

Ethnic Differences in the Attitudes and Practice of Consanguineous Marriage among Kurds and Turks in Uromiyeh District, Iran

Hatam Hosseini*
Amir Erfani**

INTRODUCTION

Marriage and family have been historically supported by religious and normative systems. Yet, they have seen enormous changes over time due to modernization of societies. Some scholars speak about destruction of family (Popenoe, 1993), and others propose the emergence of a second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe and Neels, 2002), signifying a drastic transformation in family life, including a rise in divorce, pluralism of marital unions, a decline in marriage rates and the spread of individualism and modern liberal values.

In Iran, the governing of Islamic values over a long history has played a key role in regulating social interactions between men and women. As a result, heterosexual relationships before marriage were restricted and controlled by rigid roles of families and Shariat laws in Iran (Tashakkori and Thompson, 1988). Mate selection was mainly determined by parents and confirmed by kinship system (Askari-Nodoushan et al., 2006). In this context, arranged and within-group marriages were prevalent and “the cousins” marriage were endorsed heavenly (Ketabi, 2000). In the old time, in many parts of Iran, a girl was nominated for a boy as soon as she was born- this ritual is called “*Naf Bor*”, meaning that they are a couple since their birth. Girls were mostly engaged to one of her kinship boys. Although arranged marriages in Iran were very common in the past (Abbasi-Shavazi and Askari-Nodoushan, 2005: 34), recent studies indicate that arranged, consanguineous marriages remain prevalent in certain parts of the country despite the wide acceptance of modern familial values, norms, and attitudes toward marriage and family formation in the recent decades (Givens and Hirschman, 1994; Hosseini and Abbasi-Shavazi, 2009; Abbasi-Shavazi and Torabi, 2007). According to these studies, marriage patterns are different among Iranian ethnic groups. The important effect of ethnicity on the type of marriage has been also documented by other observers (Xenos and Gultiano, 1992; Malhotra, 1997; Palmore, 1983; Minh, 1997; Torabi and Baschieri, 2010).

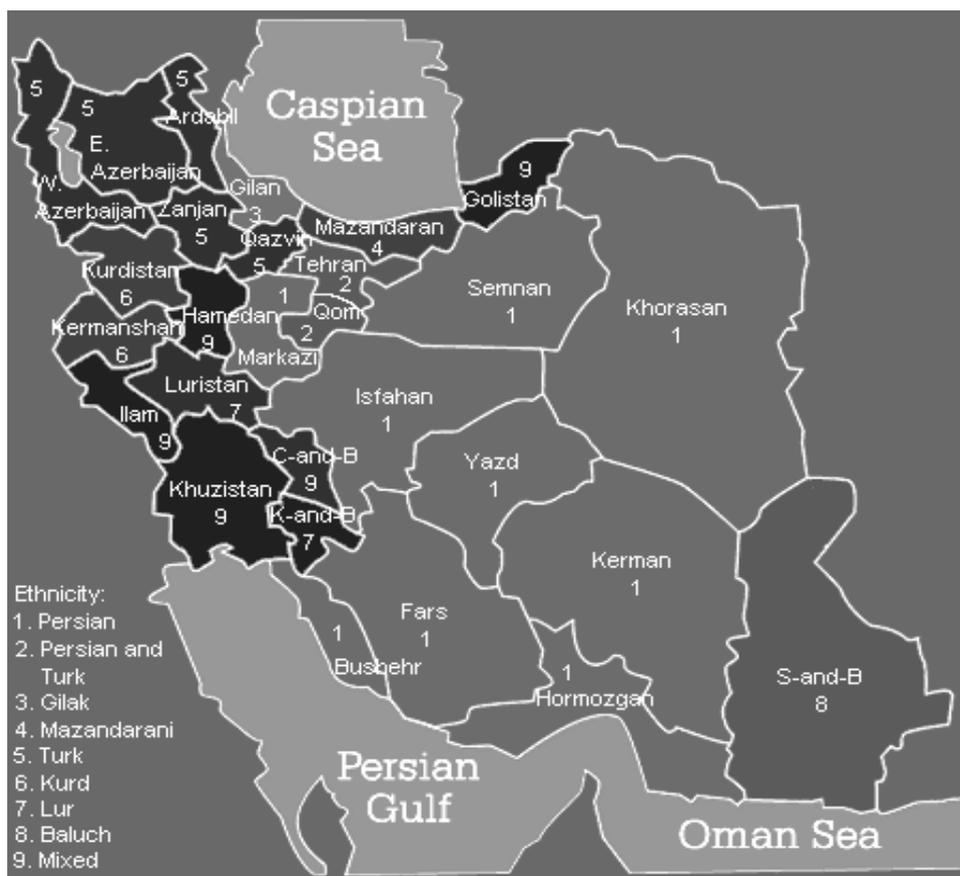
Iran is a multi-ethnic society which is ranked as the second country in the Middle East and North Africa and the 28th country among 160 nations in the world in terms of ethno-cultural diversity (Alesina et al., 2003: 184-192). According to official statistics, Persian, also known as Fars, is the majority ethnic group in Iran, encompassing about 46 percent of the country's

* Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Bu-Ali Sina University, P. O. Box: 65175-4161, Postal Code: 65178-38695, Hamedan, Iran, (h-hosseini@basu.ac.ir).

** Department of Sociology, Nipissing University, 100 College Drive, Box 5002, North Bay, ON, Canada, P1B 8L7 (amire@nipissingu.ca).

Figure 1.

Geographic Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Iran.
Source: Adapted from Torabi and Baschieri (2010: 37).



population (Zanjani et al., 1999: 53). Turk and Kurd stand at the second and third ranks respectively, followed by other ethnic groups including Lor, Baluchi, Arab and Turkmen.

Ethnic groups constitute appropriate context for studying demographic characteristics and dynamics of a population (McDonald, 2002). In the North-West provinces of Iran, Kurds and Turks have been living together in the same neighbourhood for many centuries. Nevertheless, the prevalence of consanguineous marriage among Kurds (47.3 percent) is 1.3 times greater than Turks (35.6 percent) in the country (Abbasi-shavazi and Khani, 2009: 52). It is not clear whether the differential in the rates of consanguineous marriage among Kurds and Turks in Iran is due to their ethnicity per se or to differing levels of modernization and development. These questions have not been well examined by previous studies. This study aims to bridge this gap in the literature, utilizing data from a recent local survey conducted in the district of Uromiyeh, where Kurds and Turks live together.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

The study population of this research include Turkish and Kurdish women living in the

district of Uromiyeh, the capital of province of West Azerbaijan, which is located in the north west of Iran, bordering Turkey. The province and Uromiyeh have a heterogeneous population in terms of ethnicity and religion. The population of Uromiyeh is largely made of two major ethno-religious groups of Shiite Turks and Sunni Kurds. In such a context, Kurdish people have been treated as a minority group of populations that are socially, economically and politically discriminated. The literature indicates important differences in cultural characteristics of marriage and childbearing among Turkish and Kurdish people, living in Uromiyeh (Hosseini and Mehryar 2006; Abbasi-Shavazi and Hosseini, 2009; Hosseini and Abbasi-Shavazi, 2009; Hosseini, 2012). Overall, these studies show that compared with Turks living in West Azerbaijan, Kurds are more in favour of extended family, fatalism in reproductive behaviour, ethnic homogamy, son preference, economic advantages of children, early marriage, large ideal number of children, and preference of marriage over employment for girls.

Moreover, in relative to Turkish people, Kurdish populations are socio-economically disadvantageous people, which have disproportionately less access to government and public job positions, feel greater injustice and social exclusion and lack social mobility in the society (Balali, 2005; Hosseini, 2008). Therefore, the district of Uromiyeh is a suitable context for examining ethnic differences in behaviour and attitudes related to marriage and family formation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by structural and ideation theories of family change. According to the structural approach, family changes are explained in terms of structural changes occurred in a society as a whole. In the case of Iran, for example, the country witnessed drastic economic, social, political and cultural changes in the past three decades after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. The collapse of Shah in 1979 put an end to the dominance of Western values, secular religion, Family Laws, supporting women's rights, and public policies, such as Family Planning Program, which were considered as Western policies by Mullahs (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2009). These structural changes could fuel norms and values encouraging early marriage, extended families, early childbearing and large family size for a short period right after the Revolution. However, five years later after the Revolution, modernization forces, resulting from the expansion of official education system, improvement in basic life standards, including life expectancy, access to safe water, telephone, electricity, internet, and satellite, brought about structural changes in life styles and familial and religious orientations and behaviours of Iranians. For example, recent studies have documented the growth of materialistic values and individualism (Ministry of Culture, 2003), the increasing trend of childless or one-child families (Khalaj Abadi Farahani and Kazemipour, 2011; Erfani, 2010), delaying marriage and family formation, increasing rates of divorce and declining rates of marriage (Karimi, 2011), increasing rates of induced abortions (Erfani, 2011; Erfani and McQuillan, 2008), and the rise of premarital heterosexual relationships and cohabitations (Khalaj Abadi Farahani et al., 2011; Mohammadi et al., 2007).

The structural theory of family change is rooted in modernization theory, which has been widely employed by a large numbers of studies conducted about family changes and consanguineous marriage patterns. Modernization theory emphasizes on certain characteristics and indicators, such as industrialization, urbanization, modern education and health, technology, mass media, and transportation. Goode (1963) argues that modernization process has multilevel impacts on individual and social aspects of family. In this process, the extended family and other kinship groups are destructed and a global tendency towards

nuclear family is emerged. Modernization and the spread of Western values and ideas decrease traditional functions of family groups in making marriage ties in kinship contexts (Giddens, 1997).

The arranged marriage, including kinship marriage, which is considered as a way to preserve the name, reputation, properties, and real estates of a tribe or a family, have been deeply transformed by modernization forces such as industrialization, urbanization, and education. The declining functions of powerful kinship networks and extended family led to the fall of parents' authority and a rise in children's independency related to their individual affairs, such as mate selection. Additionally, women have become increasingly more powerful in decision-makings in the family and in mate selection. Consequently, the prevalence of arranged and consanguineous marriage, as a sign of a traditional culture, was largely decreased in favour of private patterns of marriage (Giddens, 1997; Kanani, 2006: 107).

The ideational explanation of changes in family and marriage focuses on the role of shifts in values and attitudes to family formation (Lesthaeghe, 1995; Cleland and Wilson, 1987; Van de Kaa, 2001; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1988). Recently, developmental idealism framework, proposed by Arland Thornton (2001), argues that the diffusion and expansion of developmental ideas and modernity across the world are the main determinants of changes in the family. Based on this perspective, developmental ideas are today regarded as human ideals with a universal embracement. Developmental idealism describes the modern family and society as attainable purposes and argues that modern human are free in engaging in social interactions, including mate selection, based on a social agreement.

The main hypothesis of this study is that cultural characteristics and ethnic belonging along with modernization forces and developmental ideals have different influences on the practice of and attitudes to consanguine marriage. The relative, net effect of each one of these three factors, namely ethnicity, modernization and development ideals, on the practice and attitudes to consanguineous marriage will be examined.

METHODOLOGY

The data of this research have been taken from "Uromiyeh Fertility Survey of Kurdish-Turkish Ethnic Groups", funded by the Institute of Social Research and Studies of Tehran University (ISRSTU) in summer 2007. The survey was conducted in a sample of 768 ever married women aged 15-49 in the district of Uromiyeh, the capital of province of Western Azerbaijan that is located in the north west of Iran, bordering Turkey. The sampling frame of the survey is based on the rural and urban enumeration areas used in the 2006 census of Uromiyeh district, according to ethnic groups of households. Given the objective of the study, a sample of 768 households, including 384 Turkish and 384 Kurdish households were selected, based on a multi-stage cluster, systematic, random sampling method. However, after data collection procedure, 739 questionnaires were returned upon which the analysis is based.

Two dependent variables are used to study behavioural and attitudinal aspects of consanguineous marriage. On the behavioural aspect, this study examined factors associated with the practice of consanguineous marriage. Consanguinity was measured by two survey questions as to "What is your kinship relationship with your husband at first marriage?" Responses were collapsed into two broad categories: "relative", including mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, and other relatives, and "non-relative." The category of *relative* refers to consanguinity. Moreover, the attitudinal

aspect of consanguineous marriage refers to the attitudes of women towards consanguineous marriage for boys and girls, separately, which were measured by two survey questions as to “Would it be better if a son marries a relative, non-relative, or it doesn't matter?” And “Would it be better if a daughter marries a relative, non-relative, or it doesn't matter?” The response categories for these two questions include relative, non-relative, no difference.

Despite data limitations in the survey, various indicators were used to measure three main independent variables in the conceptual model, namely ethnicity, developmental idealism, and modernization. As an indicator, mother tongue of women was utilized to identify Kurds and Turks, as two major ethnic groups in the population under study. Furthermore, developmental idealism is represented by four attitude measures, including attitudes toward 'choosing marriage over education for a girl after completing high school education', 'minimum age at marriage for girls,' 'employment of a wife outside home,' and 'ideal number of children at the time of marriage.' Out of these four indicators, orientation to the employment of wife outside home is measured by a summated rating scale based on factor analysis of four relevant attitude items, addressing issues related to wives' earning and caring roles. The four items of the scale (with factor loadings) are as follows: “Wives should not work outside the home” (0.75); “If a wife works outside the home, she will have less time to handle the housework” (0.79); “The duty of wives is housekeeping and child rearing” (0.67); “Providing living expenses is only the duty of husband” (0.79). All four items were measured by five-point Likert scales scored from “strongly disagree” (1 point) to “strongly agree” (5 points), with “undecided” (3 points) in the middle. The standardized distribution of the weighted, summated rating scale, produced by factor analysis, ranges from -2.3 (modern orientation) to +2.2 (traditional orientation). Factor analysis indicated that all four items loaded on one strong factor. The reliability measure of Cronbach Alpha (= 0.74) and the statistics produced by factor analysis (eigenvalue = 3.261, KMO = 0.72) show acceptable reliability and validity for the extracted latent factor measuring attitudes toward the employment of wife outside home. Women' scores on the scale were collapsed into three categories, representing 'traditional,' 'moderate,' and 'modern' orientation to the employment of wife outside home.

Three socioeconomic indicators, including women's place of residence, employment status and education, were utilized to represent the level of modernization in life at individual level. We assume that employed women living in the urban areas, and having higher levels of education hold more modern values compared to unemployed, less educated and rural women.

Differentials in the women's behaviour and attitudes regarding kinship marriage among Kurds and Turks can be further explored by comparing the practice of and attitudes to consanguineous marriage across three marriage cohorts of women who have been exposed to various contextual changes related to family and population policies and socioeconomic standards of life in Iran. Specifically, women in the marriage cohort of 1969-1987 were exposed to the first national family planning program initiated by Pahlavi government to control birth rates during 1967-1978. Under this program, the legal minimum age at marriage for boys and girls was increased to 18 year and 15 year respectively, and various programs were implemented to improve the status of women in the society (Abbasi-Shavazi et al., 2008: 6). By contrast, women in the marriage cohort of 1979-1988 began their family life during the first decade after the 1979 Islamic Revolution which was accompanied with a wide range of socio-political transformations in Iran. In this period, the minimum legal age at marriage for girls and boys decreased to 15 year and 13 year respectively. Moreover, the revolutionary government suspended the Shah's national family planning policies, while

encouraging informally a large family size and attempted to eradicate long-lasting deprivations in underdeveloped regions of Iran by providing electricity, safe water, and basic health services, and by educating illiterates. Finally, women who married after 1988 were exposed to the aftermaths of the eight-year war imposed to the country by Iraq. They also were affected by the first post-revolutionary national family planning program implemented in 1989. In this period, government resorted to serious measures to enhance the economic situation of peoples across the country. Moreover, government cancelled the policies and laws encouraging childbearing while the minimum legal age at marriage for boys and girls increased. The distribution of women by dependent variables and according to the selected covariates is shown in Tables 1 and 3.

Logistic regression models are utilized to assess associations of the selected covariates with the likelihood of practicing consanguineous marriage and probability of orienting toward kinship marriage. The practice of kinship marriage is examined by developing three binary logistic regression models in Table 3. The three models help us to track changes in the effect of covariates, while controlling for the effects of each others. Given the three categories of the second dependent variables, we will employ multinomial logistic regression models to examine the likelihood of orientating towards a kinship marriage for sons or daughters over a non-relative marriage.

RESULTS

The Practice of Consanguineous Marriage

Table 1 illustrates the distribution of women by type of marriage and according to the selected indicators measuring women's ethnicity, developmental idealism and the level of modernization. The results indicate that type of marriage is strongly associated with women's ethnicity, where Kurdish women are two times more likely than their Turkish counterparts to marry with a relative man.

Among indicators of modernization, women's place of residence and employment status were not statistically associated with the type of marriage. However, contrary to our expectation, the proportion of women with a relative marriage is slightly greater in urban than rural areas. This can be largely due to the migration of rural women, with consanguineous marriages, to urban areas, and to the expansion of urban areas by including larger rural areas, where women more likely marry with a relative man. As another indicator of modernization, women's level of schooling is inversely related with consanguineous marriage. Specifically, consanguineous marriage is almost two times greater among illiterate women than among those with a secondary or higher level of education (40% vs. 24%). The results on marriage cohort show that the proportion of women with a consanguineous marriage slightly decreases as moving from older to younger cohorts, though the relationship between marriage cohort and the type of marriage is not statistically significant.

In line with our expectation, the results pertaining to the indicators of developmental idealism in Table 1 shows that modern ideals regarding women's age at marriage, parity, and working outside home are inversely associated with the prevalence of consanguineous marriage. In effect, consanguineous marriage is *less* prevalent among women who believe age 22 or above is "the ideal minimum age of marriage for a girl", choose one or two children as "the ideal number of children", and hold a modern or moderate orientation to "the employment of women outside home".

Table 1.

Percent Distribution of Ever Married Women by Type of Marriage, According to Selected Covariates: District of Uromiyeh, Iran 2007

Covariates	Non-consanguineous marriage	Consanguineous marriage	Total women
Ethnic group***			
Turk	76.9	23.1	381
Kurd	56.7	43.3	358
Residence			
Urban	65.9	34.1	358
Rural	68.2	31.8	381
Employment status			
Unemployed	66.8	33.2	674
Employed	70.8	29.2	65
Education***			
Illiterate	60.6	39.4	274
Primary	65.6	34.4	221
Secondary+	75.8	24.2	244
Marriage cohort			
1969-1978	62.5	37.5	40
1979-1988	65.2	34.8	201
1989-2007	68.3	31.7	498
After completing secondary education, it is better a girl			
To continue her education	67.6	32.4	556
To marry	65.6	34.4	183
The ideal minimum age of marriage for a girl**			
<20	68.2	31.8	289
20-21	61.7	38.3	290
22+	75.0	25.0	160
Ideal number of children at the time of marriage**			
1	78.9	21.1	71
2	69.0	31.0	465
3+	58.6	41.4	203
Orientation to the employment of wife outside home**			
Traditional	58.9	41.1	248
Moderate	72.2	27.8	248
Modern	70.4	29.6	243
TOTAL	496	243	739

Note: Significant levels for Chi-square tests: *pd^{0.05}, **pd^{0.01}, ***pd^{0.001}.

The net effects of the explanatory variables on the likelihood of practicing consanguineous marriage are examined in Table 2. Consistent with bivariate results, women's ethnicity has a strong significant effect on the likelihood of consanguineous marriage. Although the impact of ethnicity on the likelihood of consanguineous marriage decreases slightly after controlling for the confounding effects of other covariates measuring developmental

idealism in Model 2 and the level of modernization in Model 3, its effect remains significant in all the three models illustrated in Table 2. Based on the full model (model 3), Turkish women are 56 percent less likely to practice consanguinity, compared with their Kurdish counterparts.

Interestingly, the level of modernization as measured through women's place of residence, employment status, and education does not have a significant effect on the likelihood of consanguineous marriage. However, the direction of the effect of education is consistent with our assumption that women with higher level of education are less likely to marry with their relatives.

Moreover, only two out of four indicators of developmental idealism, namely ideal number of children and orientations to work outside home, have moderate significant effects on the odds of experiencing consanguineous marriage. The results associated with Model 3 shows that women who believe three or more as an ideal number of children are two times (odds ratio of 2.03) more likely to experience consanguineous marriage, compared with those who choose one child as the ideal number of parity. Also, women with a moderate rather than a traditional orientation to the employment of women outside home are 43 percent less likely to be in a consanguineous marital relationship. A similar effect also can be observed among women having a modern orientation, though it is not statistically significant.

Attitudes to Consanguineous Marriage

The results in Table 3 show socio-cultural differentials in attitudes toward consanguinity. The findings indicate a strong significant association between women's ethnicity and their attitudes toward consanguineous marriage for their boys or girls. That is, the proportion of women who prefer their boy or girl marry with a relative is two times higher among Kurdish than Turkish women (20% vs. 9%). In contrast, the proportion of women who prefer their boy or girl to marry with a non-relative is greater among Turks rather than Kurds.

Among the indicators of modernization, only the level of schooling was significantly associated with attitudes towards consanguinity. In particular, women having secondary or higher levels of education were less likely to approve consanguinity for their boy or girl (8-9%) than those with primary schooling (13-14%) or no schooling (20-21%). Although the relationships between women's employment status and marriage cohorts and their attitudes are not statistically significant, the direction of the associations are consistent with our expectations, where employed and younger women are less likely to approve consanguineous married for their children.

In terms of developmental idealism, the results show that women with modern developmental idealism are more likely to disapprove consanguineous marriage. Among four indicators, women's developmental ideals related to the minimum age of marriage, parity, and women's employment are significantly associated with their attitudes to consanguineous marriage. The results indicate that women who choose age 22 or above as an ideal minimum age of marriage for girl are less likely to favour consanguinity for their children than those who select an age under 22 (10% vs. 14-17%). Moreover, women who state 3 or more children as an ideal number are more likely to approve consanguinity rather than those who choose one or two children (22% vs. 11%). Finally, women who hold a modern orientation to wives' employment outside home are less likely to support consanguinity than those with moderate to traditional orientations (9% vs. 15-19%).

Table 2.

Odds Ratios for Logistic Regression Models Predicting Consanguineous Marriage Over Non- Consanguineous Marriage Among Ever Married Women in the District of Uromiyeh, Iran 2007

Covariates	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Ethnic group			
Turk	0.39***	0.42***	0.44***
Kurd (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00
After completing secondary education, it is better a girl			
To continue her education (ref.)		1.00	1.00
To marry		0.94	0.96
The ideal minimum age of marriage for a girl			
<20 (ref.)		1.00	1.00
20-21		1.41*	1.38+
22+		0.86	0.86
Ideal number of children at the time of marriage			
1 (ref.)		1.00	1.00
2		1.76+	1.73+
3+		2.06*	2.03*
Orientation to the employment of wife outside home			
Traditional (ref.)		1.00	1.00
Moderate		0.57**	0.57**
Modern		0.75	0.75
Residence			
Rural (ref.)			1.00
Urban			1.19
Employment status			
Unemployed (ref.)			1.00
Employed			1.16
Education			
Illiterate (ref.)			1.00
Primary			1.04
Secondary+			0.85
Marriage cohort			
1969-1978 (ref.)			1.00
1979-1988			1.13
1989-2007			1.08
R square	0.063	0.099	0.102

Notes: (ref.) = reference category. + < 0.10, *pd^{0.05}, **pd^{0.01}, ***pd^{0.001}.

The results of the multinomial logistic regression in Table 4 show that once all covariates had been controlled, women's ethnicity was significantly associated with their attitudes to consanguinity. Consistent with bivariate results and in relative to Turks, Kurds were 1.98 and 2.21 times more likely to support consanguineous marriage for their boy or girl, respectively, rather than non-consanguineous marriage.

Although the effects of modernization indicators on attitudes are not statistically significant, their directions (except for the place of residence) are in agreement with our assumptions, where unemployed, less educated, and older women are more likely to prefer consanguineous to non-consanguineous marriage for their children.

Table 3.

**Percent Distribution of Ever Married Women by Attitudes to
Consanguineous Marriage for a Boy or a Girl, According to Selected Covariates:
District of Uromiyeh, Iran 2007**

Covariates	It would be better that a BOY marry a ...			It would be better that a GIRL marry a ...			Total women
	Non- Relative	No relative	No difference	Non- Relative	No relative	No difference	
Ethnic group***							
Turk	8.9	63.3	27.8	8.9	64.3	26.8	381
Kurd	19.8	46.1	34.1	20.4	45.8	33.8	358
Residence							
Urban	15.4	57.8	26.8	15.4	58.1	26.5	358
Rural	13.1	52.2	34.6	13.6	52.8	33.6	381
Employment status							
Unemployed	15.0	54.2	30.9	15.3	54.6	30.1	674
Employed	6.2	63.1	30.8	6.2	63.1	30.8	65
Education***							
Illiterate	20.1	47.1	32.8	20.8	46.7	32.5	274
Primary	13.6	52.5	33.9	13.1	54.3	32.6	221
Secondary+	8.2	66.0	25.8	8.6	66.0	25.4	244
Marriage cohort							
1969-1978	22.5	45.0	32.5	25.0	40.0	35.0	40
1979-1988	14.9	57.2	27.9	16.4	56.7	26.9	201
1989-2007	13.3	54.8	31.9	12.9	56.0	31.1	498
After completing secondary education, it is better a girl							
To continue her education	13.7	56.3	30.0	13.8	57.0	29.1	556
To marry	15.8	50.8	33.3	16.4	50.3	33.3	183
The ideal minimum age of marriage for a girl***							
<20	13.8	49.5	36.7	15.6	48.1	36.3	289
20-21	16.9	53.1	30.0	16.2	54.8	29.0	290
22+	10.0	68.1	21.9	9.4	69.4	21.3	160
Ideal number of children at the time of marriage**							
1	11.3	54.9	33.8	11.3	57.7	31.0	71
2	11.4	59.1	29.5	11.6	59.1	29.2	465
3+	21.7	45.3	33.0	22.2	45.8	32.0	203
Orientation to the employment of wife outside home*							
Traditional	17.3	52.4	30.2	19.0	52.4	28.6	248
Moderate	16.5	51.2	32.3	15.3	52.4	32.3	248
Modern	8.6	61.3	30.0	9.1	61.3	29.6	243
TOTAL	14.2	54.9	30.9	14.5	55.3	30.2	739

Note: Significant levels for Chi-square tests: *pd^{0.05}, **pd^{0.01}, ***pd^{0.001}.

Table 4.

**Relative Risk Ratios From Multinomial Logistic Regression Model
Assessing Associations Between Selected Covariates and Attitudes to
Preference of Consanguineous (relative) Marriage for a Boy or a Girl in
Relative to Non-consanguineous (non-relative) Marriage Among Ever Married
Women in the District of Uromiyeh, Iran 2007**

Covariates	It would be better that a BOY marry a ...		It would be better that a GIRL marry a ...	
	Relative	No difference	Relative	No difference
Ethnic group				
Turk (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Kurd	1.98**	1.47*	2.21**	1.59*
Residence				
Urban (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rural	0.74	1.21	0.79	1.19
Employment status				
Unemployed	1.65	0.89	1.67	0.86
Employed	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Education				
Illiterate	1.67	1.19	1.40	1.15
Primary	1.48	1.35	1.18	1.24
Secondary+ (ref.)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Marriage cohort				
1969-1978	1.15	1.11	1.68	1.45
1979-1988	0.84	0.80	1.04	0.84
1989-2007	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
After completing secondary education, it is better a girl				
To continue her education	0.93	0.91	0.96	0.89
To marry	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
The ideal minimum age of marriage for a girl***				
<20	1.21	1.93**	1.63	2.13**
20-21	1.55	1.60*	1.63	1.59*
22+	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Ideal number of children at the time of marriage**				
1	0.62	1.06	0.63	1.01
2	0.57*	0.84	0.64	0.91
3+	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Orientation to the employment of wife outside home*				
Traditional	1.55	0.86	1.58	0.81
Moderate	1.76*	1.04	1.46	1.02
Modern	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Pseudo-R-Square	0.100		0.103	

Note: Significant levels for Chi-square tests: *pd^{0.05}, **pd^{0.01}, ***pd^{0.001}.

Similar to bivariate results, multivariate findings show that traditional developmental ideals related to the minimum age at marriage, parity and employment of wives outside home are significantly associated with the approval of consanguineous marriage. In relative to women who state 3 or more children as an ideal number, those who choose one or two children as ideal numbers were respectively 38 and 43 percent less likely to prefer consanguineous to non-consanguineous marriage for their boy. Similar results can be observed for girl children, though they are not statistically significant. Furthermore, compared to women with a modern orientation to female employment outside home those who hold moderate or traditional views were respectively 55 and 76 percent more likely to favor consanguinity over non-consanguinity for their boy. Similar non-significant results can be seen for the case of girl.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study sought to explain the differences in the practice of and attitudes towards consanguineous marriages among Kurdish and Turkish women in Iran. We based our analyses on modernization and developmental idealism theories while utilizing data from a local sample survey. The core hypothesis of this study was whether the higher levels of modernization and modern ideals of marriage and belonging to Turkish ethnicity are associated with a lower likelihood of marrying with a relative and having more negative attitudes to consanguineous marriages.

Univariate results indicated that the practice of kinship marriages were more prevalent among Kurds (rather than Turks), unemployed and less educated women, and women of older cohorts and those with more traditional ideals related to marriage and childbearing. In multivariate results, however, only ethnicity was strongly associated with the practice of kinship marriage, and the influence of indicators of modernization and developmental idealism remained non-significant or weak. However, an unexpected result was that the proportion of women who experienced kinship marriage was slightly greater in urban districts. This might be due to the emigration of rural women to urban districts, and the expansion of urban areas through a merger of some adjunct rural areas and cities.

The univariate results showed that Kurdish and less educated women, and women of older cohorts and those with more traditional ideals, related to marriage and childbearing, were more likely to have a positive orientation to consanguineous marriage. Among indicators of modernization, only the schooling represented a significant relationship with attitude towards consanguineous marriage. The multivariate results, however, indicated that being Kurds rather than Turks was strongly associated with the likelihood of having positive attitudes to consanguineous marriage, and the indicators of modernization and development idealism had weak or no impact on the attitudes to kinship marriage. These results support the argument made by Saraie (2007), an Iranian demographer, on the importance of interaction between endogenous and exogenous forces in the study of family system and its dynamics. He argues that beyond external modernization and developmental idealism forces, there is always a degree of agency in the local context. In fact, the impacts of modernization forces operate through the socio-economic context of the Iranian society. That is, all ethnic groups and social classes in Iran are not evenly influenced by modernization processes. In this respect, it should be admitted that ethnic groups and communities experience different degrees of modernization. For instance, Erfani (2005) showed considerable differences that Iranian provinces had in the pace of development levels during 1986-1996. Also, Torabi and Baschieri (2010: 55) demonstrated that socio-economic characteristics of ethnic groups had different effects on the timing and probability

of women's marriage. According to them, the different reactions of ethnic groups to the same changes introduced to the Iranian society are related to their differing cultural sensitivity to the changes. This condition makes ethnic groups in Iran experience different levels of modernization and development, while maintaining their distinct cultural ethnic values and norms.

The results of this study showed a strong tendency of Kurds to consanguineous marriage, despite their socioeconomic development. This suggests that although modernization and developmental idealism forces can bring about changes in family-related norms and values, Kurdish ethnic values and norms remain as significant players in perpetuating kinship marriages. One reason for this can be attributed to the fact that Kurds are an ethnic minority group among Turks and in the overall Iranian society. As one way to solidify their ethnic identity against the majority, holding most of socio-economic and political resources and powers in the country, Kurds tend to marry with their ethnic counterparts (Balali, 2005). As a result, Kurds resist against modernization forces that try to uniform cultural values and norms related to family formation and marriage in a country. To better understand the rationales behind the cultural sensitivities of ethnic groups regarding consanguineous marriage, an independent qualitative study needs to be conducted.

REFERENCES

- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J. and H. Hosseini. (2009). Ethnicity and fertility: assessment of competing hypotheses for the explanation of ethnic fertility differentials in Uromiyeh district [in Persian]. *Journal of the Population Association of Iran*, 2(4): 5-41.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J. and A. Askari-Nodoushan. (2005). Family changes and fertility decline in Iran: case study in Yazd province [in Persian]. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 25: 45–75.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J. and S. Khani. (2009). Marriage patterns, ethnicity and religion: case study of married women in Ghorveh district [in Persian]. *Journal of Population Association of Iran*, 4(7): 35-66.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J. and F. Torabi. (2007). Level, trend, and pattern of consanguineous marriage in Iran [in Persian]. *Journal of Population Association of Iran*, 1(2): 61–88.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J., P. McDonald, and M. Hosseini-Chavoshi. (2008). Modernization or cultural maintenance: the Practice of consanguineous marriage in Iran. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 40: 911-933.
- Abbasi-Shavazi, M.J., P. McDonald, and M. Hosseini-Chavoshi. (2009). *The fertility transition in Iran: revolution and reproduction*, London, Springer.
- Alesina, A., A. Develeeschauwer, W. Easterly, S. Kurlat, and R. Wacziarg. (2003). Fractionalization. *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8(2): 155-194.
- Askari-Nodoushan, A., T. Aghayari Hir, A. Ahmadi, and A.H. Mehryar. (2006). Changing mate selection pattern in Iran. paper presented at the international conference on emerging population issues in the Asian-Pacific Region: Challenges for the 21st Century, Mumbai, 10-13 December 2006.
- Balali, E. (2005). Study of structural determinants of ethnic social exclusion: case study of Kurds and Turks [in Persian]. Ph.D dissertation, university of Tarbiat Modarres, department of sociology.
- Cleland, J., and Ch. Wilson. (1987). Demand theories of the fertility transition: an iconoclastic view. *Population Studies*, 41(1): 5–30.
- Erfani, A. (2005). Shifts in social development and fertility decline in Iran: a cluster analysis of provinces: 1986-1996, Population Studies Center. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Canadian Population Society (CPS) Dalhousie University, Halifax, July 2003.

Erfani, A. (2010). *Tehran Survey of Fertility, 2009: Final Report*. Tehran, Iran: Population Studies and Research Centre in Asia and Pacific, Ministry of Science, Research, and Technology.

Erfani, A. (2011). Induced abortion in Tehran, Iran: estimated rates and correlates. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 37(3):134–142.

Erfani, A. and K. McQuillan. (2008). Rates of induced abortion in Iran: the roles of contraceptive use and religiosity. *Studies in Family Planning*, 39(2):111-122.

Giddens, A. (1997). *Sociology*, (3rd edition). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Givens, B.P. and CH, Hirschman. (1994). Modernization and consanguineous marriage in Iran. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56(4): 820-834.

Goode, W.J. (1963). *World revolution and family pattern*. New York: Free Press.

Hosseini, H. (2008). Ethnicity and fertility: explanation of fertility behavior of Kurd and Turk women in Uromiyeh district [in Persian]. Ph.D dissertation, University of Tehran, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Demography.

Hosseini, H. (2012). Ethnic differences in women's marriage behavior and their attitude toward marriage of daughters in Uromiyeh district [in Persian]. *Journal of the Population Association of Iran*, 5(9): 7-28.

Hosseini, H. and M.J. Abbasi-Shavazi. (2009). Ideational changes and its impact on fertility behaviour and attitudes of Kurd and Turk women [In Persian]. *Journal of Women's Research*, 7(2): 55-84.

Hosseini, H. and A.H. Mehryar. (2006). Ethnicity, educational inequality and fertility [in Persian]. *Journal of the Population Association of Iran*, 1(1): 141-167.

Kanani, M.A. (2006). Increasing age at marriage: the case of Iranian Turkmen [In Persian]. *Journal of Population Association of Iran*, 1(1): 104-126.

Karimi, Kh. (2011). Trends of marriage and divorce rates in Iran: 1996-2006, in *Population, policy, and sustainable development*. Edited and published by Population Studies and Research Center in Asia and the Pacific (PSRC): Tehran, Iran [in Persian].

Ketabi, A. (2000). Marriage with close relatives in ancient Iran [In Persian]. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 16: 167-192.

Khalaj Abadi Farahani, F. and Sh. Kazemipour. (2011). Trends of one child families in Iran since 1996: implications for population policy," paper presented in the UCL and Leverhulme Trust conference on human population growth and global carrying capacity, May 2011, London, UK. Available on September 2012 at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/popfootprints/poster_presentations

Khalaj Abadi Farahani, F., J. Cleland, and A.H. Mehryar. (2011). Associations between family factors and premarital heterosexual relationships among female college students in Tehran. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 37(1): 30–39.

Lesthaeghe, R. and K. Neels. (2002). From First to a Second Demographic Transition: An Interpretation of the Spatial Continuity of Demographic Innovation in France, Belgium and Switzerland. *European Journal of Population*, 18: 325-336.

Lesthaeghe, R. (1995). The second demographic transition in Western Countries: an interpretation, PP.17-61, In K.O. Mason and A-M. Jensen (Eds.), *gender and family change in industrial countries*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lesthaeghe, R. and J. Surkyn. (1988). Cultural dynamics and economic theories of fertility change. *Population and Development Review*, 14(1): 1-45.

Malhotra, A. (1997). Gender and the timing of marriage rural-urban differences in Java. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 59(2): 434-450.

McDonald, P. (2002). Low fertility: unifying the theory and the demography. Paper Presented at the Session 73, *Future of fertility in low fertility countries*, 2002 Meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, 9-11 May 2002. Available at: <https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/bitstream/>

1885/41437/4/PAA_Paper_2002.pdf

Ministry of Culture of Iran. (2003). *Values and attitudes of Iranians (Wave 2)*. Ministry of Culture: Office of the Survey of Values and Attitudes, Tehran.

Minh, N.H. (1997). Age at first marriage in Vietnam: patterns and determinants. *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, 12(2): 49-72.

Mohammadi, M.R., S. Alikhani., F. Khalaj Abadi Farahani., and A. Bahonar. (2007). Parents' attitudes towards adolescent boy's reproductive health needs and practice in Tehran. *Iran Journal of Psychiatry* 2: 13-24.

Palmore, J.A. (1983). The country effect: a six nation overview of the determinants of nuptiality and cumulative fertility, in: United Nations: *Asian Population Studies Series*, 59: 6-11.

Popenoe, D. (1993). American family decline, 1960-1990: a review and appraisal. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 55(3): 527-542.

Saraie, H. (2007). Family and its evolution in the context of the demographic transition in Iran [Persian]. *Journal of Population Association of Iran*, 1(2), 37-60.

Tashakkori, A. and V.D. Thompson. (1988). Cultural change and attitude change: an assessment of postrevolutionary marriage and family attitudes in Iran. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 7: 3-27.

Thornton, A. (2001). The development paradigm, reading history sideways and family change. *Demography*, 38(4): 449-465.

Torabi, F. and A. Baschieri. (2010). Ethnic differences in transition to first marriage in Iran: the role of marriage market, women's socioeconomic status, and process of development. *Demographic Research*, 22: 29-62.

Van de Kaa, D.J. (2001). Postmodern fertility preferences: from changing value orientation to new behaviour. *Population and Development Review*, 27: 290-331.

Xenos, P. and S.A. Gultiano (1992). Trends in female and male age at marriage and celibacy in Asia. Papers of the Program on Population, No. 120, Honolulu, Hawaii, East-West Center.

Zanjani, H., M. Mirzaie, K. Shadpoor and A.H. Mehryar. (1999). *Population, Development, and Reproductive Health* [in Persian]. Tehran: Boshra Press.

ROBERT-JAY GREEN, Ph.D. Program in Clinical Psychology, California School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, San Francisco One Beach Street, Suite 100, San Francisco CA 94133-1221, USA (rjgreen@alliant.edu).

Urdu Translation of the California Inventory for Family Assessment for use in Pakistan

In the absence of indigenously developed valid measures to study constructs related to marriage and family in Pakistan, the most economical way is to translate and adapt an instrument that has already been validated in other cultures. The purpose of this study was to translate into Urdu language and pilot test a measure of dyadic relationship behavior, the California Inventory for Family Assessment (CIFA; Werner & Green, 1999-2008). Brislin's (1970) back translation method was employed. Our translation/back-translation process is summarized in detail. Face validity and content validity were addressed by use of a committee of judges as well as by interviewing and pilot testing on 15 married couples. The translated version proved to be equivalent to the original version in semantic, idiomatic, experiential and conceptual domains. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients as well as inter-spouse validity correlations indicate that most constructs measured by CIFA were applicable in the cultural context of Pakistan. However, subscales with weak reliability and validity results in the pilot study need to be explored further to better understand their suitability for research in Pakistan.

HATAM HOSSEINI, Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Bu-Ali Sina University, P. O. Box: 65175-4161, Postal Code: 65178-38695, Hamedan, Iran, (h-hosseini@basu.ac.ir).

AMIR ERFANI, Department of Sociology, Nipissing University, 100 College Drive, Box 5002, North Bay, ON, Canada, P1B 8L7(amire@nipissingu.ca).

Ethnic Differences in the Attitudes and Practice of Consanguineous Marriage among Kurds and Turks in Uromiyeh District, Iran

Despite the spread of modern familial values and norms and the rapid pace of modernization in Iran, kinship marriages remain a common

practice among some ethnic groups, including Turk and Kurd. This study is informed by modernization and development idealism theories to examine factors associated with the practice and attitude of Kurdish and Turkish women to consanguineous marriage, utilizing data from a representative sample of 768 ever-married women residing in the district of Uromiyeh in Iran. The results indicated that consanguineous marriage was more prevalent among Kurds rather than Turks, and Kurdish rather than Turkish women held more positive orientations to consanguineous. Multivariate results showed that being a Kurd than a Turk was strongly associated with the likelihood of practicing kinship marriage and having positive attitudes to consanguineous marriage, while the levels of modernization and development idealism showed no or weak association. The results suggest that ethnic belonging can reinforce consanguineous marriage regardless of being modernized or holding modern development ideals.

KENNETH AARSKAUG WIIK, Research department, Statistics Norway, PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (kaw@ssb.no).

LARS DOMMERMUTH, Research department, Statistics Norway. PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (ldo@ssb.no).

Who Remains Unpartnered by Mid-Life in Norway? Differentials by Gender and Education

Using data on men and women born 1927 to 1968 from the Norwegian Gender and Generations Survey ($N = 8,813$), we examine differentials in remaining without experience from a marital or non-marital union by age 40. We are particularly interested in differentials by gender and education, as well as changes across birth cohorts. 6.5% of the respondents (7.8% of the men and 5.2% of the women) had no union experience by age 40. Multivariate results confirmed that the odds of remaining unpartnered by age 40 decreased across the birth cohorts studied here, particularly among women. Separate models for men and women confirmed that primary educated men had the highest odds of remaining unpartnered. Among women, on the other hand, those with a university education had significantly higher odds of not having had union experience by age 40 compared with their lower educated counterparts. Results from interaction models confirmed that higher educated men have

ROBERT-JAY GREEN, Ph.D. Program in Clinical Psychology, California School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, San Francisco One Beach Street, Suite 100, San Francisco CA 94133-1221, USA (rjgreen@alliant.edu).

Urdu Translation of the California Inventory for Family Assessment for use in Pakistan

Parce qu'il n'y a pas de questionnaires valides présentés localement pour étudier les concepts liés au mariage et à la famille au Pakistan, le moyen le plus économique est de traduire et d'adapter un instrument qui a déjà été validé dans d'autres cultures. Le but de cette étude était de traduire en langue ourdou, et de procéder à des tests pilotes d'un questionnaire mesurant les rapports dyadiques: le California Inventory for Family Assessment ([Inventaire Californien d'Evaluation Familiale] CIFA; Werner & Green, 1999 - 2008). La méthode de Brislin (1970) de contre-traduction a été utilisée. Notre processus de traduction/contre-traduction est résumé en détail. La validité apparente et la validité de contenu ont été adressées par l'utilisation d'un comité de juges, ainsi que par des entrevues et des essais pilotes sur 15 couples mariés. La version traduite s'est avérée équivalente à la version originale dans les domaines sémantiques, idiomatiques, expérientiels et conceptuels. Les coefficients de fiabilité alpha de Cronbach, ainsi que les corrélations de validité inter-conjoint, indiquent que la plupart des concepts mesurés par le CIFA sont applicables dans le contexte culturel du Pakistan. Cependant, les sous-échelles avec des résultats de fiabilité et validité faibles de l'étude pilote devraient être étudiées davantage afin de mieux comprendre leur pertinence pour la recherche au Pakistan.

HATAM HOSSEINI, Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Bu-Ali Sina University, P. O. Box: 65175-4161, Postal Code: 65178-38695, Hamedan, Iran, (h-hosseini@basu.ac.ir).

AMIR ERFANI, Department of Sociology, Nipissing University, 100 College Drive, Box 5002, North Bay, ON, Canada, P1B 8L7 (amire@nipissingu.ca).

Ethnic Differences in the Attitudes and Practice of Consanguineous Marriage among Kurds and Turks in Uromiyeh District, Iran

En dépit du développement de valeurs familiales modernes et du rythme accéléré de la modernisation en Iran, le mariage consanguin reste une pratique commune parmi certains groupes ethniques, tels les Turcs et les Kurdes. Cette étude s'appuie sur les théories de la modernisation et du développement idéalisme pour examiner des facteurs associés à la pratique et l'attitude des femmes kurdes et turques face au mariage consanguin; elle utilise des données recueillies à travers une recherche sur place parmi 768 femmes mariées, résidant dans le district iranien d'Ourmia. Les résultats ont montré que le mariage consanguin était plus fréquent parmi les Kurdes que parmi les Turcs, et que les femmes kurdes avaient une idée plus positive de ce genre de mariage. Des analyses multivariées ont montré que le fait d'être une Kurde, plutôt qu'une Turque, favorise l'idée d'un mariage consanguin, et que l'appartenance ethnique y joue un rôle déterminant, là où le degré de modernisation ou du développement idéalisme ne joue aucun rôle ou un faible rôle. Ainsi, l'appartenance ethnique pourrait-elle renforcer la tendance au mariage consanguin, indépendamment du niveau de modernité ou d'idéals modernes du développement.

KENNETH AARSKAUG WIIK, Research department, Statistics Norway, PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (kaw@ssb.no).

LARS DOMMERMUTH, Research department, Statistics Norway. PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (ldo@ssb.no).

Who Remains Unpartnered by Mid-Life in Norway? Differentials by Gender and Education

À l'aide des données de l'Enquête norvégienne générations et genre ($N = 8,813$) sur les hommes et les femmes nés entre 1927 et 1968, nous examinons les écarts dans l'absence de toute expérience d'une union conjugale ou non conjugale à 40 ans. Nous sommes particulièrement intéressés par les écarts en fonction du genre et de l'éducation, ainsi que par les variations entre cohortes de naissance. 6,5% des personnes interrogées (7,8% des hommes et 5,2% des femmes) n'avaient aucune expérience de la vie en couple à 40 ans. Les résultats de l'analyse multivariée ont confirmé que les chances de rester sans partenaire à l'âge de 40 ans diminuaient au fil des cohortes de naissance étudiées ici, en particulier chez les femmes. Des

Psychology, Alliant International University, San Francisco One Beach Street, Suite 100, San Francisco CA 94133-1221, USA (pwner@alliant.edu).

ROBERT-JAY GREEN, Ph.D. Program in Clinical Psychology, California School of Professional Psychology, Alliant International University, San Francisco One Beach Street, Suite 100, San Francisco CA 94133-1221, USA (rjgreen@alliant.edu).

Urdu Translation of the California Inventory for Family Assessment for use in Pakistan

En la ausencia de medidas válidas desarrolladas en la región para estudiar las construcciones relacionadas con el matrimonio y la familia en Pakistán, la forma más económica consiste en traducir y adaptar un instrumento que ya ha sido validado en otras culturas. El propósito de este estudio fue traducir al lenguaje urdu y hacer un estudio piloto de una medida del comportamiento en las relaciones diádicas, el California Inventory for Family Assessment ([Cuestionario de California para Evaluar Familias] CIFA; Werner & Green, 1999-2008). Se empleó el método de traducción de vuelta de Brislin (1970). Nuestro proceso de traducción / retrotraducción se resume en detalle. La validez aparente y la validez del contenido se abordaron mediante el uso de un comité de jueces, así como a través de entrevistas y un estudio piloto con 15 parejas casadas. La versión traducida demostró ser equivalente a la versión original en los dominios semánticas, idiomáticas, experienciales y conceptuales. Coeficientes de fiabilidad alfa de Cronbach, así como las correlaciones de validez inter - cónyuge indican que la mayoría de los constructos medidos por CIFA eran aplicables en el contexto cultural de Pakistán. Sin embargo, subescalas con resultados de fiabilidad y validez débiles en el estudio piloto son necesarios explorar más para entender mejor su idoneidad para la investigación en Pakistán.

HATAM HOSSEINI, Department of Social Sciences, Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Bu-Ali Sina University, P. O. Box: 65175-4161, Postal Code: 65178-38695, Hamedan, Iran, (h-hosseini@basu.ac.ir).

AMIR ERFANI, Department of Sociology, Nipissing University, 100 College Drive, Box

5002, North Bay, ON, Canada, P1B 8L7(amire@nipissingu.ca).

Ethnic Differences in the Attitudes and Practice of Consanguineous Marriage among Kurds and Turks in Uromiyeh District, Iran

Apesar de la difusión de normas y valores familiares modernos, así como el rápido ritmo de la modernización en Irán, los matrimonios entre parientes siguen siendo una práctica común entre algunos grupos étnicos, incluyendo a los turcos y kurdos. Este estudio está informado por teorías de modernización y desarrollo de idealismo para examinar los factores asociados con la práctica y la actitud de las mujeres kurdas y turcas hacia los matrimonios consanguíneos, utilizando los datos de una muestra representativa de 768 mujeres que alguna vez cotrajeron matrimonio y que residen en el distrito de Uromiyeh en Irán. Los resultados indicaron que el matrimonio consanguíneo es más frecuente entre kurdos que entre turcos y que las mujeres kurdas tienen orientaciones más positivas hacia los matrimonios consanguíneos que las mujeres turcas. Resultados multivariados mostraron que siendo kurdo se está más fuertemente asociado a la probabilidad de practicar el matrimonio entre parientes y a tener actitudes positivas frente a los matrimonios consanguíneos que siendo turco, mientras que los niveles de modernización y el desarrollo de idealismo no mostraron ninguna asociación. Los resultados sugieren que la pertenencia étnica puede reforzar los matrimonios consanguíneos, independientemente de la modernización o del nivel de desarrollo.

KENNETH AARSKAUG WIJK, Research department, Statistics Norway, PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (kaw@ssb.no).

LARS DOMMERMUTH, Research department, Statistics Norway. PO box 8131 Dept. NO-0033, Oslo, Norway (ldo@ssb.no).

Who Remains Unpartnered by Mid-Life in Norway? Differentials by Gender and Education

Utilizando datos sobre hombres y mujeres nacidos entre 1927 y 1968, de la Encuesta