weighted data= 71 300			

Table 3 - Odds ratios of types of union according to demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables, men aged 25+

MALE	Intra with desc. VS intra with 1st gen.imm.			Inter with imm. VS intra with 1st gen.imm.			Inter with 3rd gen/+ VS intra with 1st gen.imm.		
<i>Independent variables</i>	<i>Model</i>			<i>Model</i>			<i>Model</i>		
	OR	[95% Conf. Interval]		OR	[95% Conf. Interval]		OR	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Level of education									
High school/equivalent	0.8°	0.6	1.0	1.6**	1.1	2.3	2.3***	1.6	3.3
Prof. training/postsecondary	0.8°	0.6	1.0	1.8***	1.3	2.6	2.4***	1.7	3.4
University	1.5**	1.1	1.9	2.9***	2.1	4.0	3.4***	2.4	4.8
(Less than high school)									
Generational group									
35-44	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.2	1.0	0.8	1.2
45-54	0.5***	0.4	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.3	1.3°	1.0	1.6
55-64	0.4***	0.3	0.6	1.2	0.9	1.6	1.8***	1.3	2.5
65+	0.6*	0.4	0.9	1.4	0.9	2.2	2.6***	1.7	4.0
(25-34)									
Arab ancestry									
Part Arab	1.1	0.9	1.3	4.0***	3.3	4.9	4.3***	3.5	5.2
(Full Arab)									
Generation status									
2nd gen.	0.7***	0.6	0.8	1.3**	1.1	1.5	2.0***	1.6	2.3
(1.5 gen.)									
Conjugal status									
Married	0.7***	0.5	1.1	0.1***	0.1	0.2	0.1***	0.0	0.1
(Living common law)									
Region of residence									
ROC	0.8**	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.3	0.8**	0.7	0.9
(Qc)									
Population center indicator									
Small pop.centres	1.7	0.8	3.5	0.8	0.4	1.6	0.9	0.5	1.8
Medium pop. centres	0.9	0.5	1.8	0.3***	0.2	0.6	0.3***	0.2	0.6
Large urban pop.centres	1.4	0.8	2.3	0.5**	0.3	0.8	0.2***	0.2	0.4
(Rural)									
Constant	3.8***	1.9	7.7	9.3***	4.8	17.8	19.1***	9.8	37.1
Log pseudo likelihood	-39808.1			-39808.1			-39808.1		
Pseudo R2	0.1			0.1			0.1		
N= 34 360									
Source: Statistics Canada - 2016 Census of Canada		Unweighted data= 17 290		Weighted data= 71 300					

CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion of the results

The purpose of this study is to study the patterns of union formation among Arab Canadians of 1.5 and second generations who are aged 25 years old and above. The primary focus was the propensity of this group to be in interethnic unions. Using the 2016 Canadian census data, I have examined this propensity as well as the propensity to be in intraethnic unions and I have sought to explain it in relation to various variables such as educational attainment and Arab ancestry.

The results of the present study on the prevalence of interethnic unions are similar to the findings of Kulczycki and Lobo on the second generation of Arab Americans (2002; 2019). Like the second generation of Arab Americans, the 1.5 and second generations of Arab Canadians are often in interethnic unions. These high proportions of interethnic unions may be due to a large proportion of Christians among Arab Canadian descendants who could be more prone to live in a union with someone outside their community than Arab Canadian descendants who are Muslims. Despite potential differences between Christians and Muslims in terms of union formation, the effects of religion on the propensity to form interethnic unions cannot be tested in the present study due to the absence of a variable on religion in the 2016 Canadian Census. This is problematic since we cannot isolate the effect of religion from the measurement of the effect of other variables of interest. Therefore, we may incorrectly attribute results due to religion to other variables such as age groups or generational status or region of residence.

The common prevalence of interethnic unions among Arab Canadians may also partly be the result of third generation immigrants of Arab ethnicity being identified as non-Arabs because of the definition of Arab ethnicity based on the place of birth or the parents' place of birth that I have chosen to apply. The first waves of immigrants from the Arab world to Canada have resulted in individuals who belong to the third generation (or more) of Canadians who are now 25 years old and over. If we ignore the ethnic background of the third generation Canadians and include them with the native population, there is a risk that their unions with Arabs of

generation 1.5 or second generation may be considered as interethnic in the present results; although they are not. It also means that I have excluded Arab Canadians who are third generation or more from my population of interest, and that I have ignored their patterns in terms of conjugal unions.

The fact that men are more likely to have non-Arab partners than to be in a conjugal union with a first-generation Arab immigrant than women, and that women are more likely to be in intraethnic unions with first generation immigrants than men may be explained in part by the restrictions put on women in Arab communities. Those restraints refrain some Arab women from expressing interest in men, ultimately reducing their chances in terms of exploring intimate relationships on their own and, thus, making arranged marriage to first generation immigrants their main option (Abu-Laban, 1979). Arab parents may also tend to be more involved in the partner choice of their daughters than their sons. The gender patterns that are observed could also be due to differences in the relative numbers of Arab Canadian men and women in the marriage market. For example, first-generation Arab immigrants, particularly in the economic classes, might include a higher percentage of men than women. This would indicate that women who are Arab descendants could have a larger pool of first-generation Arab immigrant men to choose from compared to men who are Arab descendants.

The higher prevalence of interethnic unions across higher levels of education may have various explanations. Pursuing a higher level of education through settings such as universities and workplaces (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006 376) increases the contact opportunities with non-Arabs and may explain the positive effect of higher educational attainment on the propensity to live in an interethnic union (Cohen, 1977, Kalmijn, 1998, Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007, Lieberman & Waters, 1988, cited in Kalmijn & van Tubergen 2007; Hartung *et al.*, 2011). More frequent social interactions with people outside of the Arab community may also make Arab descendants more open to people of other ethnic backgrounds in their social lives (Cohen, 1997, cited in Chiswick and Houseworth, 2011). Completing a higher level of education may also alter the criteria sought in a conjugal partner by Arab descendants. According to the assortative matching theory, Arab descendants might look for a partner with a similar level of education

rather than a partner of their ethnicity (Chiswick & Houseworth, 2011: 160; Mare, 1991, Schwartz & Mare, 2005, cited in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2008).

The fact that descendants in older generations seem more likely to be in interethnic unions than descendants in younger generations might be due to compositional changes in the cohorts of descendants of Arab immigrants during the last decades. In fact, the first waves of Arab immigrants to Canada were mainly comprised of Christians, while more recent waves are mainly comprised of Muslims (Antonius, 2011, cited in Jean-Marie Tremblay, 2014). This may have an effect on the statistics on the propensity to be in an interethnic union by generational group because Christian descendants who tend to be older may have been more likely at the time of union formation to form interethnic unions than Muslim descendants who tend to be younger. However, without a variable on religious belonging, it is not possible to evaluate this effect. In addition, descendants in older generations may appear more likely to be in interethnic unions because the individuals from the first waves of immigrants may have had fewer opportunities than the descendants of recent waves of meeting potential Arab partners in Canada, since the Arab immigrant population was smaller in their time (Antonius, 2011, cited in Jean-Marie Tremblay, 2014). Finally, in the absence of variables disclosing the previous marital history of descendants in the census database, the results showing that older Arab descendants are more likely to be in interethnic unions than younger ones might be due to the fact that the previous unions of descendants in older generations do not appear in the data but only their current union does. Given the relatively high rates of dissolution of marriages and common-law unions, older men and women could be more likely to be in their second or subsequent unions compared to their younger counterparts.

The fact that descendants with part Arab ancestry are more likely than those with full Arab ancestry to live in interethnic unions than in intraethnic unions may be due to them being more willing to cross social boundaries between ethnic groups since they are themselves the result of a union that has broken social ethnic boundaries. Some descendants may be less likely to live in intraethnic unions because of their assimilation into the mainstream population because of a lack of family and social ties with their Arab heritage. Finally, the parents of descendants with

part Arab ancestry may be more open to the possibility of an interethnic union for their son or daughter, having experienced one themselves.

The fact that Arab descendants in interethnic unions are more often living common law than descendants in intraethnic unions may be due to discouragement from their families towards marriage due to the descendant's partner not sharing Arab origins. According to Abu-Laban (1979), first-generation immigrant parents of Arab origin favor intramarriage over intermarriage. Some descendants also might be hesitating towards getting married to a partner who is not from their community since it could go against social conventions (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2007, cited in Hartung *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, the fact that Arab descendants in interethnic unions with the third generation are more often living common law than descendants in interethnic unions with immigrants of other origins may result from the fact that the partners who are immigrants of other origins value the institution of marriage more strongly than Canadians of third generation or more. Moreover, it is not possible to know if there are differences in the trends of conjugal status between descendants across regions of origin due to the omission of the regional diversity across the Arab world through the regrouping of all Arab countries under the banner of Arab ethnicity. Therefore, although descendants from North African countries may cohabitate in higher proportions than descendants from the Arabian Peninsula, the results of this study can only reveal the general trends of conjugal status.

The fact that second generation immigrants are more likely to be in interethnic unions may result from them being potentially socialized into Canadian society to a greater extent than immigrants of 1.5 generation. Since "generation 1.5" regroups immigrants who arrived to Canada before the age of 13, it involves a wide range of immigrants. It is composed of people who arrived early and who were socialized into Canadian society from infancy or early childhood as well as people who arrived much later on and were socialized into Canadian society right before the beginning of adolescence. A higher age at immigration means that the period of exposure in the country of origin is longer and in the host country, relatively shorter compared to those who were born in Canada. With a shorter period of exposure come fewer opportunities of social interactions with people of other origins (Martinovic *et al.*, 2009). Considering the differences that can exist based on age at immigration during childhood, it is

possible that the age limit of 12 years old which I used to distinguish between first-generation immigrant and immigrants of generation 1.5 is too high and should be lower in future studies. Moreover, the higher likelihood of men of 1.5 generation of being in unions with first generation Arab immigrants in comparison to men of second generation may be explained by those men having closer ties to the country of origin and its values. They might also have a larger social network than second-generation immigrants in their country of origin and therefore more opportunities to unite to someone from the homeland.

The fact that descendants who live in Quebec are more often in interethnic unions with third generation Canadians than in interethnic unions with migrants of other origins compared to people who live in the ROC where the opposite is also true suggest a difference in social ethnic barriers between both regions. Indeed, the social ethnic boundaries may be thinner in Quebec between Arab descendants and third generation Canadians; those between Arab descendants and migrants of other origins may be thinner in the ROC. This may be due to the fact that Quebec immigration policy on integration is based on the concept of inter-culturalism as opposed to the concept of multiculturalism applied in the ROC (Nugent, 2006, in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010). This means that Quebec's policy promotes the integration of immigrants into the French-speaking Quebec nation (Labelle *et al.*, 1995, in Hamplovà & Le Bourdais, 2010), while the rest of Canada promotes the cultural diversity of immigrant populations. The fact that Arab Canadians in Quebec (e.g., immigrants of North African origin) often share the French language with their Quebecer counterparts may also explain why they are more often in interethnic unions with Canadians of third generation or more. Indeed, the linguistic commonality may bring them closer together since they are part of a larger francophone family in a country where English is the majority's language. Since I have not used any of the linguistic variables made available by the census, I could not take into account the linguistic aspect. This may bias the results in a way that a variable like the region of residence seems to be affecting the propensity to form interethnic unions with migrants of other origins or third generation Canadians when it is actually the linguistic factor that is at play. When it comes to the lower odds of being in interethnic unions versus being in intraethnic unions with the first generation among descendants who live in large urban population centres compared to descendants who

live in rural areas, it may be explained in part by the higher availability of first generation Arab immigrants as potential partners in large urban population centres than in rural regions. Also, interethnic unions may be more common in rural regions because descendants in those areas are more open to having a non-Arab partner.

The diversity of trends observed among Arab descendants when it comes to their propensity to form interethnic unions and the determinants of this propensity mirrors the segmented assimilation theory. Indeed, the results show that descendants follow different paths when it comes to their choices in terms of conjugal unions. These paths are dependent on multiple factors that characterize the descendants such as level of education, Arab ancestry and population centre indicator (level of urbanization). For example, there are descendants with higher educational levels and part Arab ancestry who have an increased propensity to form interethnic unions. Their path follows the linear model of assimilation. Other descendants with lower levels of education and full Arab ancestry who are living in an ethnic enclave in a large urban population center have an increased propensity to be in intraethnic unions. They are more likely to marry Arab descendants or first-generation immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

5.2 Conclusion

According to the assimilation theory, high percentages of interethnic unions contribute to the integration of immigrants and vice versa. Among Arabs of 1.5 and 2nd generations, 49% of women and 56% of men are in interethnic unions. Socioeconomic integration and acculturation can increase the propensity to form interethnic unions (Kulczycki and Lobo, 2002). Indeed, the multinomial logistic regression has shown that the propensity to form interethnic unions increases with higher levels of education, part Arab ancestry and a second-generation immigrant status. Overall, the higher odds of Arab descendants of being in interethnic unions than of being in intraethnic intergenerational unions and the considerable shares of Arab descendants who are in interethnic unions suggest that there is an ongoing integration of Arab descendants into Canadian society. This may also mean that many Arab descendants do not feel considerable attachment to their roots or not enough to make them not consider a non-Arab partner. It could also mean that their attachment to their Arab roots does not come in the way

of their choice of partner. It could also suggest that there is a change in attitudes among Arabs where parents of descendants of immigrants are less involved in partner selection and that descendants are adopting values of the host country.

Considering the variations of type of union between descendants by generation status in the results, I believe it relevant to focus in a future research project on the union formation patterns of second-generation immigrants separately from immigrants of 1.5 generation since descendants show different partner selection patterns depending on their generation status. It would also be important to distinguish Arab descendants depending on their region of origin rather than considering them only under the banner of Arab ethnicity. With this distinction, it would be possible to see the prevalence of unions of Arab descendants with those who share their national-origin and with Arabs who share a different national-origin. It would also be important to identify Arabs among third generation Canadians by using the census variable on ancestral origins in order to take into account their unions and perhaps include them with the population of interest. A research project to explain the distinction between Quebec and the ROC when it comes to the types of interethnic unions would also be interesting. This research could also take into account the linguistic factor I have omitted to use in this study and make a historical review of the immigration policies of Quebec and the other Canadian provinces in the last decades that may have played a role in the partner choices of children of immigrants of Arab origin.

APPENDIX

Table 4 - Distribution of the type of union of males and females by demographic, geographic, ethnic and education variables

		Female					Male				
		Type of union					Type of union				
		Intraethnic - desc.	Intraethnic - 1st gen.	Interethnic - others	Interethnic - 3rd gen.	Total	Intraethnic - desc.	Intraethnic - 1st gen.	Interethnic - others	Interethnic - 3rd gen.	Total
Generational group	25-34	36.9	22.9	23.0	17.2	100.0	35.8	10.8	27.3	26.1	100.0
		59.9	46.2	39.5	34.3	45.5	40.0	29.3	32.2	30.6	33.7
	35-44	24.6	22.6	29.4	23.4	100.0	33.0	12.7	28.1	26.1	100.0
		26.8	30.8	33.9	31.5	30.7	38.1	35.6	34.3	31.7	34.9
	45-54	16.9	22.8	29.3	31.1	100.0	22.8	14.9	31.2	31.1	100.0
		8.9	15.0	16.3	20.2	14.8	14.4	22.7	20.8	20.6	19.1
	55-64	11.9	20.7	31.2	36.3	100.0	18.2	13.8	30.1	37.9	100.0
		2.8	6.0	7.7	10.4	6.5	4.7	8.6	8.2	10.2	7.8
	65+	18.9	17.9	29.1	34.0	100.0	19.0	10.4	28.2	42.4	100.0
		1.7	2.0	2.7	3.7	2.5	2.9	3.8	4.5	6.8	4.6
Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Generation status	1.5 gen.	36.6	27.0	23.4	13.0	100.0	39.6	14.5	25.6	19.9	100.0
		68.7	63.3	46.3	30.0	52.7	71.7	63.6	49.6	37.9	54.7
	2nd gen.	18.6	17.5	30.2	33.8	100.0	18.9	10.0	31.8	39.3	100.0
		31.3	36.8	53.7	70.0	47.3	28.3	36.5	50.4	62.1	45.4
Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Conjugal status	Living common law	8.0	5.9	33.7	52.4	100.0	7.1	1.9	33.4	57.6	100.0
		4.1	3.8	18.5	33.4	14.6	4.1	2.8	20.7	35.5	17.7
	Married	31.5	25.3	25.4	17.8	100.0	35.2	14.8	27.6	22.5	100.0
		95.9	96.2	81.5	66.6	85.4	95.9	97.2	79.3	64.5	82.3
	Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Region of residence	Qc	27.8	21.3	23.4	27.5	100.0	29.9	10.3	26.6	33.2	100.0
		37.2	35.7	33.1	45.3	37.6	37.2	31.2	35.0	43.5	37.6
	ROC	28.3	23.2	28.5	20.0	100.0	30.4	13.8	29.8	26.0	100.0
		62.8	64.3	66.9	54.7	62.4	62.8	68.8	65.0	56.5	62.4
	Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Pop. centre indicator	Rural	10.1	9.6	27.6	52.8	100.0	8.6	6.4	28.9	56.2	100.0
		1.4	1.7	4.2	9.3	4.0	1.4	2.6	5.1	9.8	5.0
	Small pop. centres	18.0	10.4	24.8	46.8	100.0	17.0	6.5	24.9	51.6	100.0
		2.4	1.8	3.5	7.8	3.8	2.4	2.3	3.8	7.8	4.3
	Med. pop. centres	20.7	14.2	27.8	37.3	100.0	21.3	15.2	22.4	41.0	100.0
		2.8	2.4	3.9	6.1	3.7	2.8	4.8	3.1	5.6	3.9
	Large urban pop. centres	29.7	24.0	26.6	19.8	100.0	32.5	13.0	29.0	25.4	100.0
	93.4	94.2	88.4	76.8	88.5	93.4	90.4	88.1	76.8	86.7	
Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Arab ancestry	Full Arab	36.7	29.0	20.7	13.7	100.0	39.5	16.2	23.7	20.6	100.0
		83.8	82.8	50.0	38.5	64.3	84.8	84.4	53.8	46.7	65.0
	Part Arab	12.7	10.8	37.2	39.2	100.0	13.1	5.6	37.7	43.7	100.0
		16.2	17.2	50.0	61.5	35.8	15.2	15.6	46.2	53.3	35.1
Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Level of education	Less than high school	41.8	30.1	11.5	16.6	100.0	40.1	18.7	20.9	20.4	100.0
		7.8	7.0	2.3	3.8	5.2	8.3	9.4	4.6	4.5	6.3
	High school/equivalent	22.7	28.6	23.7	20.0	100.0	25.8	15.9	27.1	31.2	100.0
		15.7	20.2	14.2	14.0	15.9	15.1	22.5	16.7	19.3	17.7
	Prof. training/postsecondary	21.7	28.5	27.2	22.6	100.0	23.4	13.8	29.3	33.5	100.0
		17.9	29.5	23.8	23.0	23.3	20.3	29.0	26.8	30.6	26.2
	University	29.6	17.5	28.6	24.3	100.0	34.1	9.8	29.8	26.3	100.0
		58.6	43.3	59.7	59.2	55.6	56.3	39.1	51.9	45.8	49.9
Total	28.1	22.5	26.6	22.8	100.0	30.2	12.5	28.6	28.7	100.0	
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Unweighted total					8 960					8 330	
Weighted total		10 380	8 315	9 820	8 425	36 940	10 380	4 290	9 825	9 865	
										34 360	

Source: Statistics Canada - 2016 Census of Canada Unweighted data= 17 290 Weighted data= 71 300

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