The Children of Intermarriage in Four European Countries: Implications for School Achievement, Social Contacts, and Cultural Values

By
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This article tests the thesis that intermarriage fosters the integration of immigrants by studying the children of intermarriage. Using secondary school–based questionnaire data from England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, I compare the children of mixed marriages to second-generation immigrants and to children of native origins. Three dimensions of integration are measured: social integration (contacts with natives), cultural integration (religiosity and family values), and economic integration (school achievement tests). I examine the effect of intermarriage on these outcomes as well as interactions with gender, socioeconomic status, destination country, and origin group. Our findings show that the outcomes for the children of mixed origins are in between the outcomes of immigrants and natives. In some respects, mixed children are exactly halfway, confirming a model of additive effects of parental origins. In other cases, mixed children are closer to immigrants than to natives, pointing to a model of stigmatization and ethnic retentionism.

Keywords: intermarriage; ethnicity; integration; social contacts; values; religion; achievement

Intermarriage occurs when immigrants marry a person of native origins or when immigrants marry a person belonging to another immigrant group. In most Western societies and especially in Europe, the former type of intermarriage is more common than the latter,

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and intermarriage has consequently been regarded as an important indicator of the degree to which immigrants integrate into the host society (Gordon 1964). One of the special features of intermarriage is the notion that intermarriage is not only a reflection of the strength of group boundaries in society, but also an engine of change in this respect (Kalmijn 1998; Lee and Bean 2004). A mixed marriage connects the families and social networks of the two partners, which will lead to more interethnic contact and possibly more mutual acceptance and lower ethnic prejudice in the two origin groups. High rates of intermarriage also muddle official definitions of ethnic groups in a society, which in turn may lead to a lower salience of ethnic or racial boundaries (Davis 1991).

When thinking about the long-term impact of intermarriage, the children who are born into a mixed marriage play a pivotal role. The children of intermarriage are believed to identify less strongly with the minority group and, as a result, will have more contact with natives, will have values that are closer to the values of natives, and may have a more advantageous socioeconomic position compared to immigrants. Intermarriage could thus weaken group boundaries in a new generation, which in turn will foster intermarriage in that generation. This dynamic gives intermarriage a potentially essential role in the integration of new immigrant groups in society. The integration perspective on intermarriage is well known and often presented in textbooks and reviews, but there has also been theoretical criticism which suggests that the link between intermarriage and integration is more uncertain or more complex than is commonly assumed (Rodríguez-García 2006; Song 2009).

One source of criticism lies in the notion of stigmatization. Children of intermarriage may not be considered as such by the majority group, especially when one of the parents belongs to a visible minority group. In the United States, for example, the "one-drop rule" has traditionally specified that the children of a black-white marriage are black. Research has demonstrated that this "one-drop rule" is still experienced among contemporary adults in the U.S. who are biracial (Khanna 2010). As a result, the children of intermarriage may face the same discrimination and stigma that other children are experiencing, and this could dampen any positive effect of having mixed ancestry on integration. There is even qualitative evidence that some mixed children experience a tension because they identify themselves as "native" or "white," while the outside world regards and treats them as "black" or "Asian" (Kibria 1997; Rodríguez-García et al. 2014; Song and Aspinall 2012). In sum, a stigmatization perspective would suggest that the children of mixed marriage are like other immigrant children rather than like natives, especially for social and economic dimensions of integration where stigmatization and discrimination can be relevant. The stigmatization perspective also implies interaction effects by class or socioeconomic status. Previous research shows that ethnic and racial prejudice is weaker among the better educated (Hello, Scheepers, and Sleegers 2006). Hence, mixed children from higher-status backgrounds could be more accepted than mixed children from lower-status backgrounds. The effect of intermarriage on children would then be more positive for children of higher-status background.

Another alternative to the integration perspective comes from the notion of cultural pluralism or ethnic retentionism (Gans 1997). A pluralist perspective suggests that the children of a mixed marriage face a more complex set of options than the children who have two immigrant parents. The children of intermarriage are well aware that they belong to two groups and they are actively choosing identities within situational constraints (Waters 1990). In this perspective, the children of intermarriage are believed to experience pressure from their parents and the two sets of families to be loyal to both groups. Some authors argue that this leads to more awareness of the salience of group boundaries and perhaps a stronger tendency to choose a minority identification, especially among the better educated (Xie and Goyette 1997). Retentionism may also occur if the native parent converts to the faith of the immigrant parent (Jensen 2008). Alternatively, intermarried parents and their children may reduce the tension of such conflicting loyalties by avoiding issues of ethnicity and nationality in day-to-day life. This would lead to less emphasis on group membership and a weaker identification with any group. Yet other authors follow a "marginal man" perspective and theorize that the children of mixed marriages feel more isolated and consequently have smaller networks and fewer good friends (Quillian and Redd 2009). Finally, it has been argued that children of intermarried parents would feel proud of having a double identity and that a double identity can lead to more frequent contact with other mixed persons or to a friendship pattern of "panethnicity" (Muttarak 2014; Okun 2004; Rodríguez-García 2006). In sum, the pluralist perspective suggests many alternatives to the classic integration perspective, but it does not make clear which response occurs under what conditions.

Because there are competing theoretical scenarios, it is especially relevant to see what empirical research has shown. Unfortunately, research on how intermarriage affects children is scarce (Schwartz 2013). Studies on the consequences of intermarriage for children have mostly been concerned with ethnic and racial identities (Finnas and O'Leary 2003; Lee and Bean 2007; Liebler 2004; Qian 2004; Saenz, Hwang, and Anderson 1995; Xie and Goyette 1997). Consequences of intermarriage for the three main dimensions of integration—economic, social, and cultural—have been neglected (Platt 2012; Schwartz 2013). To a large part, this gap in the literature is due to the fact that data on these matters are scarce. Most population surveys in which mixed marriages can be detected focus on adults and, hence, on the parents rather than on the children. Surveys that focus on children, such as school-based studies like PISA (Program for International School Assessment), allow us to identify the children of mixed marriages, but these rarely contain questions on social contacts and cultural values.

There are some exceptions. In an analysis of American high school students, Doyle and Kao (2007) examined the social integration of biracial students by looking at the race of a student's best friend. They showed that black-white and Asian-white students more often had a white friend than monoracial black and Asian students, in line with the integration hypothesis (Doyle and Kao 2007). Studies of the economic dimensions of integration among children typically analyze school achievement. While these studies do not focus on mixed ancestry per se, they routinely include this variable as a control variable when examining

generational differences. Some studies find that children of mixed ancestry are closer to second-generation immigrants with respect to school achievement (Levels, Dronkers, and Kraaykamp 2008), whereas others show that they are closer to natives (Azzolini and Barone 2013). Studies of the norms and values of the children of intermarriage have not been done as far as I am aware.

In comparing children of mixed marriages to other children, it is important to think about selectivity. The literature on intermarriage has demonstrated that the chances to enter a mixed marriage are dependent on several social, economic, and cultural factors. One of the most important findings in this literature is that minority members with more education and a higher socioeconomic status are more likely to marry into the majority population (Kalmijn 2012; Qian and Lichter 2007; Van Tubergen and Maas 2007). Since parental socioeconomic status affects the cultural values of children as well as their socioeconomic opportunities, this will bias the effect of having mixed ancestry on children's integration. In addition, people are more likely to enter a mixed marriage when they live in less ethnically segregated areas (Martinovic 2013). If persons who enter a mixed marriage become parents, their children will thus have more opportunities to meet people outside their own group, assuming that such couples do not move to a very different area after marrying (Kalmijn 2010). Without controlling for selectivity, any evidence in favor of the integration perspective would be overstated.

In this contribution, I examine a large and representative sample of 14-year-old children of intermarried parents in four European countries (England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden). These countries are all Western immigration countries with large numbers of immigrants from a variety of origin countries (Table 1). The focus is on three dimensions of integration: social integration (children's social contacts, in particular how often they interact with natives), cultural integration (children's religiosity and family values), and economic integration (school achievement). For each outcome, two comparisons are made: I compare mixed children to natives and mixed children to immigrants. Integration theory would suggest that the outcomes of mixed children will resemble those of natives, whereas stigmatization theory suggests that the outcomes of mixed children will resemble those of immigrants. Obviously, there is also the possibility that mixed children are in the middle of these groups and that both mechanisms play a role. I control for selectivity and look at possible interaction effects to see if the influence of mixed ancestry is heterogeneous (Platt 2012; Rodríguez-García 2006; Xie and Goyette 1997). I particularly focus on the role of gender, socioeconomic status, origin group, and destination country.

Data and Methods

I use data from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries (CILS4EU). About one hundred secondary schools were randomly chosen per country, and two (randomly chosen) classes in each school filled in a

TABLE 1
Mixed Ancestry by Region of Origin: Unweighted Percentages

Immigrant Group (Main Countries in Italics)	Two Immigrant Parents	Immigrant Father and Native Mother	Immigrant Mother and Native Father	Total	N
Africa (Sub-Saharan)	71.8	19.5	8.8	100.0	411
Eritrea, Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Somalia					
Caribbean	54.3	30.5	15.2	100.0	269
Jamaica, Suriname, Antilles					
Latin America	30.4	37.0	32.6	100.0	135
Brazil, Chile, Peru					
Middle East (+ North Africa)	81.4	13.8	4.8	100.0	1,817
Turkey, Morocco, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq					
Southeast Asia	50.0	14.3	35.7	100.0	252
China, Thailand, Philippines					
Southcentral Asia	63.7	20.8	15.5	100.0	664
Iran, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka					
Eastern Europe	66.9	10.6	22.4	100.0	357
Russia, Poland					
Southeastern Europe	78.4	15.5	6.1	100.0	458
Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo					
Southern Europe	42.5	40.8	16.7	100.0	306
Greece, Italy, Spain					
Other	65.4	34.6	0.0	100.0	81
Total	69.3	18.9	11.8	100.0	4,750

NOTE: Only native-born students. Pooled countries.

questionnaire (Kalter et al. 2014). The focus was on grades where the children were about 14 years old. Schools with high proportions of immigrants were systematically oversampled via a stratified sampling scheme so as to ensure a large enough sample of immigrants. Based on the share of immigrants in a school, four strata were constructed and random samples of schools were drawn within these strata.

I distinguish three groups: immigrant children (native-born children with two foreign-born parents), native children (native-born children with two native-born parents), and mixed children (native-born children with one native-born and one foreign-born parent). The first generation is excluded since the overwhelming majority of mixed children are second generation. I exclude immigrants from Northern and Western Europe or the United States, Canada, and Australia given

their similarity to the destination population. As is common in European research, immigrant groups are defined on the basis of the country of birth of parents. I collapse countries into regions using a typology developed by the United Nations (UN) (Table 1). I refer to these as "groups," recognizing that there is heterogeneity within such broad regions.

Measures of integration

Social integration is measured with three questions: how often children have contact with natives in the neighborhood (on a scale from 1 for *never* to 5 for *daily*), how often they have contact with natives at school (same scale), and how many of their friends are native (on a scale from 1 for *none* to 5 for *almost all of them*). The items form a good scale (α = .72). Cultural integration is measured with two scales. The first scale measures tolerance toward nontraditional family forms and behaviors: (1) unmarried cohabitation, (2) divorce, (3) abortion, and (4) homosexuality. Each item was evaluated on a scale from 1 for *never okay* to 4 for *always okay* (α = .76). Higher values mean more liberal views. The second scale measures religious values with three questions: how important is religion to you (on a scale from 1 for *not at all important* to 4 for *very important*), how often do you pray (from 1 for *never* to 6 for *five times a day*), and how often do you visit a religious place of worship (from 1 for *never* to 5 for *every day*) (α = .85). Higher values mean more religious values. All scales are constructed as the mean of the standardized items. School achievement is measured with a vocabulary test where students had to choose synonyms or antonyms (twenty-five to thirty words with four to five alternatives per word). All dependent variables were standardized in the regression models (M = 0, SD = 1).

Methods

I present ordinary least squares (OLS) models for the pooled data as well as models for each country separately. The standard errors are not corrected for the clustering of students in schools as this would only affect school-level effects, and these are not included. All models contain indicator variables for the three groups: (a) native, (b) immigrant, (c) mixed. I compare the mixed group to natives in one version of the model (the b2 effect) and to immigrants in another version of the model (the b3 effect). The two effects are presented in the same column because the rest of the model is the same. To examine the halfway scenario, I test whether the difference between (c) and (a) is half the difference between (b) and (a). Missing values on the control variables were imputed iteratively by using the multiple imputation procedure in STATA (Royston 2005). To address the selection perspective, I examine to what extent the effects of mixed ancestry are reduced when controls are included for the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of parents as well as for characteristics of the neighborhood where the parents (and the child) live. To save space, these variables are described in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Unweighted Means (and Standard Deviations) of Control Variables by Type of Marriage

	Natives	Two Immigrant Parents	Immigrant Father and Native Mother	Immigrant Mother and Native Father
Mother works for pay (1 = yes, 0 = no)	.82	.56	.70	.64
Mother's ISEI (of current or latest occupation) (divided by 10)	4.63 (1.96)	3.83 (1.83)	4.58 (1.99)	4.36 (1.98)
Father's ISEI (of current or latest occupation) (divided by 10)	4.62 (2.13)	3.75 (1.88)	4.29 (2.09)	4.76 (2.11)
Mother's education (1 = primary, 2 = secondary, 3 = tertiary)	2.05 (0.63)	1.63 (0.91)	1.94 (0.75)	1.92 (0.87)
Father's education (1 = primary, 2 = secondary, 3 = tertiary)	2.04 (0.67)	1.80 (0.89)	1.92 (0.84)	2.10 (0.72)
Two-parent household (1 = living with both biological parents, 0 = otherwise)	.68	.79	.56	.68
Number of siblings	1.32 (1.09)	1.90 (1.50)	1.53 (1.38)	1.44 (1.21)
Perceived share of natives in neighborhood (1 = *none or very few* to 5 = *almost all*)	4.12 (1.01)	3.05 (1.20)	3.36 (1.12)	3.53 (1.16)
Books in the home (1 = *0–25* to 5 = *>500*)	2.54 (1.21)	1.87 (1.01)	2.30 (1.17)	2.42 (1.22)
N	10,678	3,291	898	595

NOTE: Only native-born students. Pooled countries. ISEI stands for International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (Ganzeboom et al. 1992).

Findings

Descriptive findings

Table 1 shows how many children have mixed ancestry and how this varies among immigrant groups. Mixed ancestry is quite common: about 30 percent of second-generation immigrants have one native and one foreign parent. Mixing is least common among immigrants from the larger Middle East. It is also relatively uncommon among immigrants from Southeast Europe and Eastern Europe. Mixing is very common among Latin Americans and among Southern Europeans. Gender differences are striking. In most groups, it is most often the father who is foreign. In two groups, it is more often the mother who is foreign. This occurs for South East Asians, which is in line with American research (Jacobs and Labov 2002); and for Eastern Europeans, something that is probably particular for Europe.

Table 2 shows how the three groups of couples differ with respect to other characteristics. Intermarried parents have a higher socioeconomic status than immigrant parents. Differences are especially noteworthy for mothers' status. Mothers in mixed couples—even foreign-born mothers—are almost as highly educated as mothers in native couples. Furthermore, mixed couples less often live in neighborhoods with large shares of immigrants, especially couples where the father is native. In line with a British study by Platt (2012), I find that children with a native mother and an immigrant father less often live in a two-parent household. I suspect that this has to do with the higher risk of divorce of intermarried couples, especially those involving minority men (Kalmijn, de Graaf, and Janssen 2005; Smith, Maas, and van Tubergen 2012). Finally, the mother works for pay more often in mixed couples than in immigrant couples. In sum, the results in Table 2 suggest that parents in mixed marriages are quite a selective group.

Regression findings

Tables 3 through 6 present the regression models for achievement, social contacts, religiosity, and family values. Because mixing is more common in some groups than in others and because some groups may be more integrated than others, the effect of being mixed can be biased. To adjust for this, I used weights when estimating the regression models. The weights are constructed in such a way that the proportion of mixed children in each origin group is the same as the proportion of mixed children in all origin groups combined. The weights do not affect the number of immigrants in each group. To give an example, nonmixed children of Latin American origins get a weight of 69.3 / 30.4 = 2.28, and mixed children of Latin American origins get a weight of (18.9 + 11.8) / (37.0 + 32.6) = 0.44. With the weight applied, the percentage of mixed children for Latin America is 30.7 percent, just as it is for all other groups (Table 1). These weights do not affect the overall group composition.

The models for language achievement are presented in Table 3. Immigrants have a lower score on the language test than natives, and the mixed group is exactly in between the two. The effects can be interpreted as effect sizes (Cohen's d) since the dependent variable is standardized. The language performance gap between immigrants and natives is substantial (d = .61). When controlling for selectivity, differences become smaller, and the effect size is now modest. The mixed group is still in between the natives and the immigrants. The hypothesis that mixed children are exactly halfway in between natives and immigrants cannot be rejected. In the country-specific models, the halfway scenario is confirmed in Germany and Sweden. In the Netherlands, the language achievement of mixed children is closer to that of immigrants. The results for England are less clear, in part because there is no immigrant-native gap to begin with.

Table 4 presents the results for social contacts. There are large differences between immigrants and natives: immigrants less often have contact with natives in school, in the neighborhood, and they have fewer native friends. The effect size is strong, d = 1.30. More importantly, effects of intermarriage can be seen. Children of intermarried parents have significantly more contact with natives

TABLE 3
OLS Regression of Language Achievement on Selected Variables

	(1) Pooled		(2) Pooled		(3) England		(4) Germany		(5) Netherlands		(6) Sweden	
Immigrant vs. native (b1)	-.611**	(.00)	-.379**	(.00)	-.017	(.64)	-.348**	(.00)	-.559**	(.00)	-.478**	(.00)
Mixed vs. native (b2)	-.304**	(.00)	-.192**	(.00)	-.003	(.94)	-.176**	(.00)	-.411**	(.00)	-.189**	(.01)
Mixed vs. immigrant (b3)	.307**	(.00)	.187**	(.00)	.015	(.72)	.171**	(.00)	.148*	(.09)	.289**	(.00)
Germany	-.910**	(.00)	-.913**	(.00)								
Netherlands	.026	(.65)	.046	(.35)								
Sweden	.343**	(.00)	.301**	(.00)								
Girl vs. boy	-.055**	(.00)	-.061**	(.00)	-.032	(.28)	-.191**	(.00)	-.128**	(.00)	.124**	(.00)
Age	-.153**	(.00)	-.108**	(.00)	.029	(.18)	-.106**	(.00)	-.115**	(.00)	-.496**	(.00)
Mother employed			.078**	(.00)	.118**	(.00)	.023	(.66)	.011	(.79)	.218**	(.00)
Mother's occupation			.023**	(.00)	.018**	(.00)	.027**	(.00)	.025**	(.01)	.018**	(.03)
Father's occupation			.039**	(.00)	.028**	(.00)	.021**	(.01)	.047**	(.00)	.050**	(.00)
Mother's education			.064**	(.00)	.036**	(.03)	.135**	(.00)	.041	(.12)	.034	(.16)
Father's education			.010	(.38)	.005	(.76)	.073**	(.01)	-.002	(.93)	-.035	(.14)
Two-parent household			.023	(.15)	.071**	(.00)	-.046	(.11)	.008	(.85)	.023	(.39)
Number of siblings			-.031**	(.00)	-.028**	(.01)	-.046**	(.00)	-.011	(.68)	-.032**	(.01)
Natives in neighborhood			.040**	(.00)	-.003	(.85)	.068**	(.00)	.042**	(.00)	.042**	(.00)
Books in the home			.124**	(.00)	.094**	(.00)	.142**	(.00)	.125**	(.00)	.113**	(.00)
Constant	2.555**	(.00)	.964**	(.00)	-.795**	(.02)	-.159	(.62)	1.252**	(.00)	6.673**	(.00)
Observations	15,015		15,015		3,317		4,167		3,745		3,786	
Test halfway	H		H		H		H		I		H	

NOTE: p-values in parentheses. Test halfway is test that b2 = ½ b1. H means that b2 = ½ b1. H means closer to natives, I means closer to immigrants. Effect b3 is obtained from a separate model. Dependent variables are standardized. Weighted for proportion mixed ancestry by immigrant group (see text).

*$p < .10.$ **$p < .05.$

than immigrant children but also less frequent contact with natives than natives themselves. More importantly, the test indicates that the halfway scenario must be rejected. The effects show that in the social domain, mixed children are in fact closer to immigrants than to natives. Country-specific analyses show that this is primarily the case in England and Germany. In the Netherlands and Sweden, the halfway scenario cannot be rejected.

The cultural dimension of integration is studied in Table 5 (religiosity) and Table 6 (family values). There are large differences between immigrants and natives in these respects. Immigrants are more religious and are less tolerant toward nonstandard family behaviors, such as divorce and unmarried cohabitation. Effect sizes are large. Effects of intermarriage can be seen again. Compared to immigrant children, mixed children are significantly less religious and have more liberal family values. However, they are still more religious and less liberal than natives. The test statistics indicate that the halfway scenario must be rejected (model 2, Table 5 and 6). Mixed children tend to be closer to immigrants than to natives in three of the four models. Country-specific analyses again show that this is primarily the case in England and Germany. The halfway pattern can be found in the Netherlands and Sweden. For family values in Sweden, mixed children are closer to natives.

How relevant is the selection perspective? To evaluate this, I compare the effects of mixed ancestry with and without controls for parental and neighborhood traits. The degree to which these control variables reduce the effect of mixed ancestry shows to what extent differences in integration are due to other differences between parents in mixed and unmixed marriages. I take the contrast between mixed children and immigrant children as the point of comparison since it is clear that most of the control variables also reduce the gap between immigrants and natives. For all measures, part of the gap between mixed children and immigrant children—the b3 effect—is due to selection. The importance varies across measures. The percentage of the gap that is due to selection is 25 percent for social contacts, 38 percent for language achievement, 14 percent for religion, and 34 percent for family values. Hence, selection is important, but it explains less than half of the gap.

Examining heterogeneity

In this section, I explore sources of heterogeneity, in particular by gender, socioeconomic status, and origin group. To analyze heterogeneity in a parsimonious way, I pooled the countries. I include variables for being mixed and being native. Immigrant children are the reference. Next, I interact the variable for being mixed as well as the variable for being native with the moderator variables. The interaction for mixed shows whether the gap between the mixed group and the immigrant group depends on the moderator variable in question. To further simplify the model, I replaced the status measures with one scale that is the average of the four standardized status measures.

I first look at the parents' socioeconomic status. Table 7 shows that parental socioeconomic status has a positive effect on children's integration, in line with

TABLE 4
OLS Regression of Social Contacts with Natives on Selected Variables

	(1) Pooled		(2) Pooled		(3) England		(4) Germany		(5) Netherlands		(6) Sweden	
Immigrant vs. native (b1)	-1.300**	(.00)	-.988**	(.00)	-.912**	(.00)	-.754**	(.00)	-1.525**	(.00)	-.776**	(.00)
Mixed vs. native (b2)	-.870**	(.00)	-.664**	(.00)	-.652**	(.00)	-.623**	(.00)	-.849**	(.00)	-.365**	(.00)
Mixed vs. immigrant (b3)	.430**	(.00)	.324**	(.00)	.261**	(.00)	.130**	(.04)	.676**	(.00)	.411**	(.00)
Germany	.191**	(.00)	.138**	(.00)								
Netherlands	.151**	(.01)	.140**	(.01)								
Sweden	.015	(.74)	-.045	(.26)								
Girl vs. boy	-.028	(.12)	-.024	(.14)	-.024	(.53)	-.010	(.74)	-.016	(.57)	-.029	(.34)
Age	-.075**	(.00)	-.048**	(.00)	-.074**	(.02)	-.042*	(.06)	-.009	(.67)	.015	(.84)
Mother employed			.104**	(.00)	.058	(.31)	.132**	(.01)	.128**	(.00)	.011	(.79)
Mother's occupation			-.008*	(.06)	-.014*	(.07)	.021**	(.02)	-.016*	(.05)	-.006	(.41)
Father's occupation			-.004	(.31)	-.006	(.40)	-.010	(.34)	-.005	(.55)	-.002	(.80)
Mother's education			.075**	(.00)	.054**	(.01)	.036	(.32)	.132**	(.00)	.096**	(.00)
Father's education			.019	(.14)	-.019	(.37)	.055	(.12)	.060**	(.04)	-.005	(.81)
Two-parent household			-.018	(.32)	-.111**	(.00)	-.021	(.51)	.106**	(.01)	-.065**	(.04)
Number of siblings			-.018**	(.01)	-.021	(.11)	-.003	(.80)	-.022	(.16)	-.030**	(.04)
Natives in neighborhood			.223**	(.00)	.318**	(.00)	.271**	(.00)	.133**	(.00)	.233**	(.00)
Books in the home			.019**	(.01)	.020	(.14)	.054**	(.00)	.008	(.55)	-.002	(.87)
Constant	1.357**	(.00)	-.164	(.45)	.068	(.88)	-.576	(.12)	-.378	(.27)	-1.028	(.33)
Observations	15,435		15,435		3,438		4,171		3,891		3,935	
Test halfway	I		I		I		I		H		H	

NOTE: See note to Table 3.
*$p < .10.$ **$p < .05.$

TABLE 5
OLS Regression of Religiosity on Selected Variables

	(1) Pooled		(2) Pooled		(3) England		(4) Germany		(5) Netherlands		(6) Sweden	
Immigrant vs. native (b1)	1.142**	(.00)	1.018**	(.00)	1.286**	(.00)	.765**	(.00)	1.271**	(.00)	.814**	(.00)
Mixed vs. native (b2)	.677**	(.00)	.619**	(.00)	.900**	(.00)	.487**	(.00)	.606**	(.00)	.357**	(.00)
Mixed vs. immigrant (b3)	-.465**	(.00)	-.399**	(.00)	-.386**	(.00)	-.278**	(.00)	-.665**	(.00)	-.457**	(.00)
Germany	.048	(.35)	.055	(.24)								
Netherlands	-.164**	(.00)	-.155**	(.00)								
Sweden	-.314**	(.00)	-.298**	(.00)								
Girl vs. boy	.046**	(.02)	.044**	(.02)	.046	(.28)	.053	(.14)	.004	(.91)	.069**	(.02)
Age	-.071**	(.00)	-.053**	(.00)	-.018	(.57)	-.067**	(.00)	-.038*	(.07)	-.119*	(.06)
Mother employed			-.143**	(.00)	-.129**	(.01)	-.109**	(.00)	-.208**	(.00)	-.077*	(.08)
Mother's occupation			.011**	(.01)	.016*	(.09)	.005	(.63)	.011	(.19)	.002	(.84)
Father's occupation			.003	(.45)	.017**	(.04)	.001	(.89)	-.016*	(.07)	.008	(.36)
Mother's education			-.010	(.47)	.012	(.66)	-.055*	(.05)	-.051*	(.07)	.011	(.65)
Father's education			.030**	(.02)	.054**	(.05)	.025	(.43)	.023	(.35)	-.013	(.54)
Two-parent household			.234**	(.00)	.246**	(.00)	.260**	(.00)	.215**	(.00)	.202**	(.00)
Number of siblings			.090**	(.00)	.055**	(.00)	.083**	(.00)	.146**	(.00)	.083**	(.00)
Natives in neighborhood			-.062**	(.00)	-.181**	(.00)	-.032**	(.03)	-.017	(.18)	-.067**	(.00)
Books in the home			.052**	(.00)	.056**	(.00)	.056**	(.00)	.050**	(.00)	.024*	(.09)
Constant	.798**	(.00)	.391*	(.05)	.139	(.77)	.705**	(.02)	.005	(.99)	1.207	(.17)
Observations	14,927		14,927		3,295		4,081		3,848		3,703	
Test halfway	I		I		I		I		H		H	

NOTE: See note to Table 3.
*p < .10. **p < .05.

257

TABLE 6
OLS Regression of Liberal Family Values on Selected Variables

	(1) Pooled		(2) Pooled		(3) England		(4) Germany		(5) Netherlands		(6) Sweden	
Immigrant *vs.* native (b1)	−.971**	(.00)	−.710**	(.00)	−.718**	(.00)	−.561**	(.00)	−.820**	(.00)	−.711**	(.00)
Mixed *vs.* native (b2)	−.523**	(.00)	−.415**	(.00)	−.455**	(.00)	−.373**	(.00)	−.518**	(.00)	−.224**	(.00)
Mixed *vs.* immigrant (b3)	.447**	(.00)	.295**	(.00)	.263**	(.00)	.188**	(.00)	.303**	(.00)	.487**	(.00)
Germany	−.252**	(.00)	−.255**	(.00)								
Netherlands	−.102**	(.02)	−.085**	(.02)								
Sweden	.604**	(.00)	.543**	(.00)								
Girl *vs.* boy	.291**	(.00)	.286**	(.00)	.248**	(.00)	.244**	(.00)	.294**	(.00)	.364**	(.00)
Age	−.057**	(.00)	−.034**	(.01)	−.021	(.40)	−.039**	(.05)	−.019	(.40)	−.075	(.30)
Mother employed			.173**	(.00)	.151**	(.00)	.138**	(.00)	.227**	(.00)	.168**	(.00)
Mother's occupation			.016**	(.00)	.003	(.67)	.023**	(.00)	.022**	(.01)	.017**	(.04)
Father's occupation			.024**	(.00)	.008	(.32)	.020**	(.02)	.039**	(.00)	.027**	(.00)
Mother's education			.083**	(.00)	.074**	(.00)	.127**	(.00)	.112**	(.00)	.049**	(.03)
Father's education			−.008	(.55)	−.028	(.21)	.024	(.36)	.001	(.97)	−.003	(.90)
Two-parent household			−.192**	(.00)	−.142**	(.00)	−.219**	(.00)	−.207**	(.00)	−.191**	(.00)
Number of siblings			−.077**	(.00)	−.071**	(.00)	−.078**	(.00)	−.095**	(.00)	−.066**	(.00)
Natives in neighborhood			.039**	(.00)	.077**	(.00)	.046**	(.00)	.010	(.45)	.048**	(.00)
Books in the home			.085**	(.00)	.082**	(.00)	.098**	(.00)	.068**	(.00)	.087**	(.00)
Constant	.875**	(.00)	−.075	(.69)	−.211	(.57)	−.453	(.17)	−.378	(.26)	.995	(.34)
Observations	15,049		15,049		3,320		4,109		3,845		3,775	
Test halfway	H		I		I		I		H		I	

NOTE: See note to Table 3.
*$p < .10.$ **$p < .05.$

TABLE 7
Heterogeneity in the Effects of Mixed Ancestry on Integration

Model A	(1) Language Test	(2) Social Contacts	(3) Religiosity	(4) Family Values
Socioeconomic status	.110**	.108**	−.014	.071**
Native vs. immigrant	.385**	.974**	−1.010**	.723**
x socioeconomic status (z)	.018	−.129**	.080**	.029*
Mixed vs. immigrant	.190**	.305**	−.387**	.305**
x socioeconomic status (z)	.052**	.071**	−.061**	.081**

Model B	(1) Language Test	(2) Social Contacts	(3) Religiosity	(4) Family Values
Immigrant vs. native	−.374**	−.990**	1.019**	−.710**
Mixed (father foreign) vs. native (b4)	−.174**	−.730**	.620**	−.421**
Mixed vs. native (mother foreign) (b5)	−.236**	−.565**	.620**	−.415**
F-test b4 = b5	2.21	14.95**	0.00	0.02

NOTE: All models include the other control variables but the effects are not printed.
*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$.

the results from the previous tables. More importantly, there are *positive* interactions of socioeconomic status and being mixed. This means that the effect of intermarriage becomes larger—more positive—when the parents have a higher socioeconomic status. To illustrate the interactions, I present the implied differences between mixed and nonmixed children for the lowest- and the highest-status groups in Figure 1 (using a range of +/– two standard deviations on the status index). In Figure 1, the implied value of the dependent variable for natives is located at 0; the implied value for immigrants is at the end of the line (depicted with the diamond); and within the line, a horizontal line shows where the mixed group is located. The graph neatly reveals that mixed children of lower socioeconomic status are closer to immigrants (of the same status), whereas mixed children of higher socioeconomic status are closer to natives (of the same status). This pattern is observed for all four outcomes.

In the bottom panel of Table 7, I examine gender interactions. I include two separate variables for being mixed, depending on whether the mother or the father is foreign. I subsequently test if these two groups are different. Both groups of mixed children are in between natives and immigrants. Moreover, for achievement, religiosity, and family values, it does not matter whether the father or the mother is foreign. For the social dimension of integration, however, there is a significant difference. When the father is foreign-born, mixed children have less frequent contact with natives than when the mother is foreign-born. This suggests that the "pull" of a foreign father is stronger than the "pull" of a foreign mother.

The four European countries contain many different immigrant groups, and hence, it is important to examine if intermarriage has differential effects. I use

FIGURE 1
Estimates of Status-Specific Effects of Intermarriage on Children
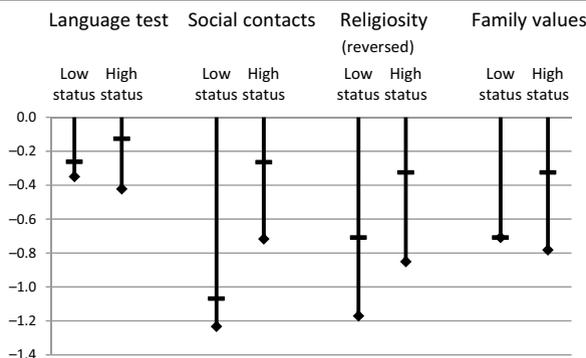
NOTE: Predicted values of natives at 0, values of immigrants at diamond, and values of mixed group at horizontal line.

the regions in Table 1 to define nine different immigrant groups. I estimate the model for each group—each time comparing with natives—and present the results of these models in Figure 2. There are some important differences. First of all, African and Caribbean immigrants experience a more positive effect of being mixed than average. These mixed children are relatively close to natives, especially for the social and the cultural dimension of integration. For language achievement, this is only true for African-origin immigrants. In contrast, for South Central Asians and for immigrants from the larger Middle East, one of the largest groups, the effects are less positive than average. These mixed children seem closer to immigrants. This is true for all four outcomes and for both groups, except for the language achievement of mixed South Central Asians, which is similar to that of natives.

Conclusion

This article has reexamined the classic idea that intermarriage fosters integration by comparing the children of intermarried parents to the children of native parents on the one hand, and to the children of immigrant parents on the other hand. In contrast to most previous quantitative studies, which tend to focus on ethnic or racial identities, I focus on the three traditional dimensions of integration. The economic dimension is studied by looking at language achievement; the social dimension is studied via measures of the amount of contact with natives; and the cultural dimension is measured with attitudes about religion and family behaviors, topics about which natives and most immigrant groups tend to disagree (Uunk 2003). The comparisons are made while taking into account the selectivity of intermarriage. As far as I know, this is one of the first nationally representative quantitative analysis of intermarriage that focuses specifically on children. The focus is on immigrants from non-Western

FIGURE 2
Estimates of Group-Specific Effects of Intermarriage on Children
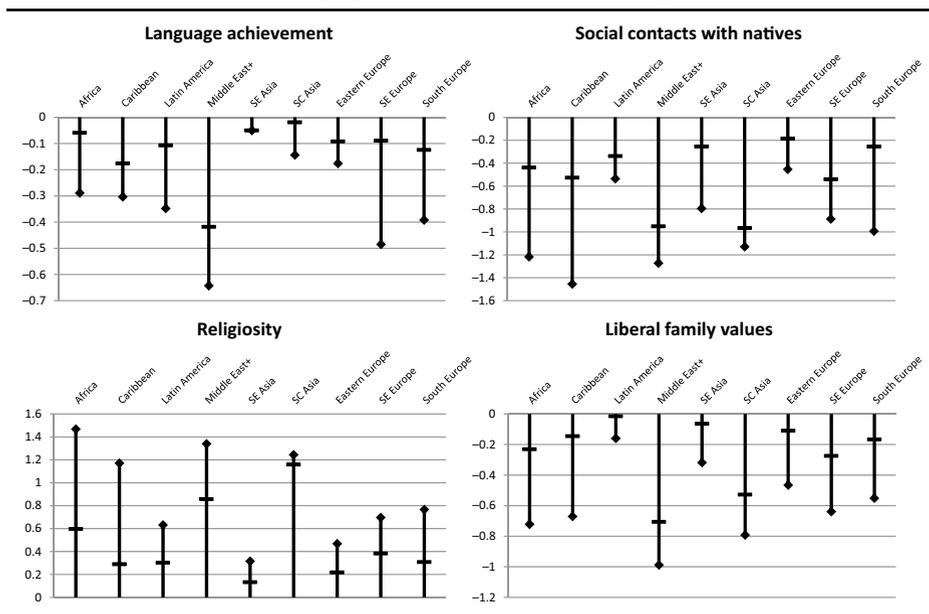
NOTE: Values of natives at 0, of immigrants at diamond, of mixed group at horizontal line.

origins as these groups differ most strongly from natives in terms of economic, social, and cultural characteristics.

For all three dimensions, I find significant effects of intermarriage. Children of intermarried parents clearly differ from immigrant children: they have more social contacts with natives, greater language achievement, more liberal family values, and they are less religious. While this seems to support an integration perspective, the children of intermarried parents are not similar to natives either. In fact, for all outcomes and in all countries, children of mixed origins are significantly different from both immigrants *and* natives. However, where exactly they are located varies across outcomes and countries. For language achievement, mixed children tend to be "halfway" the comparison groups, suggesting that they are "pulled" in both directions. For the social and cultural aspects of integration, mixed children tend to be closer to immigrants, at least in England and Germany. In the Netherlands and Sweden, they are halfway natives and immigrants for all three dimensions.

How can these results be interpreted theoretically? Let me first discuss the halfway pattern that is frequently found. This pattern supports a specific version of the pluralist model. In this version, the immigrant parent and the native parent have independent and more or less equal influences on children's values and behaviors. This *additive model* of parental influences is in line with research on social stratification and primary socialization which shows that the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of fathers *and* mothers have strong and independent

influences on a variety of child outcomes (Grusec, Goodnow, and Kuczynski 2000; Kalmijn 1994). My findings suggest that this is also true when considering the ethnic rather than the socioeconomic characteristics of fathers and mothers.

Although my findings show that mixed children are always somewhere in between the comparison groups, in several cases, they appear closer to immigrants than to natives. Theoretically, this can be explained in several ways. First, it can confirm the stigmatization model in which mixed children are considered by the outside world as belonging to a minority group. The findings are also consistent with a model of ethnic retentionism where mixed children identify more strongly with the minority group that they belong to (Gans 1997). Conversion of the native parent to the faith of the immigrant parent in mixed marriages may also play a role. That mixed children are closer to immigrants in the social domain may point to stigmatization, but that they are also closer to immigrants in the cultural domain suggests that ethnic retentionism plays a role as well. More research is needed to distinguish between these scenarios and to understand the link between them.

The effects are present in all four countries, but there are differences. There does seem to be a tendency that in England and Germany, mixed children are "closer" to immigrants; whereas in the Netherlands and Sweden, they are more often "halfway." This can perhaps be interpreted in light of policy differences. Multicultural policies are strong in Sweden and the Netherlands and weak in Germany, with England taking an intermediate position (Koopmans 2013). One could argue that when a government supports ethnic diversity and when an ideology emerges that is open toward differences, it is easier for the children of mixed origins to identify with two groups and to mix with natives. Of course, larger samples of countries are needed to test this hypothesis convincingly. Cross-national differences in the ethnic composition of the immigrant population will probably play a modest role since groups which reveal the most "negative" inter-marriage effects are large in all four countries (immigrants from the larger Middle East in Germany, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent Sweden; and immigrants from South Central Asia in England).

The effects of mixed origins are heterogeneous, depending on a range of other characteristics. The effects of intermarriage are more positive when the parents have a higher socioeconomic status. In other words, children of mixed marriages are closer to natives in all three domains when they have a high-status background. This could be seen as evidence for the stigmatization perspective since higher-status persons tend to have more open values toward immigrants and are generally less prejudiced (Hello, Scheepers, and Sleegers 2006). I also find evidence that the effects of intermarriage on social contacts are less positive when the father is foreign-born than when the mother is foreign-born. Presumably, a minority father has a stronger "pull" than a minority mother. This finding is in line with one previous study that found that for the racial identification of children, minority fathers are more influential than minority mothers (Xie and Goyette 1997).

I found important differences between origin groups as well. My analyses show that mixed (sub-Saharan) Africans and Caribbeans are closer to natives,

whereas mixed children from the larger Middle East and partly also from South Central Asia are closer to immigrants. In an American context, this would be considered evidence against a stigmatization perspective; but in Europe, this is different since the color line is weaker in Europe than in the United States (Model and Fisher 2002). In Europe, prejudice is especially strong against Muslims and also against the partners in mixed Muslim-native marriages (Savelkoul et al. 2012; Rodríguez-García et al. 2014). In other words, the fact that intermarriage effects in Europe are more positive for Caribbeans and Africans than for immigrants from the larger Middle East seems in line with a stigmatization perspective. This also qualifies the interpretation of country differences in terms of multiculturalism. Although mixed children are more distant from immigrants in countries with multiculturalist policies, acceptance of mixing with immigrants from Muslim countries is probably still limited in these settings.

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