Binational marriages in Sweden: Is there an EU effect?

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Abstract: This paper discusses trends in binational marriages, defined as marriages between natives and migrants, in Sweden. The partner market for Swedes has expanded considerably in the last few decades, due to globalisation processes, increased diversity of the migration stock, and in the light of EU expansion. The paper examines whether there is an effect of EU accession on the tendency for native Swedes to marry binationally. As previous studies have argued that it is especially the educated middle class who have more opportunities to meet partners abroad, the socio-economic status of those involved in binational marriages is examined. Using full-population register data for the period 1991-2008, a systematic comparison between natives marrying EU partners versus natives marrying non-EU partners is conducted, focusing both on the native and the foreign partner. I find that the share of binational marriages has increased over time, with the increase largely attributable to an increase in marriages to partners from outside the EU. However, compared to marriages to partners from neighbouring countries, natives have increasingly married EU15 partners. Patterns of binational marriages are highly gender-specific. While Finland is the most popular recruitment area for foreign husbands, Thai wives have superseded Finnish wives. Multivariate analyses show that all types of binational marriages are common in border areas, and that there is an urban effect. I find some evidence that partners in Swedish-EU couples are higher educated, but this is also true for foreign partners from the new countries of the EU and from outside the EU.
Keywords: binational marriages, intermarriage, Sweden, EU, Europeanization, register data

INTRODUCTION

In the last few decades, the potential marriage market for Swedes looking for a partner has expanded drastically, due to a constantly increasing number of migrants who live in Sweden, an ever growing number of Swedes who travel, work or study abroad, and the rise of internet usage in finding a partner. On top of this, the European Union (EU) single market and the Schengen agreement have, for an increasing number of participating countries, created a geographically large area in which people can move freely. Sweden joined the EU in 1995, together with Finland and Austria, some time after many other North-western and Southern European countries. Recently, another 12 countries entered the EU, mainly located in Central and Eastern Europe, and partly geographically close to Sweden. In addition, the Nordic countries have had a common labour market since 1954, enabling its inhabitants to work in any of the Scandinavian countries without a work permit.

This paper focuses on trends in binational marriages in Sweden and the effect of EU accession on the tendency for native Swedes to marry binationally. Binational marriages are defined as marriages between persons born in Sweden and persons born abroad. The research is part of the project 'Toward a European Society: Single Market, Binational Marriages, and Social Group Formation in Europe', a collaborative project on binational marriages in a number of European countries, funded by the European Science Foundation. Starting point of the project is the assumption that the expansion of the EU and other similar organizations and institutions are transforming the lives of European inhabitants (Cortina et al. 2011, Díez Medrano et al. 2011). While most research and policy has been directed towards the economic dimension of European integration, the current project focuses on social integration. First, as mentioned, the EU expansion has created a larger partner market for its inhabitants in which individuals can move and marry each other freely. Second, it is increasingly believed that a new social group has come about, formed by citizens who are open to and in favour of European integration; especially the educated middle class has been said and partly found to be the drivers of this process (Díez Medrano 2008, Favell 2008, Fligstein 2008, Gaspar 2008, Kuhn 2011).

This group, the educated professionals, managers and other white-collar workers, who may call themselves 'Europeans', have many opportunities to travel, study or work abroad, and in so doing, tend to interact with people like themselves in other countries (Fligstein 2008). Similarly, Favell's (2008) 'Eurostars' were described as privileged European migrants, highly qualified citizens coming from well-educated middle or upper class families, and who are 'free movers' in the EU. This paper will examine Swedes who marry EU partners and compare their educational levels to those who marry others.

Previous studies have shown that marriages between natives and migrants in Sweden increased significantly from the 1970s to the 1990s (Cretser 1999). Marriages with non-Nordic spouses were found to be on the rise, especially those with marriage migrants (Niedomysl et al. 2009). Studies have mainly investigated age and educational differences between natives and their partners. Behtoui (2010) found that migrants from outside Europe and the US were much younger than their native partners but that they compensated for this age gap with high educational levels, which was also found for marriage migrants by Niedomysl and colleagues (2009). None of these studies have focused on marriages of Swedes to other European citizens, nor have they systematically identified how natives who marry migrants from different areas of the world differ from each other. Therefore, this paper explores trends in binational marriages, from the beginning of the 1990s until the end of the 2000s, distinguishing marriages of natives to EU citizens and to non-EU citizens, and comparing them with natives who marry natives. Besides descriptive and spatial analyses, I will investigate how both natives and their partners in these different marriage types differ from each other in an explanatory analysis. I will be able to give a uniquely detailed picture of the patterns in binational marriages over time using full-population register data.

The next section examines the phenomenon of expanding marriage markets for Sweden further, while previous studies on binational marriages are discussed in the third section, leading to the hypotheses for the current study. After the description of the data and methods, the results and conclusions are presented.

PARTNER CHOICE IN AN EXPANDING MARRIAGE MARKET

Partner choice is generally seen as being determined by preferences, social norms and opportunities (e.g. Kalmijn 1998). From studies from all over the world, partners have been found to be similar in terms of for instance social status, age, geographical origin and cultural resources (De Graaf et al. 2003, Haandrikman 2010, Kalmijn 1991, 1994, 1998, Uunk 1996, Van Poppel et al. 2001). Secondly, social and cultural control by parents, family, or others from the direct surroundings and the sanctions that might be imposed when partners are chosen from outside the group influence the process of partner choice. Thirdly, marriage market opportunities describe the availability of potential partners with desired characteristics. Marriage market restrictions substantially influence who marries whom, and these restrictions have decreased with great speed over the last century, and particularly in the last decades. There are several factors that lead to the assumption that the marriage market for Swedes has expanded considerably, and that the chance to meet a person who is not a Swede has increased accordingly.

First, Sweden has been considered to be one of the world's most globalised countries (Dreher 2006). Swedes are frequent international travellers, for both business and leisure (Frändberg and Vilhelmson 2011). Already in adolescence, foreign travel is quite common (Frändberg 2009). Increasing numbers of Swedes temporarily live abroad for some time, because of work or study, greatly increasing the odds for mixed marriage, or 'transnational intimacy' as King (2002) has labelled it. According to Recchi and colleagues (2003), 30 percent of Europeans who moved did so because of family or love, and women more often did so than men. The partner market has also enlarged because of globalisation processes. Niedomsyl and colleagues (2009) found that although the increase in international migration flows to Sweden had been relatively modest with 17 percent during the period of 1990-2004, the number of marriage migrants increased with 37 percent in that period. Part of these marriage migrants may have been found using internet services or mediating agencies. As Sweden is very well connected to the internet (Ellegård and Vilhelmson 2004), the chance of finding a partner in this way is assumed to have increased as well.

Another meeting place between native Swedes and foreigners is for natives to meet a migrant locally. It is therefore relevant to discuss the current migrant stock. Sweden became a country of immigration after the Second World War. Three main immigration phases can be distinguished in the last 60 years. Labour migration was the central motive for the first group of migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1954, a common labour market between the Nordic countries came into existence, enabling free labour movement in Scandinavia. Most migrants in this period originated in Finland, later followed by migrants from Western Europe, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. In the 1970s, restrictive immigration policies put a stop to non-Nordic immigration, as economic growth decreased and the industrial sector lost importance. Refugees started to arrive in increasing numbers, from Latin America in the 1970s, from the Middle East in the 1980s, and from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Recently, migration flows are characterized by family members of immigrants already residing in Sweden, refugees, and migrants who come to work or study in Sweden. At present, 14 percent of the Swedish population is born abroad. Of the foreign born, one fifth originates from a neighbouring country (Finland, Denmark, Norway or Iceland), with the Finns being the largest foreign-born group in Sweden. Because of the large share of Nordic migrants among the foreign born, Sweden's EU migrant population has been termed the least diverse among the other EU15 countries (Recchi et al. 2003). However, 80 percent of the current migration stock has roots outside Scandinavia. Refugees from the countries of Iraq, former Yugoslavia and Iran together make up a quarter of the current migrant stock. Thirty-eight percent of the foreign born originates from another EU country, of which 70 percent was born in the EU15 region while 30 percent was born in one of the more recently added states (all statistics based on own analyses of PLACE data for the year 2008, see data and methods section). Based on the above, the migrant population can be typified by substantial diversity in terms of origin but also in terms of migration motive which also includes marriage, quality of life and studying abroad. This diversity leads to an increased chance for natives to marry a migrant.

BINATIONAL MARRIAGES IN SWEDEN

Binational marriages have not been studied extensively in Sweden. Cretser (1999) examined cross-national marriages, defining citizens as natives and non-citizens as foreigners, for the period 1971-1993, and observed that these marriages had significantly increased over time. Most foreign partners originated from the Nordic countries, but marriages with non-Nordic spouses were on the rise. Increasingly, partners originated from both geographically and culturally distant countries. Alm Stenflo (2001) stressed that about half of those living in Sweden who marry migrants, are born abroad themselves. She describes that native Swedes who marry migrants often choose partners from Norway or the US. In the course of years, the most popular recruitment countries have shifted. German men were popular in the 1970s, while Swedish women preferred Yugoslavian men in the period 1986-1996. In the 1980s and 1990s Swedish women increasingly married men from the US and Great Britain. Until the 1970s, Swedish men preferred Finnish women, after which they increasingly married Polish women until the beginning of the 1980s. While their popularity diminished, the number of marriages with women from Russia and the Baltic states rose. Marriages of Swedish men to Thai and Filipino women were common already in the 1970s, increasing over time until the 1990s and stabilizing after that (until the end of Alm Stenflo's study in 2001).

A more recent study is the one by Behtoui (2010), who examined patterns of partnerships of immigrants and their children, and estimated the probability of out-marriage for different migrant groups, using register data for the year 2004. Also using register data, Dribe and Lundh (2008) analyzed the pattern of endogamy and exogamy among different immigrant groups and natives in Sweden, and found that migrants from Western Europe and the US have higher rates of intermarriages compared to migrants from other parts of the world. Niedomysl and colleagues (2009) focused on marriage migrants, or those immigrants who moved to Sweden and got married to a native within a year of arrival in Sweden. They found that the number of marriage migrants had increased substantially in the period 1990-2004, and that the spatial pattern of the origins of marriage migrants is highly gendered. Female marriage migrants mainly come from

Southeast Asia and other parts of Asia, Eastern Europe and Russia, and South America, while male marriage migrants (making up 42 percent of all marriage migrants) are mainly from Western Europe, Africa and the Middle East, North America and Australia.

Lastly, Östh and others (2009) examined the probability of 'recruiting a partner from abroad', based on the study on marriage migrants by Niedomysl et al. (2009). Their main findings are that middle aged men and younger women constitute the groups most likely to marry a marriage migrant. Contrasting to their hypotheses, they found that men who marry marriage migrants are higher educated. Regarding population density, a U-shaped effect was found, i.e. men and women in the most rural and the most urban areas had the highest odds to recruit a partner from abroad, with the effect being greatest for those recruiting a partner from a poor country.

HYPOTHESES

Based on the preceding, I here formulate the hypotheses for the study. First, based on the increased diversity of the current migration stock of Sweden combined with the high level of globalisation in the country, I expect that the share of marriages which can be characterized as 'binational' has increased over time (*H1*). Second, given the increased possibilities to interact with other EU citizens together with the proximity of many EU countries, I expect that the share of binational European marriages has also increased over time (*H2*).

Regarding the characteristics of both natives and their partners originating from different areas of the world, I hereby formulate hypotheses regarding age, socio-economic status, transnational experience, rurality and living in border areas on the probability of marrying binationally. As Kuhn (2011) found that younger Europeans engage much more in transnational networks, I expect that younger natives have a higher likelihood to marry a European partner. Many studies have documented that natives who marry marriage migrants tend to display large age gaps, especially in the case of marriages between western men and women from developing countries (Glowsky 2007, Niedomysl et al. 2009). Middle aged and older men, but younger native women are more

likely to marry a marriage migrant, as found by Östh and colleagues (2009). Summed up, I expect that younger natives have a higher likelihood to marry a European partner, that native men who marry partners from outside the EU are older than natives marrying other partners, but that native women who do so are younger. In addition, the natives' partners from outside the EU are expected to be much younger than native partners (*H3*).

Based on studies on 'Eurostars' (Favell 2008) and 'Europeans' (Fligstein 2008) one would expect those who marry EU partners to be higher educated. Indeed, Kuhn (2011) found that higher educated Europeans engage more in transnational networks. Östh et al. (2009) found that higher educated men have the highest odds to marry a marriage migrant, especially those from richer countries. For women they found the opposite: especially lower educated women tend to recruit partners from abroad. The same study found that natives with lower incomes tend to recruit partners from abroad, contrasting to the idea that is the middle or upper class that is marrying European partners (e.g. Favell 2008). In a bivariate analysis conducted by Niedomysl and others (2009), marriage migrants from poor countries were found to be higher educated compared to women from higher income countries. As regards socio-economic status, I therefore expect that higher educated native men, lower educated native women and natives with lower incomes tend to marry binationally, while partners from outside the EU will be higher educated compared to other marriage partners (*H4*).

Having a history of transnational practices has been found to be related to support for European integration (Kuhn 2011). When natives have lived abroad themselves, they have had much opportunity to meet potential partners and thus are expected to have a higher tendency to marry partners from abroad (*H5*).

The association between population density and partner choice is ambivalent. In cities, there are more opportunities to find a foreign born partner and one may expect city dwellers to be more open-minded in their partner choice. As Kuhn (2011) found that city dwellers are more inclined to support European integration, we might expect a higher likelihood of binational European marriages in cities. In addition, Swedes living in the largest cities tend to be more mobile on a transnational scale compared to the population in the rest of the country (Frändberg and Vilhelmson 2003). On the other hand, the

continuous outmigration of younger women from rural areas in Sweden has been associated with a reduced availability of prospective partners for men in these areas, who might resolve to searching partners elsewhere. Indeed, Karlsson and Strömgren (2011) reported an overrepresentation of Swedish-born men married to Asian and Eastern European women in remote rural areas. Based on these studies, I expect that natives living in urban areas have a higher likelihood of choosing a binational EU partner, while marriages to women from outside the EU will be more common for native men living in rural areas (*H6*).

Lastly, I expect a border effect on the likelihood of binational marriages, as Sweden shares a long border area with Norway and a smaller one with Finland and Denmark, where in- and outmigration is quite common, especially on the Finnish side. The large Swedish-speaking minority in Finland and the Finnish speakers in Sweden diminish the language borders between the two countries. As natives in border areas have a greater chance to meet foreign partners, I expect that natives in those areas have a higher chance to marry binationally (*H7*).

DATA AND METHODS

Most marriage studies are based on vital statistics data provided by national statistical agencies. Statistics Sweden, however, publishes only limited aggregate data on marriages. The data do not allow a distinction between marriages in which EU15 or EU27 partners were involved, nor do they reveal age at marriage for foreign born or non-Swedish citizens. Moreover, marriage data before 2004 has even less detail. Sweden's last census was conducted in 1990, and since then, censuses have been register-based. This paper uses a much richer database, the PLACE full-population register database that is managed at Uppsala University. PLACE contains a large number of demographic, geographic and socioeconomic variables on the whole population registered in Sweden for the period 1990-2008. As these data pertain to individuals, marriages are constructed based on individual data. The PLACE data does not provide information on marriage dates; marriage partners are linked based on the annual family position, a variable

constructed by Statistics Sweden distinguishing between married persons, cohabiters who have common children, single parents, individuals living with their parents and persons living alone. Those married in one year and not married the year before were selected for this study. In a second stage, persons who were not living in Sweden the year before the marriage but whose husbands or wives did, were added. People may have married in Sweden or elsewhere - they are included in the study as long as both are living in the same household in the year of the household transition. Husbands and wives are linked to each other based on the ID of the oldest household member. The IDs are then used to extract information on basic demographic characteristics, current residence and socio-economic status. The dataset has excellent geographic attributes as it has location coordinates of each 100 by 100 square, enabling a spatial analysis of binational marriages.

Four years were selected for data analysis, spread over the past 20 years and assumed to be able to capture consequences of important events in the context of European intermarriage, namely the entry of Sweden to the EU in 1995 and the accession of another 12 countries in 2004 and 2007.

Binational marriages are defined as marriages between natives and migrants, based on country of birth. Researchers in Sweden usually define immigrants as foreign born and not based on citizenship, as many migrants hold Swedish citizenship (Behtoui 2010) and because even when migrants do not have Swedish citizenship, they almost have equal rights compared to natives (except voting in national elections), as long as they are registered. In addition, when individuals have two citizenships, of which one is Swedish, only the Swedish citizenship is registered. In this paper I use the terms ‘native’ for born in Sweden.

Statistics Sweden has grouped some countries together in the variable ‘country of birth’ to prevent identification in the case of very few migrants from a specific country. For the current analysis, it is relevant to mention that Belgium and Luxembourg are grouped together, just like Latvia and Lithuania. The state of Malta is part of the group ‘small European states’ but is included in my definition of EU27, but Cyprus could not be

distinguished as it is put together with too many other countries. I have grouped the former countries belonging to Yugoslavia as one category.

The analytical approach consists of descriptive statistics on changes in the incidence of binational marriages over time, shifting popular recruitment areas and mapping of spatial patterns of border marriages. The analysis continues using the following marriage types: natives-natives, natives-EU15, natives-new EU and natives-outside EU. The category 'new EU' includes the countries that entered the EU in 2004 and 2007. A note to the category 'outside the EU' is that I have excluded Norway from this group. Norway is not a member of the EU but as it is a neighbouring country to Sweden, it should not be included in marriages to partners from outside the EU. A solution is found in conducting a separate analysis on marriages to persons from the Nordic countries, including Norway and also Iceland, as opposed to marriages to persons from (other) EU countries. As previous studies have shown large gender differences in the choice of marriage partners, I conduct all analyses separately for men and women.

The final part of the analysis consists of multivariate regressions to tease out the differences between individuals in the four marriage types, regarding both the native partner as well as the foreign partner. Independent variables in the analyses include year of marriage, age at marriage, educational level, income, rurality and border area. For natives a variable was created indicating whether that person has ever lived abroad.

Educational level is defined as low (lower secondary), medium (secondary) or high (tertiary) based on the highest level of completed education. Income is operationalised as the total income from work and business and is presented in quartiles, for men and women separately. The variable in the analysis has three categories: low (lowest quartile), average (second and third quartile) and high (highest quartile) income.

The definition of rural and urban areas is based on a new definition of rurality using the rich geography of the PLACE database. Most classifications use a combination of population density and the presence of urban centres, such as the widely used OECD (2010) typology. However, this definition does not capture refined rural-urban divisions, as when it is applied to Sweden, all other areas besides Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö would be classified as rural. I have defined rurality based on the distance at which

20,000 people are found, based on the population living in each 100 by 100 metre square (using the EQUIPOP software, see Malmberg et al. 2011). A binary variable was then created using a dividing line of 23 kilometres to reach 20,000 inhabitants to distinguish between rural and urban areas.

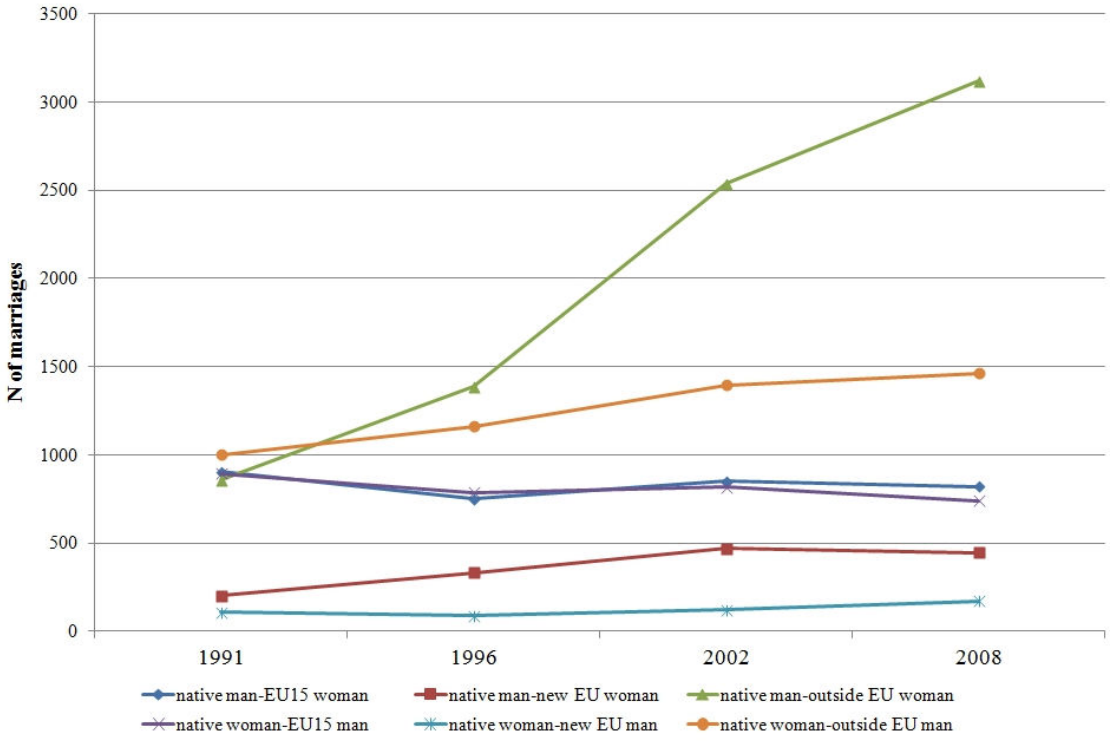
Finally, a binary variable indicating whether a municipality is located in a border area or not was constructed, with municipalities directly bordering Norway or Finland defined as border regions, supplemented with the municipality of Malmö which connects Sweden and Denmark through the Öresund Bridge.

RESULTS

Descriptive findings on binational marriages

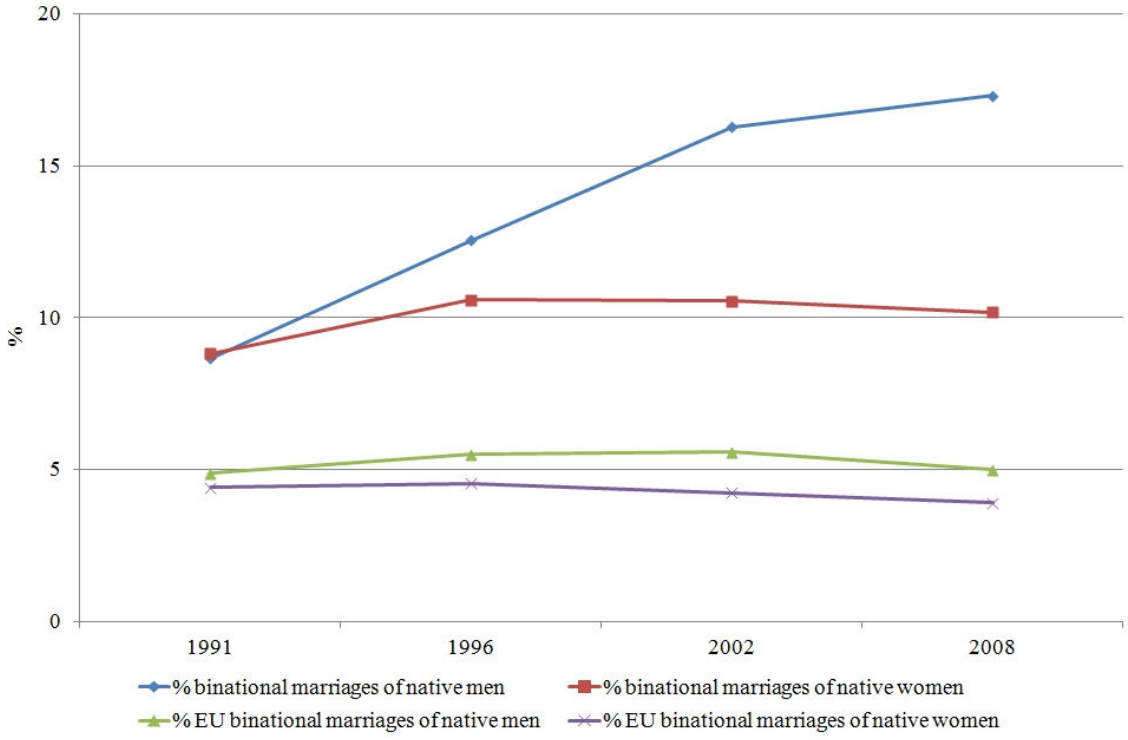
Figure 1 shows the numbers of native men and women who married partners from the EU15, the new countries of the EU, and from areas outside the EU, for the period 1991-2008. The absolute numbers show a very stable pattern over time regarding marriages to EU partners, a slight increase in marriages of native men to partners from the new EU, and a considerable rise in the number of natives marrying partners from outside the European Union, especially for native men. Over the whole period, more than 21,000 marriages took place between natives and foreign born partners, of which 59 percent concerned native men and 41 percent involved native women. Among native men who married foreign born wives, only a quarter married an EU15 wife, while 37 percent of native women married EU15 husbands. Men have a higher tendency to marry new EU wives than native women do (11 versus 6 percent), but the numbers are small.

Figure 1. The number of natives in binational marriages, 1991-2008



As it is important to examine marriages relative to all marriages taking place, figure 2 shows the share of binational marriages over time. For native men, the share of binational marriages among all marriages has increased from 9 percent in 1991 to 17 percent in 2008, while the same figure only slightly increased for native women, from 9 to 10 percent in the same time period. This bivariate analysis supports the first hypothesis (*H1*), that the share of binational marriages has increased over time, and will be further analysed in a multivariate way in the next section. Figure 2 also shows that in 1991, European binational marriages made up about half of all binational marriages, but by 2008 the share of marriages to partners from outside the EU had increased to such an extent that the share of binational EU marriages had declined to a fifth for men and to a quarter for women. However, the share of EU marriages among all marriages is not decreasing; it is stable over time. No clear effects of either the EU expansion in 1995 when Sweden entered the EU or the further EU enlargement between 2002 and 2008 can be observed. The time trends will be further discussed in the multivariate analyses in the next section.

Figure 2. Binational marriages over time and by sex, 1991-2008



The changing dynamics regarding the most popular countries of origin of the partners of natives are further explored in tables 1 and 2. In the beginning of the 1990s, native men who married foreign born wives primarily chose European women, and the top 3 was completely filled with Scandinavian countries, with Finnish wives being by far most popular (table 1a). However, marriages between natives and Polish women were coming up in that time and continued to rise further. In 1996, Russian and Thai women entered the top 5. Marriages to Eastern European and Asian women have become increasingly common in Sweden, with Thailand even surpassing Finland in recent times. In 2002, the number of Thai wives marrying Swedish men was just slightly lower than the number of Finnish wives, but in 2008 Thai and Finnish wives changed places and the number of Thai wives became almost the double of the number of Finnish wives. The increased share of Eastern European and Asian wives has led to a relative decrease of native men marrying German, American and British women, although their absolute numbers are not decreasing. Table 1b shows that there have been changes in the origin of European wives marrying native men as well. Native men increasingly marry European

wives from a growing variety of countries, as shown by the last column of table 1b. Wives increasingly originate from the new countries of the EU, with Poland taking the leading role in this development, followed by Romania in recent years. What is remarkable is that this increase had started in the 1990s already, before the countries were part of the EU. After the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007, the share of European partners from the new EU has actually remained stable for native men.

Table 1. Top 5 of most popular countries of origin for partners of native men

1a. Principal countries of origin of wives of native men who marry binationally*

	1	2	3	4	5	Top 5 as % of all binational marriages
1991	Finland	Norway	Denmark	Poland	Germany	47
1996	Finland	Poland	Norway / Russia/former USSR		Thailand	33
2002	Finland	Thailand	Russia/former USSR	Poland	Philippines	24
2008	Thailand	Finland	Russia/former USSR	Poland	China/ Taiwan	21

* in 1996, Norwegian and Russian women shared the third place.

1b. Principal countries of origin of wives of native men who marry EU wives*

	1	2	3	4	5	Top 5 as % of EU binational marriages
1991	Finland	Denmark	Poland	Germany	UK	84
1996	Finland	Poland	Denmark	Germany	UK	76
2002	Finland	Poland	Germany	Denmark	Romania	72
2008	Finland	Poland	Denmark	Germany	Romania	72

* including all EU27 countries in all years.

A somewhat different picture applies to native women (tables 2a and 2b). When native women marry foreign husbands, proximity is an important mechanism - more so compared to native men who marry binationally. Finland is the principal supplier for foreign husbands and their position remains far from threatened. Changes over time

clearly indicate changes in Sweden's migrant stock: the extensive number of refugees from former Yugoslavia in the 1990s corresponds to increases in the share of native women marrying Yugoslavian migrants, and by the same token, marriages to (refugee) migrants from Iran, Chile, Lebanon and African countries in recent times can be interpreted. Also related to the migrant stock, native women have increasingly married husbands from Turkey. Some of these native women are most probably of Turkish descent: the children of earlier labour migrants or refugees who are now marrying husbands who live in Turkey. In addition, native Swedish women have always favoured western husbands, as was also found by previous studies, without showing clear in- or decreases over time. Although the total number of native women marrying EU husbands has remained stable, there have been some changes. Besides the stable 'suppliers' Finland, Denmark and the UK, Germany has contributed with about 90 husbands per year. Just before Poland joined the EU, Polish husbands entered the top 5 for native women and stayed there, although numbers are small. Although the numbers of Greeks marrying native wives are also small, their fifth position in both 1991 and 1996 is surprising - Swedish-Greek couples were relatively common at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Cretser 1999), the period after Greek migration to Sweden peaked (Öberg and Springfield 1991).

Table 2. Top 5 of most popular countries of origin for partners of native women

2a. Principal countries of origin of husbands of native women who marry binationally*

	1	2	3	4	5	Top 5 as % of all binational marriages
1991	Finland	Yugoslavia	Denmark	UK	Norway	37
1996	Finland	Yugoslavia	UK	Norway	Denmark	31
2002	Finland	Turkey	UK	Yugoslavia	USA	29
2008	Finland	Turkey	Denmark	UK	Yugoslavia	26

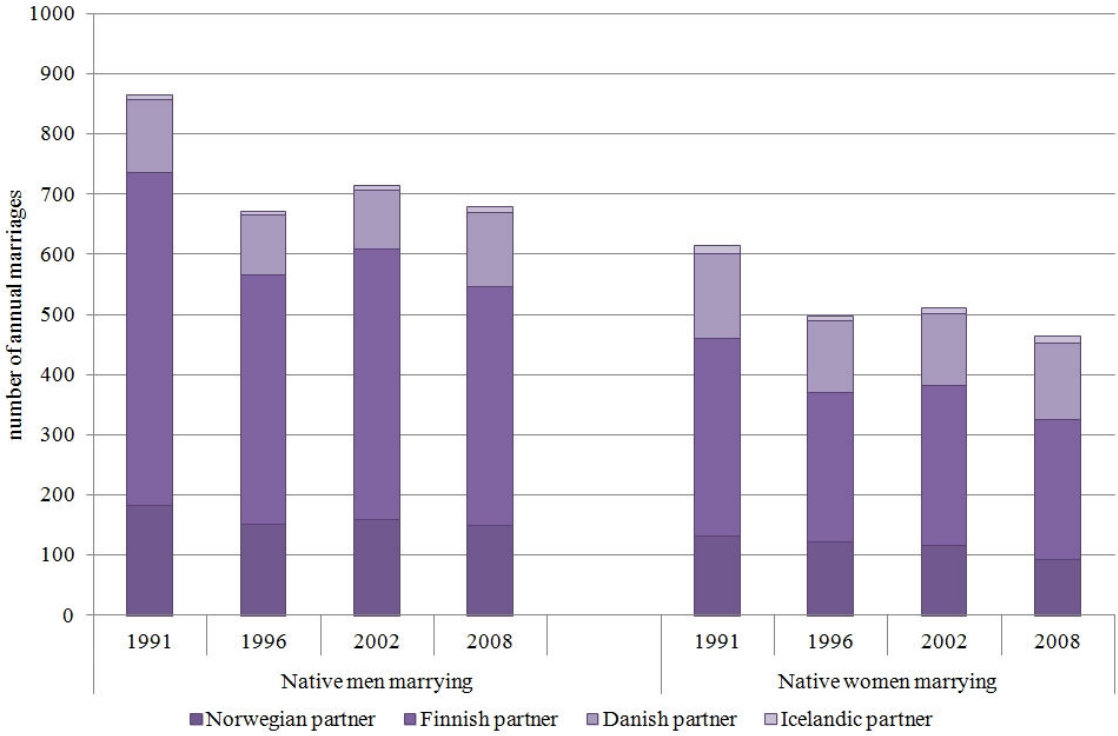
* In 2008, the region "Other Africa" was the third most popular region for husbands of native women, but as it pertains to a region covering 47 countries, it was omitted from this table.

2b. Principal countries of origin of husbands of native women who marry EU husbands*

	1	2	3	4	5	Top 5 as % of EU binational marriages
1991	Finland	Denmark	UK	Germany	Greece	73
1996	Finland	UK	Denmark	Germany	Greece	73
2002	Finland	UK	Denmark	Germany	Poland	72
2008	Finland	Denmark	UK	Germany	Poland	68

* including all EU27 countries in all years.

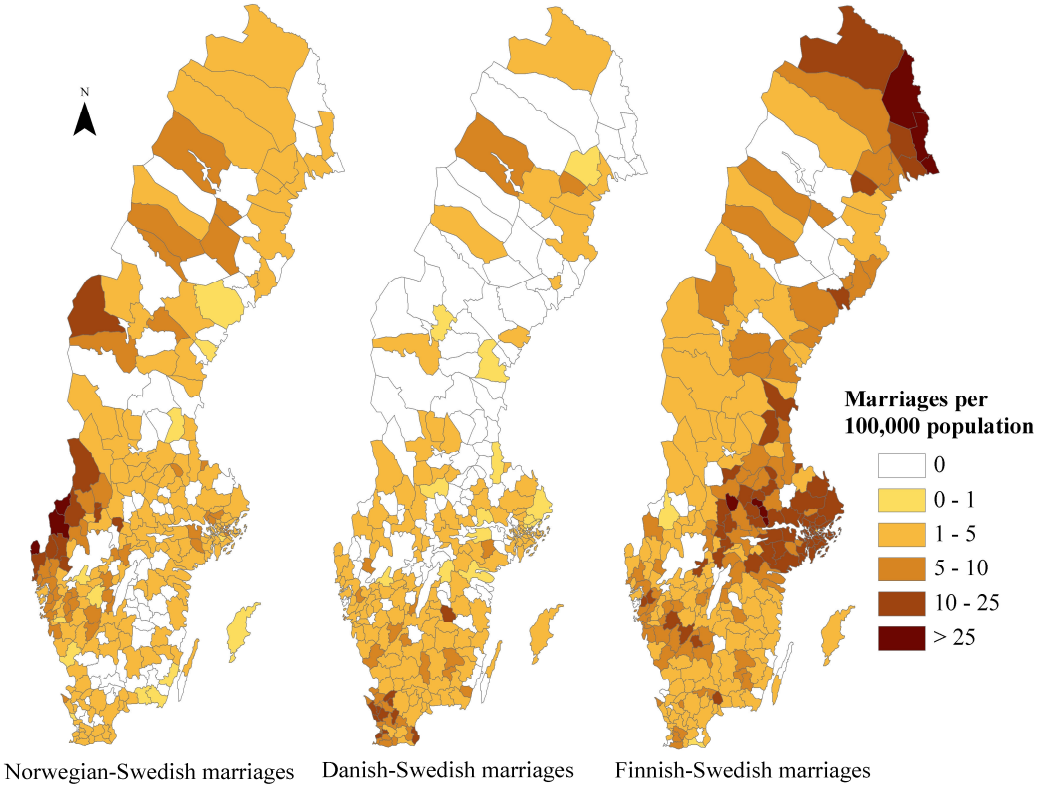
Figure 3. Nordic marriages 1991-2008



In the Swedish context, it is important to distinguish marriages to partners from the other Nordic countries from other binational European marriages, as we have seen that Sweden's neighbouring countries are fairly popular partner recruitment areas. Figure 3 shows the absolute number of marriages to Nordic partners over time. The number of natives marrying Nordic partners was higher in 1991 compared to the following years, which is completely attributable to a decline in marriages to Fins. Since 1996, the number of marriages to Nordic partners has been surprisingly stable, with the exception of a slight

decrease in marriage to Finnish husbands in 2008. Native men are slightly more inclined to marry Nordic partners compared to native women, which can be accredited to the popularity of Finnish wives. Norwegians are the second most important group of partners regarding the number of Nordic marriages.

Figure 4. Spatial patterns of binational Nordic marriages, 1991-2008



Note: the maps show the average number of marriages between natives and Norwegians/ Danish/ Finnish for the 4 years of analysis divided by the average number of inhabitants of each municipality.

The spatial patterns of where these mixed Nordic couples actually live are relevant to examine, as proximity is likely to influence the residential location of these couples. Figure 4 shows maps of natives married to Norwegian, Danish and Finnish partners. A border effect is clearly discernible for all Nordic binational marriages, with the strongest effects for Norwegian-Swedish marriages. Swedish-Finnish couples live all

over the country, with two gravity centres: one in the Swedish part of Lapland and a second in the Stockholm area and other urban areas to the west of the capital, which attracted large numbers of Finnish labour migrants in the 1950s and 1960s. Swedish-Danish couples tend to live in southern Sweden, though they are not restricted to that region.

Multivariate analysis

This section presents results from a series of multivariate analyses on the defining characteristics of those who marry binationally. The first part of the analysis concerns native men and women born in Sweden, comparing the characteristics of those who marry a partner from the EU15, those who marry a partner from the new EU, and those who marry partners from outside the EU, to natives who marry natives. As I have a specific interest in intra-EU marriages, I also discuss the discriminating characteristics of natives and their EU partners compared to mixed Nordic couples. Tables A1 to B2 in the Appendix provide descriptive statistics on the variables used in the analysis.

Native men marrying binationally

Table 3 presents the results of three logistic regression analyses on native men who marry wives from the EU15, wives from the new EU or wives from outside the EU, all compared to native men who marry native women.

The first effect I find is a time effect (*H1, H2*). Compared to 1991, the chance for native men to marry an EU15 wife compared to marrying a native wife has significantly decreased in 2002 and 2008. On the contrary, the likelihood to marry a wife from one of the new EU countries has doubled in 2008 compared to 1991, and the chance to marry a wife from outside the EU has quadrupled. I can neither support nor reject hypothesis 2 (*H2*) as the chance to marry an EU15 partner has declined but the probability to marry a new EU partner has increased.

Younger people were expected to have a higher chance to marry a European partner and those marrying partners from outside the EU were expected to be older (*H3*).

The latter part of this hypothesis holds, as can be seen from table 3, but not the former. Native men marrying European wives are significantly older than those marrying native wives. This even applies to natives marrying wives from the new EU, but the effect is strongest for natives marrying EU15 wives. A possible explanation could be that these natives have not been successful on the local partner market and therefore try their luck elsewhere.

Table 3. Native men marrying foreign born women versus native men marrying native women

			Wife from EU15 Exp(B)		**Wife from new EU** Exp(B)		**Wife from outside EU** Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		1996	0.92		1.86	***	2.13	***
		2002	0.88	*	2.34	***	3.72	***
		2008	0.77	***	2.05	***	4.48	***
Age at marriage		< 40 years	1.00		1.00		1.00	
		40 or older	1.96	***	1.92	***	1.31	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	1.04		1.28	**	0.98	
		middle	1.00		1.00	**	1.00	***
		high	1.01		0.94		0.91	**
		missing	0.95		0.78		0.52	***
	Income	low	1.21	***	1.45	***	1.51	***
		average	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	1.10		0.98		0.88	***
Geography	Rurality	rural	1.02		0.55	***	0.83	**
		urban	1.00		1.00		1.00	
	Border area	border area	1.11		2.18	***	1.18	**
		not in border area	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Emigration history		ever emigrated	2.26	***	1.56	***	2.17	***
		never emigrated	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Constant			0.03	***	0.01	***	0.03	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.025		0.035		0.063	
N			81,029		79,168		84,942	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.

The hypothesis that it is higher educated native men who marry binationally is rejected (*H4*): I find no significant effects of education on the likelihood to marry an EU15 wife, and men who marry new EU wives are more often lower educated than those marrying natives. Furthermore, men marrying partners from outside the EU are less often higher educated. However, the expectation that those with lower incomes tend to marry binationally did come true: native men who marry foreign born wives tend to have lower incomes compared to those marrying native wives.

Natives who have lived abroad themselves have an increased chance to marry a partner from abroad, confirming the fifth hypothesis (*H5*). The effect is highest for native men who marry an EU15 partner, which could suggest that these couples may have met abroad.

The hypothesis that city dwellers are more open to binational European marriages (*H6*) is only supported for marriages involving new EU wives. In addition, native men in urban areas also have a higher probability to marry wives from outside the EU, which is contrary to expectations. Lastly, living in a border area increases the probability to find a wife in one of the new EU states of from outside the EU, whereas there is no effect concerning EU15-wives (*H7*). This result is quite remarkable, as one would expect a higher chance to marry Danish and Finnish and thus EU15 partners in border areas. However, Norway is a neighbouring country providing a relatively continuous supply of husbands and wives but not an EU member, which could distort these results.

Native women marrying binationally

Table 4 present the results for native women who marry binationally compared to native women marrying native men. Similar to men, there is a decreasing tendency to marry a EU15 partner over time, and an increased probability to marry husbands from the new EU countries, although the results are only significant when comparing 2008 to 1991. Similarly, the chance to marry a husband from outside the EU has increased continuously since 1991, but the odds in 2008 are somewhat lower compared to men (*H1, H2*).

Younger women were expected to have a higher chance to marry either a European husband or a husband from outside the EU (*H3*). This hypothesis can only be

supported for marriages to husbands from the new EU and from outside the EU; women marrying EU15 husbands are actually older compared to women marrying natives.

Table 4. Native women marrying foreign born men versus native women marrying native men

			Husband from EU15		**Husband from new EU**		**Husband from outside EU**	
			Exp(B)		Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		1996	1.04		0.98		1.50	***
		2002	0.94		1.29		1.88	***
		2008	0.81	***	1.88	***	2.24	***
Age at marriage		< 40 years	1.00		1.00		1.00	
		40 or older	1.23	***	0.76	*	0.43	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	1.15	*	1.30		1.30	***
		middle	1.00	***	1.00	**	1.00	***
		high	0.84	***	0.74	**	0.64	***
		missing	0.86		0.95		0.92	
	Income	low	1.24	***	1.35	**	1.75	***
		average	1.00	***	1.00	**	1.00	***
		high	0.95		0.84		0.68	***
Geography	Rurality	rural	0.66	***	0.36	***	0.34	***
		urban	1.00		1.00		1.00	
	Border area	border area	1.59	***	2.24	***	1.56	***
		not in border area	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Emigration history		ever emigrated	3.16	***	1.75	**	2.89	***
		never emigrated	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Constant			0.04	***	0.01	***	0.04	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.022		0.018		0.065	
N			80,935		78,215		82,265	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.

The results for socio-economic status are as expected. Native women who marry husbands from the EU15 or from outside the EU are more often lower educated than women who marry native husbands, and there is a significant effect that higher educated

women have a lower change to marry binationally regarding all three marriage types. Native women who marry binational partners also more often have a lower income, confirming hypothesis 4 (*H4*).

Also for women, I find an effect of having an emigration history: for those who have lived abroad, the odds to marry an EU15 partner are three times as high compared to the odds of marrying a native, and this also holds for the other marriage types (*H5*). Regarding the geographic characteristics (*H6, H7*), the results for men also apply to women, with the addition that women in cities and those in border areas are more likely to marry EU15 husbands as well. It is remarkable that both native men and native women in border areas tend to marry partners from countries that are relatively far from Sweden.

Natives marrying EU partners versus Nordic partners

As discussed earlier, it was deemed important to conduct a separate analysis on marriages to Nordic partners, as the classification based on EU membership excludes both Norway and Iceland from this group, and especially Norwegian-Swedish marriages are relatively common. Moreover, the analysis will shed light on the potential differences between marriages largely based on proximity and those to partners from the initial members of the EU (plus Austria). Table 5 reports the findings of logistic regressions on marrying a partner from the (rest of the) EU15 as opposed to marrying a Nordic partner for both native men and women.

These findings lead me to reconsider the EU effect on marrying binationally for native men (*H2*), as table 5 shows that the probability for native men to marry an EU wife versus a Nordic wife has increased significantly over the last two decades. This seems to be attributable to the earlier mentioned decrease for native men to marry Finnish women. In the analysis of table 5, the Fins are part of the Nordic countries, analysed in contrast to other EU countries. In the reference year of 1991, the number of marriages to EU partners without Finnish and Danish partners was relatively low. These results should be understood in the light of the decrease in Nordic marriages in the same period.

Those marrying EU partners are significantly younger than those marrying Nordic partners, which supports hypothesis 3 (*H3*) and could be interpreted as a result of

transnational practices, as table 5 reports that having an emigration history has a significant impact on the chance to marry an EU partner (*H5*). In a similar manner, the findings that natives marrying EU partners are higher educated (*H4*) can be understood: these couples may have met while studying or working abroad, as "free movers" (Favell 2008). This idea is further supported by the fact that these Euro-couples are more than Nordic couples located in urban areas (*H6*), and significantly less in border areas (*H7*), (although only valid for women).

Table 5. Natives marrying EU15 versus Nordic partners*

			Native men Exp(B)		**Native women** Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00	***		
		1996	1.32	*	1,17	
		2002	1.58	***	1,14	
		2008	1.73	***	1,13	
Age at marriage		<40 years	1.00			
		40 or older	0.55	***	0.62	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	0.85		0.68	***
		middle	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	1.97	***	1.38	***
		missing	1.17		1.09	
	Income	low	1.18		1.15	
		average	1.00		1.00	
		high	0.96		1.13	
Geography	Rurality	rural	0.45	***	0.54	***
		urban				
	Border area	border area	0.83		0.67	**
		not in border area				
Emigration history		ever emigrated	1.71	***	1.82	***
		never emigrated				
Constant			0.26	***	0.73	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.098		0.063	
N			3950		3695	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.
* EU partners are defined as those from the EU15 minus Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

Foreign wives of native men

We now turn from studying natives who marry binationally to the partners of these natives. Table 6 presents the results for foreign wives of native men, and shows that in 2008, women born outside the EU have an odds that is 5.6 times larger to marry native men compared to 1991. These results are in line with the previous findings and with those of other authors (Niedomysl et al. 2009).

Table 6. Foreign wives marrying native men versus native women marrying native husbands

			Wife from EU15 Exp(B)		**Wife from new EU** Exp(B)		**Wife from outside EU** Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00		1.00	***	1.00	***
		1996	0.94		1.82	***	1.83	***
		2002	0.94		2.54	***	3.82	***
		2008	0.90	*	2.75	***	5.58	***
Age at marriage		<30	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		30-40	1.65	***	1.43	***	1.28	***
		40+	2.21	***	1.39	***	0.54	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	1.41	***	0.72	**	1.99	***
		middle	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	1.15	***	1.70	***	1.71	***
		missing	8.24	***	14.00	***	31.10	***
	Income	low	1.45	***	2.88	***	3.35	***
		average	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	0.87	**	0.57	***	0.44	***
Geography	Rurality	rural	0.97		0.59	***	0.95	
		urban	1.00		1.00		1.00	
	Border area	border area	1.10		1.98	***	1.16	**
		not in border area	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Constant			0.02	***	0.00	***	0.01	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.051		0.109		0.269	
N			81,029		79,168		85,567	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.

Wives from outside the EU were expected to be much younger than native wives, but this holds only partly true (*H3*). Wives from outside the EU are significantly younger than natives. However, wives from the EU15 and from Central and Eastern European countries are older than native wives, but this figures given the earlier finding that native men who marry these women are also significantly older.

Table 6 also shows that wives from outside the EU are indeed higher educated than native wives, but they are also more often lower educated (and not "middle educated") (*H4*). The same applies to wives from the EU15 region. Women from the new countries of the EU however, are not more often lower educated compared to native wives. Although foreign wives are higher educated than their native counterparts, they do have lower incomes (*H5*). This however, may not be surprising as many have recently arrived in Sweden and have to start their employment careers in their new country of residence.

In line with the results for native men, wives from the new EU countries have higher odds to marry natives in urban areas (*H6*). Similarly, the odds for wives from the new EU and from outside the EU to live in border areas are higher compared to native wives, but there is no effect for EU15 wives (*H7*).

Foreign husbands of native women

It has become increasingly common for foreign men from the new EU countries and from outside the EU to marry Swedish women, which is demonstrated in table 7 (*H1, H2*).

In the previous section it was described that native women who marry husbands from either the new EU countries of from outside the EU are significantly younger than their native counterparts. Table 7 shows that their husbands are also much younger than native husbands (*H3*). Also in line with the older age of native women marrying EU15 husbands, these men are significantly older than native husbands (*H4*). Although especially lower educated native women marry husbands from outside the EU, these husbands are significantly higher educated than native husbands. Moreover, there is also a significant effect of lower education for these husbands, like we found for foreign wives. For the other marriage types I find opposite effects: husbands from the EU15

region tend to be lower educated while those from the new EU counties are more disposed to be higher educated. The results for income are comparable to those for foreign wives: foreign husbands tend to have lower incomes than native husbands. The other results are in line with those found for native women marrying foreign husbands (*H5, H6, H7*).

Table 7. Foreign husbands marrying native women versus native men marrying native wives

			Husband from EU15		**Husband from new EU**		**Husband from outside EU**	
			Exp(B)		Exp(B)		Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00		1.00	***	1.00	***
		1996	1.04		0.97		1.55	***
		2002	1.06		1.56	**	2.46	***
		2008	1.05		2.82	***	3.67	***
Age at marriage		<30	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		30-40	1.39	***	0.77	*	0.81	***
		40+	1.32	***	0.34	***	0.18	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	1.19	**	0.96		1.41	***
		middle	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	1.09		1.38	**	1.31	***
		missing	10.45	***	16.32	***	26.41	***
	Income	low	1.77	***	2.74	***	4.52	***
		average	1.00	***	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	0.75	***	0.54	***	0.51	***
Geography	Rurality	rural	0.63	***	0.40	**	0.50	***
		urban	1.00		1.00		1.00	
	Border area	border area	1.45	***	1.86	***	1.36	***
		not in border area	1.00		1.00		1.00	
Constant			0.02	***	0.00	***	0.02	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.076		0.093		0.287	
N			80,935		78,215		82,715	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.

EU versus Nordic partners who marry natives

Finally, table 8 shows the results for a regression comparing EU partners without those from the Nordic EU countries, to Nordic partners who marry natives.

The likelihood that EU partners marry natives has increased over time when compared to Nordic partners marrying natives (*H2*). In line with the results for their native partners (table 5), EU partners are significantly younger than their Nordic counterparts (*H3*). They are also higher educated (*H4*) and tend to live in urban areas (*H6*). Nordic husbands are more common in border areas (*H7*), which is in line with the spatial pattern explored previously.

Table 8. EU versus Nordic partners who marry natives*

			EU versus Nordic wives Exp(B)		**EU versus Nordic husbands** Exp(B)	
Year of marriage		1991	1.00	***	1.00	
		1996	1.22		1.12	
		2002	1.50	***	1.25	*
		2008	1.70	***	1.26	*
Age at marriage		<30	1.00	***	1.00	***
		30-40	0.98		0.97	
		40+	0.55	***	0.67	***
Socio-economic status	Educational level	low	0.88		0.84	
		middle	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	2.22	***	2.34	***
		missing	3.22	***	2.74	***
	Income	low	1.48	***	1.49	***
		average	1.00	***	1.00	***
		high	0.92		0.89	
Geography	Rurality	rural	0.41	***	0.54	***
		urban	1.00		1.00	
	Border area	border area	0.76		0.54	***
		not in border area	1.00		1.00	
Constant			0.21	***	0.53	***
Nagelkerke R^2			0.123		0.116	
N			3,950		3,695	

Note: levels of significance: *** <0.001 ** < 0.01 * < 0.05.
* EU partners are defined as those from the EU15 minus Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

DISCUSSION

This study has filled a gap in the existing literature, examining the tendency of native Swedes to marry foreign partners. While previous studies have mainly focused on the increase in marriage migration and the integration of migrant groups in society, this study has conducted a systematic comparison between natives marrying EU partners versus natives marrying non-EU partners using full-population register data. Furthermore, I have not only examined distinguishing characteristics of the native partner, but also of the foreign partner.

The share of binational marriages has increased over time for both native men and women. Although the probability for natives to marry EU partners versus native partners has not increased over time, the likelihood for a binational EU marriage did increase compared to the odds of marrying a partner from a neighbouring country. The geographical origins of European partners have changed over time, but not in the same way for men and women. Native men have shifted their focus from wives from Nordic and West European countries to wives from Central and Eastern Europe. The timing of this change, however, does not coincide with the moment these countries entered the EU, but happened much earlier. For native women, on the other hand, proximity remains the main mechanism for partner choice, as women were and still are most likely to marry Finnish husbands when they marry binationally. In addition, western husbands are popular among Swedish-born women, especially those from British and German origin.

An important result of this study is that the probability to marry partners from outside the European Union has doubled for native women and quadrupled for native men in less than 20 years time. Although register data cannot reveal how couples have met, based on the partners' region of origin some plausible assumptions can be made regarding the mechanisms of binational partner choice. Men increasingly choose partners from Eastern European and Asian countries, such as Thailand, Russia and the Philippines. Additional analysis shows that most of these wives married in the same or next year after they arrived to Sweden, which indicates that most will not have met in Sweden, but rather in the wives' countries of residence while the native men were there on holiday or for

other reasons. This corresponds to the study by Niedomysl and colleagues (2009) who found that the number of marriage migrants has been increasingly substantially over the last decades in Sweden. Native women also increasingly marry partners born outside the EU, but they seem to meet their partners in Sweden, as they primarily marry partners from large migrant groups living in Sweden. One pattern that can be distinguished is that native women tend to marry refugees, particularly men from former Yugoslavia, Iran, Chile and Lebanon. The rise in the number of native women marrying Turkish husbands is also related to the migration stock, as the women are probably born in Sweden from Turkish parents, and the husband having grown up in Turkey. It seems that especially for men, globalisation is taking over from proximity. The enormous increase in long-distance international travel, especially to Thailand, has played an important role in the increase in marriages to Asian women. For women, globalisation has led to an increase in the variety of the geographic origin of husbands, although proximity remains vital.

King's (2002) suggestion of a polarisation of migration types with on the one hand relatively poor migrants and on the other hand the highly skilled, seems to be partly applicable to the origins of foreign husbands and wives in Sweden. First, the proportion marrying EU15 partners as opposed to Nordic partners has increased over time. Based on the characteristics of the partners in these couples, the idea of the 'Eurostars' (Favell 2008) or 'Europeans' (Fligstein 2008) can partly be supported. The natives and their partners in these relationships are higher educated, younger and more often live in urban areas, and the Swedish-born partners often have lived abroad themselves, a time in which they might have met their present partner. However, when comparing natives who marry binationally to those who marry a native, I find that especially the lower educated marry binational partners, although this does not apply to all marriage types. The lower educated have sometimes been seen as the victims of globalization and Europeanization (Kriesi et al. 2008, Kuhn 2011). However, travel analyses have shown that although the higher educated travel more, the change in the frequency of international travel has been greater for the lower educated (see discussion in Díez Medrano et al. 2011). This seems to apply to Swedish men, who travel to Asia explicitly to search for a wife.

On the other hand, foreign partners might be labelled as 'poor' as they tend to have a low income, but this might be because they have to start building their careers in Sweden. Although some are lower educated, foreign partners are more often higher educated when compared to native partners, especially those from the new countries of the EU and from outside the EU. These findings are in line with Glowsky's (2007) study on German men marrying marriage migrants and Paez Minervini and McAndrew's (2006) study on mail order brides, who argue that migrant women from poor countries might be relatively highly educated, but unable to find a partner in their own country.

Further research should be conducted on binational marriages in border areas. This study has found that binational marriages are more common in border areas, and not only those in which Nordic partners are involved. Savage and colleagues (2005) claimed that there are more global attachments in border areas, although others have argued that these attachments are rather on a binational than a broader geographical level (Rother and Nebe 2009). It will be interesting to examine the dynamics of these relationships and to explore the meeting places of binational couples. An extension of this study could also include cohabitations, although Swedish register data can only capture cohabiters who have common children.

Based on the analyses in this paper, I tend to give a negative answer to the question 'Is there an EU effect on binational marriages in Sweden?'. There are no hard facts to proof that Sweden's accession to the EU has led to more 'Euromarriages', and it is impossible to say how the already existing trend to marry partners from Eastern and Central Europe would have continued without the EU enlargement that has taken place. At the same time as the EU expanded, several other processes which could be grouped under the term 'globalisation' have led to an expanding partner market in which it is increasingly easy to search for and find a partner.

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APPENDIX

Table A1. Descriptive statistics on native men who married

		Married to native wives	Married to EU wives	Married to new EU wives	Married to wives from outside EU
Year of marriage	1991	26.3	27.2	13.8	10.9
	1996	21.9	22.6	23.0	17.5
	2002	25.2	25.6	32.5	32.1
	2008	26.6	24.7	30.7	39.5
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age at marriage	<40	66.8	50.1	48.2	55.8
	40+	33.2	49.9	51.8	44.2
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Educational level	low	14.0	16.6	20.0	15.3
	middle	45.7	43.8	43.6	47.3
	high	39.1	37.6	34.8	36.4
	missing	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income	low	24.0	29.6	32.9	31.2
	average	51.2	45.2	41.9	42.0
	high	24.8	25.2	25.2	26.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rurality	urban	93.1	92.6	94.5	92.8
	rural	5.8	6.5	4.7	6.4
	missing coordinates	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	border area	5.1	5.7	9.5	6.5
	not in border area	94.9	94.3	90.5	93.5
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Emigration history	ever emigrated	4.2	9.9	7.5	9.9
	never emigrated	95.8	90.1	92.5	90.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		78,616	3,325	1,445	7,893

Table A2. Descriptive statistics on native women who married

		Married to native husbands	Married to EU husbands	Married to new EU husbands	Married to husbands from outside EU
Year of marriage	1991	26.3	27.6	22.1	19.9
	1996	21.9	24.3	17.7	23.1
	2002	25.2	25.3	24.9	27.8
	2008	26.6	22.8	35.3	29.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age at marriage	<40	72.0	66.9	74.8	81.7
	40+	28.0	33.1	25.2	18.3
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Educational level	low	11.0	14.7	15.7	16.5
	middle	44.2	46.3	46.8	48.9
	high	44.1	37.8	36.7	33.5
	missing	0.8	1.2	0.8	1.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income	low	23.9	30.1	32.0	38.8
	average	50.5	48.5	45.2	44.2
	high	25.7	21.4	22.9	17.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rurality	urban	93.1	94.2	96.3	95.8
	rural	5.8	4.6	2.9	3.3
	missing coordinates	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Border area	border area	5.1	7.3	9.5	7.3
	not in border area	94.9	92.7	90.5	92.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Emigration history	ever emigrated	3.9	11.3	6.6	10.7
	never emigrated	96.1	88.7	93.4	89.3
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		78,616	3,238	485	5,022

Table B1. Descriptive statistics on wives of native men

		Native wives	EU wives	New EU wives	Outside EU wives
Year of marriage	1991	26.3	27.2	13.8	10.9
	1996	21.9	22.6	23.0	17.5
	2002	25.2	25.6	32.5	32.1
	2008	26.6	24.7	30.7	39.5
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age at marriage	<30	42.5	27.3	32.7	42.0
	30-40	29.5	29.6	31.9	37.1
	40+	28.0	43.1	35.4	21.0
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Educational level	low	11.0	16.1	7.5	15.3
	middle	44.2	37.3	31.9	24.5
	high	44.1	38.4	47.1	39.9
	missing	0.8	8.1	13.4	20.3
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income	low	23.9	36.3	52.9	62.8
	average	50.5	43.2	31.4	26.4
	high	25.7	20.5	15.6	10.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rurality	urban	93.1	92.6	94.5	92.8
	rural	5.8	6.5	4.7	6.4
	missing coordinates	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Border area	border area	5.1	5.7	9.5	6.5
	not in border area	94.9	94.3	90.5	93.5
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		78,616	3,325	1,445	7,893

Table B2. Descriptive statistics on husbands of native women

		Native husbands	EU husbands	New EU husbands	Outside EU husbands
Year of marriage	1991	26.3	27.6	22.1	19.9
	1996	21.9	24.3	17.7	23.1
	2002	25.2	25.3	24.9	27.8
	2008	26.6	22.8	35.3	29.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age at marriage	<30	30.4	23.6	40.6	47.6
	30-40	36.4	36.0	34.6	36.7
	40+	33.2	40.5	24.7	15.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Educational level	low	14.0	15.6	10.1	13.0
	middle	45.7	37.3	35.5	29.2
	high	39.1	32.7	39.6	31.4
	missing	1.2	14.4	14.8	26.4
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income	low	17.7	36.5	43.9	59.9
	average	48.2	40.5	36.1	27.0
	high	34.1	23.0	20.0	13.1
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rurality	urban	93.1	94.2	96.3	95.8
	rural	5.8	4.6	2.9	3.3
	missing coordinates	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Border area	border area	5.1	7.3	9.5	7.3
	not in border area	94.9	92.7	90.5	92.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		78,616	3,238	485	5,022

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