

Family Structure and Father Absence among Immigrant Children: The Role of Migration, Religion and Inequality

MATTHIJS KALMIJN

6.1 Introduction

IN UNDERSTANDING HOW CHILDREN OF immigrants integrate into the societies of which they are part, clearly one of the most important contexts to look at is the family of origin. Parents provide cultural, social and economic resources that help children succeed in school. Disadvantages in these resources typically explain a considerable part of the gap in school achievement between minority and majority youth (Levels et al. 2008; Jonsson & Rudolphi 2011). Parents also provide socialisation to their children and, in doing so, form the basis of children's norms, values and preferences. As the parents of many children are born in countries that are quite different from the destination countries, their norms and values will naturally be different from the norms and values that are dominant in the receiving society. What occurs in the parental home is therefore a key element in understanding cultural assimilation (De Hoon & van Tubergen 2014; Spierings 2015).

One important aspect of the family of origin is the structure of the family. Children can live with both their biological parents, they can live with a single parent, or with a biological parent and a step-parent. The structure of the family is highly relevant for children's futures (McLanahan & Sandefur 1994; Amato 2000). First, children who do not live with both their parents have often experienced a change in their family structure when growing up. Such changes can be considered as stressful life events which may have negative consequences for children's emotional well-being (Fomby & Cherlin 2007; Pearlin 2009). Parental divorce, separation and repartnering often usher in changes in the child's social life—a new school, a new neighbourhood, new networks—which can lead to behavioural problems that negatively affect schooling outcomes. Secondly, living in a non-standard family frequently means a decline in the role of the father. Many children of divorced or separated parents live with their mother and have infrequent contact with their father (Westphal et al. 2014). Although divorced fathers try to be involved

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in the child's upbringing, their role is clearly more fragile and more complex than it is for married fathers. Father absence—as it has been called—is relevant for child outcomes because it makes the transmission of valuable paternal resources more difficult (McLanahan & Sandefur 1994). Father absence also means the loss of one important socialising agent, and hence implies less monitoring, less social control and weaker support (Astone & McLanahan 1991).

Because it affects the resources and socialisation that children receive, family structure is an important element in understanding how minority youth integrate into the receiving society. Unfortunately, little is known about the family structure of the immigrant population. There is much research on ethnic and racial differences in family structure in the USA, however. A long tradition of research has pointed to the higher prevalence of single parenthood among African Americans and has debated the underlying causes of these differences (Moynihan 1965; Burton & Tucker 2009). One type of explanation takes a structural or economic perspective. This line of theorising emphasises high levels of male unemployment, low income and, in the present day, also incarceration as explanations for father absence among African Americans (Morgan et al. 1993; Lopoo & Western 2005). When fathers have few economic resources, the chances of separation or divorce are higher and the level of father involvement after separation more limited (Edin & Kefalas 2005). Another type of explanation takes a cultural perspective and argues that African Americans have a matrifocal culture in which fathers are relatively unimportant (Sarkisian & Gerstel 2004). This perspective has both negative and positive connotations. On the negative side, it has been argued that African American children often lack an important male role model and socialising agent. On the positive side, it has been argued that single mothers are embedded in large support networks—often female oriented—that have positive consequences for children who grow up in single-mother families (Stack 1974).

In this chapter, we examine differences in the families between majority youth and children of immigrants from different origin groups in four European countries. We focus first on family structure, which is of central concern for child outcomes. How does the child live and which parent figures are present in his or her household(s)? Secondly, we have detailed information on the reasons why children do not live with their biological parents. There can be many reasons for not living in a non-standard family—widowhood, parental divorce, a mother who never married—and a comparative analysis of these reasons can tell us something about the role of migration and ethnicity. Thirdly, we focus on the strength of the tie to the father, measured by the amount of face-to-face contact with him, the role of fathers in support networks and the quality of the father-child tie. Given the importance of face-to-face contact and the occurrence of co-parenting, we believe that 'father absence' should be regarded as a continuous concept rather than a discrete one. Not living with the father does not always mean infrequent contact; similarly, there may be variation in contact with the father when parents are married. Finally, within the category of co-parenting there is much variation

in how frequently children stay in a second household. In this sense, contact gives a more complete view of the father–child tie than dichotomous measures of living arrangements and co-parenting.

6.2 Theory and Expectations

Our comparative perspective is twofold. We not only describe differences between children with and without migration background but we also examine differences among different origin groups. To explain these differences, many expectations and ideas can be found in the literature. This contribution organises these in three theoretical perspectives: a migration perspective, an economic perspective and a cultural perspective. Some perspectives apply primarily to the former comparison (children immigrants versus majority children) whereas others apply more to the latter comparison (among different origin groups).

6.2.1 A migration perspective

The first perspective emphasises the role of the migration process in the formation and dissolution of families (Landale et al. 2011). Children of immigrants may live in a different type of household than majority children for reasons that are linked to the migration process itself, and not to characteristics of their origin countries. Immigrant parents may work abroad for extended periods of time or one of the two parents may not have been able or willing to migrate. In both cases, children will be living in a single-parent household, although this will typically be temporary. Some authors describe such arrangements as ‘living apart together across borders’ (Beauchemin et al. 2015). Widowhood plays a role as well. For children whose parents came from countries that were caught up in war—a key cause of immigration to Europe—it is not uncommon to have lost a parent before coming to the destination country. Transnational adoption will play a role too but this is probably not common.

A more indirect way in which the migration process is associated with family structure is through the effect of migration on the marital relationship. One example is that migration sometimes goes hand in hand with entering a mixed marriage with a native-born person of native origins. Since such intermarriages tend to be more unstable (Smith et al. 2012) this may result in more single parenthood among immigrant children. Another example can be found in the situation where a couple migrates together. For many couples, regardless of their origins, the migration experience itself can be stressful. Partners have to adjust to a new life, raise children in a new setting, develop new networks and find new employment. These can be difficult and stressful tasks, especially in the context of limited financial resources and language problems. It is plausible that these experiences put pressure on couples which may increase the risk of divorce or separation (Caarls & Mazzucato 2015).

In general, the expectation is that migration can be a disruptive force for marriages and families; as a result, one would expect children of immigrants to live in dissolved families more often than majority children. We hypothesise that this will more often be the case for immigrants from origin countries that have experienced war. Apart from this influence, we expect that it will apply to both Western and non-Western immigrants. We would also expect generational differences. Some children of immigrants are native born, others are foreign born but moved during or before school age. We expect that these latter children live in a single-parent family more often because their parents migrated as a couple and hence, are more likely to have experienced migration stress as a couple.

6.2.2 An economic perspective

The second perspective focuses on the role of economic resources. Many studies have shown that the economic position of men affects family formation and dissolution. Men who are unemployed, who have low and irregular income and who are involved in low-status jobs are less likely to enter a union and, if they are in a union, are less likely to marry (Oppenheimer 2003; Carlson et al. 2004; Kalmijn 2011). These findings are typically explained in terms of the costs that are involved in setting up a household and the uncertainty that arises when men are not settled in their career (Blossfeld et al. 2005). Similar findings have been recorded for union dissolution. Low income and unemployment increase the risk of separation and divorce (Poortman 2005). This is in part because financial problems lead to stress, and in part because low income on the part of men reduces the gains to specialisation of paid and unpaid labour in marriage.

The link between men's economic position and family structure is also relevant for ethnic differences. For example, many American authors have attributed the high prevalence of single parenthood among African Americans and the low rates of marriage after childbirth to the disadvantaged and uncertain economic position of young black men (Wilson 1987; Lichter et al. 1992; Harknett & McLanahan 2004; Burton & Tucker 2009). Whether this structural explanation also applies to European immigrant groups is not clear, but it is true that the economic position of immigrant men is often more tenuous than that of majority men (van Tubergen et al. 2004; Heath 2008). In general, one would expect that a higher prevalence of single parenthood among immigrant children can be attributed in part to differences in the economic characteristics of families, in particular of fathers.

6.2.3 A cultural perspective

The third and competing perspective is cultural in nature. In this line of reasoning, the choices that people make in their life course are governed by the value orientations that people adhere to and by the norms that are prevalent in individuals' social networks. There is much individual-level evidence for the importance

of attitudes for life-course transitions (Thornton et al. 1992; Cunningham et al. 2005). Moreover, at the macro-level it is clear that the demographic changes that have occurred in all Western societies in the past decades have coincided with enormous changes in attitudes towards marriage, divorce and gender roles (van de Kaa 1987; Lesthaeghe 2002). When applying a cultural perspective to differences between immigrant groups, two arguments can be made. First, there are immigrant groups in Europe who are more traditional in their world views than the majority population. Many children of immigrants come from predominantly Muslim countries where attitudes towards family issues are traditional. Immigrants from these regions tend to stick to these more traditional views even after having lived in the country of destination for some time (De Graaf et al. 2011; Norris & Inglehart 2012; Diehl & Koenig 2013; Spierings 2015). As a result, one would expect children in specific immigrant origin groups, especially those with a Muslim background, to live in single-parent families *less* often than majority children. There obviously may be assimilation towards Western family attitudes, but if such a process occurs it will be far from complete.

Secondly, there are groups where the norms and values are more rather than less tolerant of divorce and single parenthood compared to the majority. Examples are groups with African American, Caribbean and, to a lesser extent, Latin American origins. Some authors have argued that these groups are characterised by a matrifocal orientation, which means that the role of fathers in families is relatively weak whereas the role of mothers and female members of the kin network is strong (Stack 1974; Quinlan 2006; Godelier 2011). As a result, non-marriage is more normal and separation and divorce are more accepted. One would thus expect that children in these immigrant groups live in a single-parent family more often than majority children. This not only applies to divorce and separation but extends to the case of non-marriage as a route into single parenthood. Of course, the cultural perspective is complicated by reverse causation in which a particular pattern of behaviour which has become the mode gradually becomes accepted in a normative sense.

The cultural interpretation of single parenthood has created much controversy in research on African American families (Moynihan 1965; Wilson 1987; Morgan et al. 1993; Sarkisian & Gerstel 2004). It is plausible that cultural and economic explanations both play a significant role. For example, the high levels of single parenthood among African Americans has increased since the 1960s, probably as a result of the polarisation of the economic position of young black men, but the black–white gap in single parenthood already existed in the 1800s, suggesting that initial cultural differences play an important role as well (Ruggles 1994). Research on extended family networks supports the idea that female kin members are more influential among African Americans and that the father is not ‘missed’ as much in the networks of black single-parent families (Sarkisian & Gerstel 2004). The controversy lives on, however, because the evidence for a broader cultural view is indirect; the weaker role of the father is primarily indicated by his absence, and this is a behavioural outcome that has multiple causes.

6.3 Analyses and Findings

The first goal of our empirical analyses is to describe family structure and father absence in more detail and for a larger and more representative European sample than has been done before. The second goal is to explain these differences, both in terms of individual and group differences. We start with the descriptive part.

6.3.1 Descriptive part: Differences between children of immigrants and majority children

Table 6.1 gives descriptive information on family structure for the four countries combined, broken down by immigrant status. The goal here is to give an overall view of immigrants' children's family structure in North-Western Europe. About two thirds of children of immigrants live in an intact family, a percentage that is more or less similar to that for majority children. If children do not live in an intact family, several alternative living arrangements are possible. Among children of immigrants, single-mother families are more common than they are among majority children, whereas co-parenting arrangements and stepfamilies are less common. In other words, for immigrant children, the break-up of the family more often implies living only with a mother.

The middle panel of Table 6.1 presents information on parents' marital status for children not living with their original parents. Separation and divorce are the most common reasons why families are not intact and this is true for both majority children and the children of immigrants. However, for the latter, there is more diversity in the causes. We observe relatively more minority children whose mothers never lived with the father. Detailed analyses, not reported here, show that this is particularly true for children with Caribbean and South-East Asia origins. We also see that widowhood and parents who live abroad are more common among children of immigrants than among majority children. Finally, children of immigrants more often live without any biological parent than is the case among their majority peers. All these differences point to migration-specific factors (i.e. war trauma, transnational living arrangements, international adoption and child migration). Nonetheless, these atypical reasons for not living in an intact family are still not very common among immigrant families. For immigrant families, separation is the dominant pathway, just as it is for majority families.

The next panel of Table 6.1 presents numbers on face-to-face contact with the father. Families in which the father was no longer alive are excluded here. Although the differences are not large, in general we do see that children of immigrants have less frequent contact with their father than majority children. For example, among children of immigrants, 15% have less than monthly contact with their father, among majority children, this is 8%. Still, in both groups, the vast majority of children have at least weekly contact with the father.

It is interesting to look at contact for children who do not live with either of their parents. In the bottom panel of Table 6.1, we show how much contact there is

Table 6.1. Family structure and father–child ties by immigrant status

	Majority child ^a	Child of immigrants ^a	Total
<i>Family structure</i>			
Two parents	69.5	66.0	68.6
Co-parenting	5.6	3.1	5.0
Mother only	11.4	15.7	12.5
Father only	1.8	2.0	1.9
Mother + step	7.9	6.5	7.5
Father + step	1.3	1.4	1.3
Other	2.4	5.4	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	10,692	7,489	18,181
<i>Reasons for non-intact family</i>			
Divorced	86.7	78.2	84.4
Never married	4.7	5.6	4.9
Widowed	8.0	10.0	8.6
Abroad	0.6	6.2	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,284	2,189	5,473
<i>Face-to-face contact with father</i>			
Daily	69.8	66.5	69.0
Weekly	14.9	11.8	14.1
Monthly	7.0	6.5	6.9
Less often	3.5	7.9	4.6
Never	4.8	7.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	10,492	7,213	17,705
<i>Contact with father for non-intact families</i>			
Daily	18.2	19.2	18.5
Weekly	31.9	21.2	29.0
Monthly	22.4	15.2	20.4
Less often	11.6	22.6	14.6
Never	16.0	21.8	17.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	3,316	2,164	5,480

Note: ^aChildren with two native-born parents (majority children) and children with one or two foreign-born parents (children of immigrants). N = number of observations.

with the father among children who are not living in an intact family. We see that even though many children in non-intact families see their father weekly (29%) or even daily (19%), a sizeable minority has never had contact with their father (16% for majority children and 22% for immigrants' children). In general, the differences in contact between children with and without an immigrant background are

more pronounced when we focus on non-intact families: children of immigrants who are not living with their father have less frequent contact with the father than majority children. The break-up of the immigrant family appears more disruptive of the father–child tie than is the case for non-immigrant families.

6.3.2 Descriptive part: Differences between ethnic minority groups and the majority

Although some of the differences between majority and minority seem small, we have to realise that the numbers in Table 6.1 hide a considerable amount of heterogeneity, especially with respect to the origins of the parents. We describe and statistically test differences between origin groups vis-à-vis the majority group in Figure 6.1. In comparing groups, the following regions are distinguished (compare to Chapter 3): (1) the Middle East and North Africa;¹⁸ (2) South Asia (e.g. India, Bangladesh); (3) South-East Asia (e.g. China and Thailand); (4) sub-Saharan Africa; (5) the Caribbean; (6) Latin America and the Pacific; (7) Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland); (8) South-East Europe (e.g. Serbia); (9) Southern Europe (e.g. Italy); (10) North-Western Europe. Again, we combine the four survey countries.

We focus on two key indicators that will be analysed throughout the rest of this chapter: (a) the probability of living in an intact family; and (b) an index of the strength of the father–child relationship. This latter measure combines three (standardised) indicators: contact frequency (on a scale from 1 for never to 5 for daily), perceived quality (on a scale from 1 for poor to 4 for very good) and whether the child mentions the father as a person to turn to in case of personal issues (coded 0/1). The reliability of this index is good ($\alpha = 0.70$).

Figure 6.1 is based on regression models where sex, age and the destination country are control variables. We present the differences between each specific origin group vis-à-vis the majority. The regression models are corrected for the clustering of students in schools. Confidence intervals are presented and based on robust standard errors. For both outcomes, we used an ordinary least squares (OLS) model. This implies that the model for living in an intact family was a linear probability model rather than a logit model. Using a probability model makes it easier to interpret mediation, as is done in the last part of the analyses.

Figure 6.1 shows that there is indeed much heterogeneity with respect to family structure in the immigrant population. Majority children are located at the 0 axis, and we see groups to the left of that axis as well as groups to the right. The confidence bands further show that many of the differences (vis-à-vis the majority) are significant. On one end of the spectrum, there are child immigrants descending from the larger Middle East, South Asia and South-East Europe, where the intact family is significantly more common than among majority children. On the other end of the spectrum, there are children with parents from sub-Saharan

¹⁸ MENA+ in the tables and figures and ‘larger Middle East’ in the text.

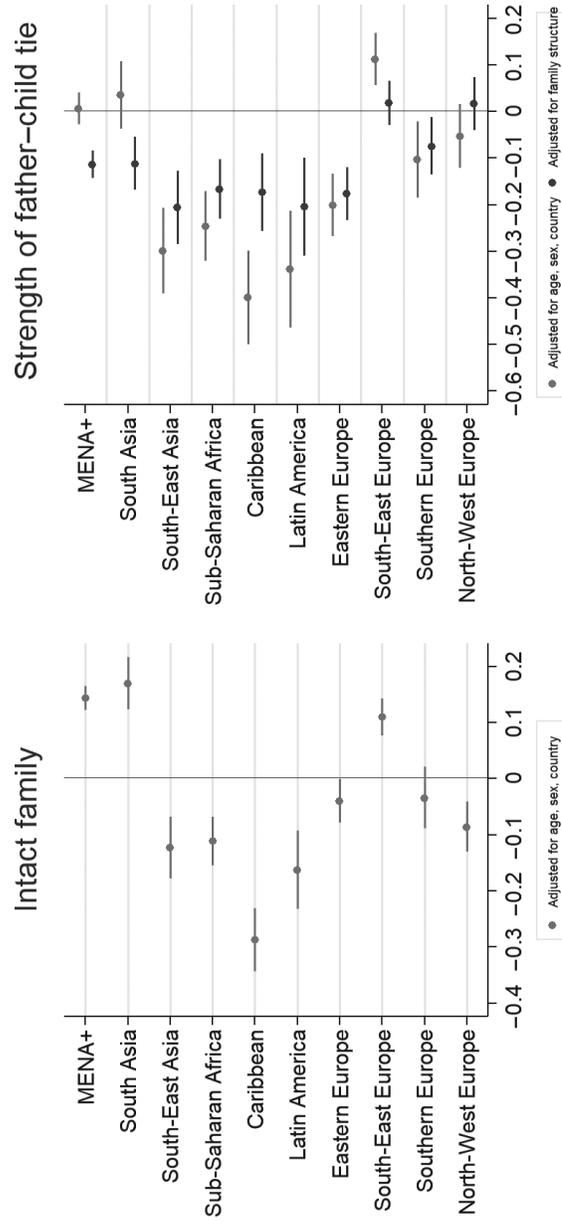


Figure 6.1 Origin group differences in family structure and father-child ties



Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America where the intact family is significantly less common. These differences clearly coincide with a cultural perspective: families with origins in matrifocal countries are less often intact, families with origins in Muslim countries are more often intact. An exception can be seen in the South-East Asian group. Children with origins in these countries are less likely to live in an intact family, yet these countries are not matrifocal in their orientation. Detailed analyses show that this skew is primarily due to children of Thai mothers, not to Chinese or Vietnamese children.

How do the European minority groups compare to the majority? We first look at immigrants from North-West Europe. It is interesting to see that such children are less likely to live in an intact family than natives. In other words, even for groups who are culturally and economically similar to the majority, the family is more unstable and the father is absent more often. This points to the interpretation of migration as a disruptive life event. Children with Southern European origins are similar to the majority in terms of family structure. Given the much lower rates of divorce in Southern Europe compared to North-Western Europe (Kalmijn 2007), the similarities that we find are striking and may also point to an underlying negative migration effect on family structure. Analysis of children with Eastern European ancestry also reveals negative effects, but this is a region with high divorce rates, hence less useful for testing the role of migration.

The graph on the right-hand side of Figure 6.1 shows differences in father–child ties. The groups where the intact family is less common (Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America) also have weaker father–child ties, as one would expect. Two of the groups where the intact family is more common (larger Middle East and South Asia) do not have stronger father–child ties than majority children, despite the fact that children in these groups more often live in an intact family. It is instructive to examine the strength of the father–child tie, net of differences in family structure. After all, contact with the father depends on his presence in the household. The second set of dots in the right-hand side graph of Figure 6.1 shows group differences adjusted for the effect of family structure. The adjustment partly explains the negative effects (e.g. Caribbean) but not fully—the differences remain significant. This shows that the father’s role is weaker in these groups, even if we compare minority and majority children with the same family structure. More interesting, the adjustment makes the two insignificant effects on father–child ties—of the larger Middle East and South Asia—significant and negative. In fact, virtually all the effects except for two (South-East and North-Western Europe) are now negative.

The dominance of negative effects in Figure 6.1 shows that children of immigrants from all non-Western groups have weaker ties to their father than majority children, at least when family structure effects are taken into account. In other words, in terms of family structure, immigrant households can be either more or less stable than majority households, depending on the group, while in terms of father–child ties, children of immigrants tend to have weaker relationships than their majority peers, regardless of the group.

In Figures 6.2 and 6.3, we look at the two outcomes (family structure and the index of the father–child relationship) in each country separately. This analysis uses a country-specific categorisation of ethnic minority groups in so far as possible, which allows us to describe the most significant groups in each country (e.g. Jamaicans in England, Turks in Germany). We limit the comparison to groups with at least 30 children in a country and group. The underlying models are the same, in each case a group is compared to the majority group while controlling for age and sex and correcting the standard errors for clustering. Figure 6.2 presents the results for intact family structure, Figure 6.3 presents the results for the father–child index (see also Model 1 in Tables A6.1 to A6.4 in the Appendix).

Rather than summarising the results for each country, we discuss whether the patterns that we found for the pooled countries and the broad origin groups hold when using this more detailed but also less parsimonious approach. In the general analysis, we found that children of immigrants from the larger Middle East were more likely to have an intact family while they had father–child ties of similar strength as majority children. This pattern holds for children with parents from Turkey (in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden), from Morocco (in the Netherlands) and from Iran (in Sweden). In the general analysis we found that South Asian families were also more likely to be intact. The most important examples here are children with parents from India and Pakistan in England, who they seem to fit the pattern well. On the other side of the spectrum were those with parents from the Caribbean, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa whose families were disrupted more often. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 confirm this tendency for England (Jamaica), the Netherlands (Suriname, Antilles) and Sweden (Somalia). Finally, we obtain a clearer picture of South-Eastern Europeans: children with Kosovo and Bosnian (Sweden) as well as Serbian (England) origin, are more likely to live in intact families. Such immigrants are mostly Muslim refugees and hence fit the pattern that we also saw for the larger Middle East.

6.3.3 Explanatory part: Understanding individual differences

To understand differences at the individual level, we estimate a regression model where the probability of living in an intact family and the strength of the father–child tie are dependent variables. Three groups of explanatory variables are included: aspects of the migration process, aspects related to the cultural perspective and socioeconomic determinants. Next to regression models, we present cross-tables to illustrate some of the effects in more detail. The model includes age and sex, as well as adjustments for the destination country and the origin group. The means and standard deviations of all variables are presented in Table 6.2. Majority children are included in all models. The regression results are presented in Figure 6.4, and these results are based on the pooled survey countries. Separate results for each survey country can be found in Tables A6.1 to A6.4 in the Appendix.

To examine migration-specific explanations, we first examine the role of generation, making a distinction between the first and the second generation and

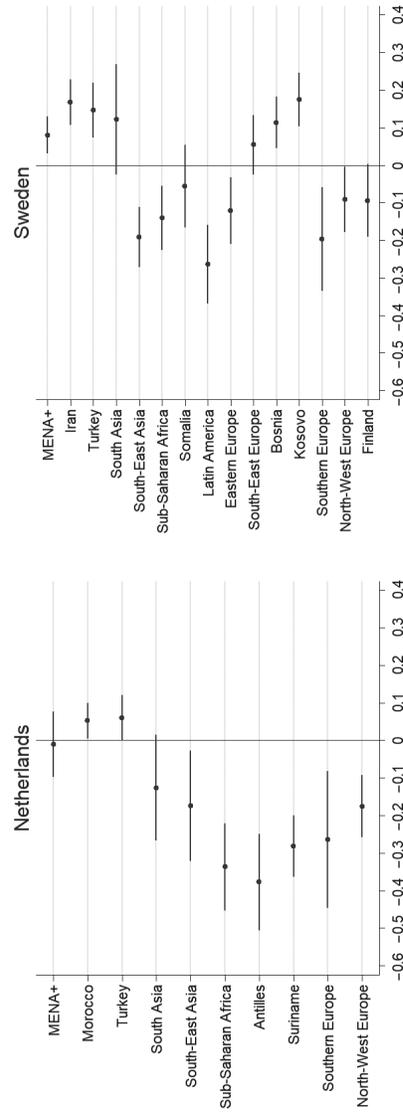
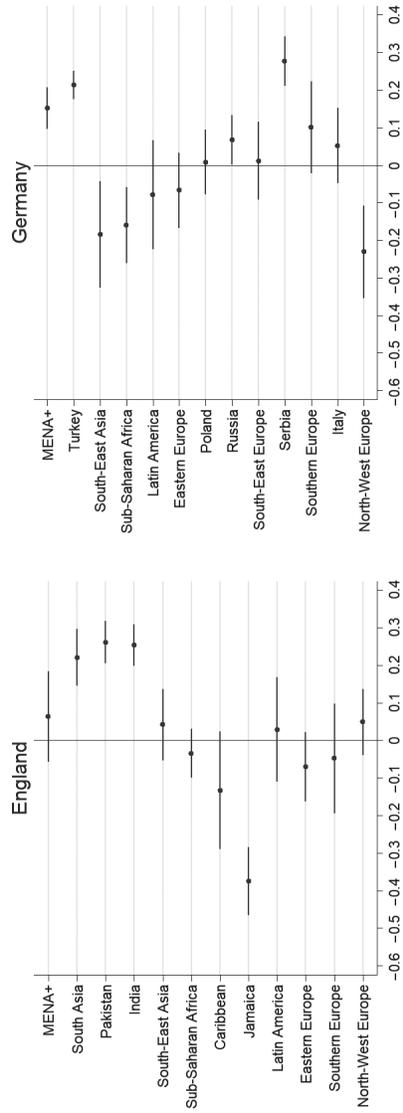


Figure 6.2 Detailed origin group differences in intact family structure



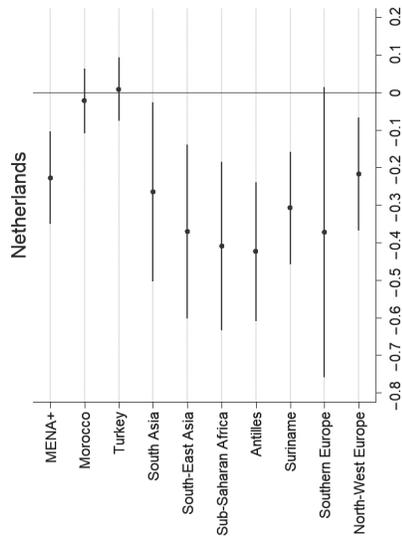
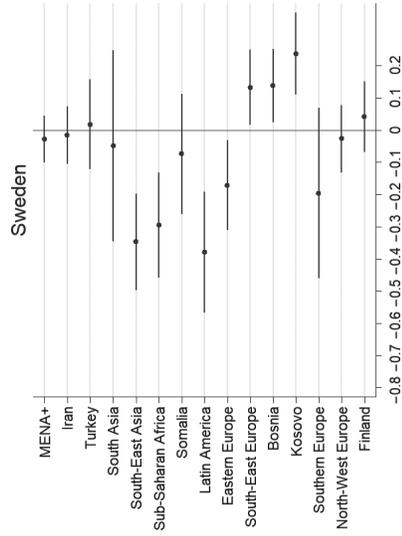
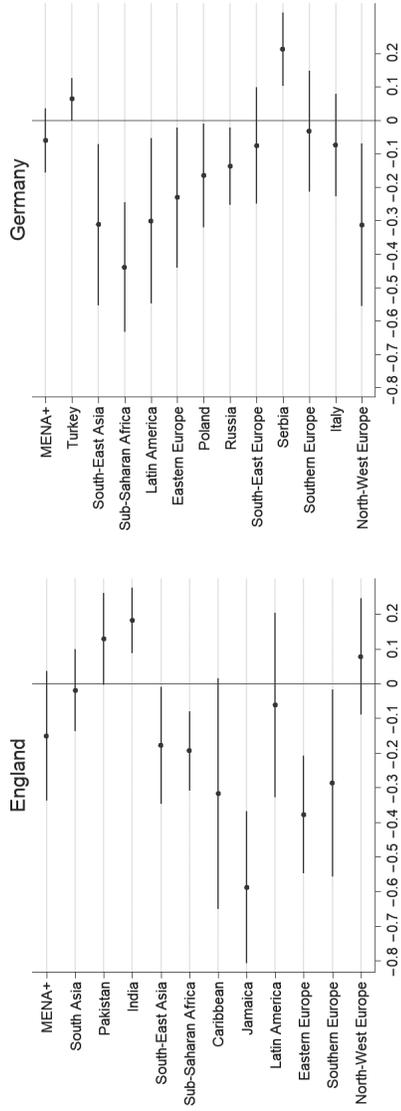


Figure 6.3 Detailed origin group differences in father-child ties

Table 6.2. Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables

	Mean	s.d.	Minimum	Maximum	N	N imputed ^a
Intact family	0.674				18,181	0
Father-child index	0.029	0.761	-1.999	1.160	17,854	0
Female versus male	0.499	0.500			18,181	0 ^b
Age of student	14.443	0.647	12	18		0 ^b
Generational status:						
Native origin	0.781					
Foreign born	0.111				18,181	0
Child of transnational marriage	0.042				18,181	0
Child of intermarriage	0.066				18,181	0
War intensity origin ^c	0.000	1.000	-0.541	3.131	18,181	0
Father abroad	0.007	0.084			18,181	0
Degree of religiosity	0.000	1.000	-1.423	2.707	18,181	833
Denomination:						
Hindu, Buddhist	0.025	0.157			18,181	0
Islam	0.159	0.366			18,181	0
Christian, Jewish	0.412	0.492			18,181	0
Other religion	0.042	0.201			18,181	0
Father unemployed	0.115	0.303			18,181	1,732
Father's occ. status (ISEI)	0.000	1.000	-1.909	2.543	18,181	1,197
Mother's occ. status (ISEI)	0.000	1.000	-1.842	2.410	18,181	928

Note: ^a Imputation based on means of country and origin group (see text). ^b Listwise deleted if age or gender is missing. ^c Measured at the level of detailed country of origin.

children of mixed origins. Second-generation children are the implicit reference category. We see consistent negative effects for the first generation. This means that when children were migrating with their parents, rather than born after their parents migrated, they are less likely to have an intact family. Children of mixed origins are also less likely to live in an intact family and have weaker ties to their father than second-generation children. To better understand the effects of generation, we present the marital status of parents for different generations and majority children in Table 6.3.

Generational differences are striking when we look at the marital status typology of parents. Divorce and separation are quite common among children of intermarried parents: 38% of these children have divorced or separated parents, compared to 25% of majority children. This is in line with the notion that ethnically mixed marriages are more unstable. Compositional differences will also play a role as intermarriage is less common among more traditional immigrant groups (van Tubergen & Maas 2007). Children who migrated with their parents (the first generation) more often have divorced or separated parents than children of the second generation. This finding supports a migration perspective because the parents of the first generation will have migrated as a couple, whereas the

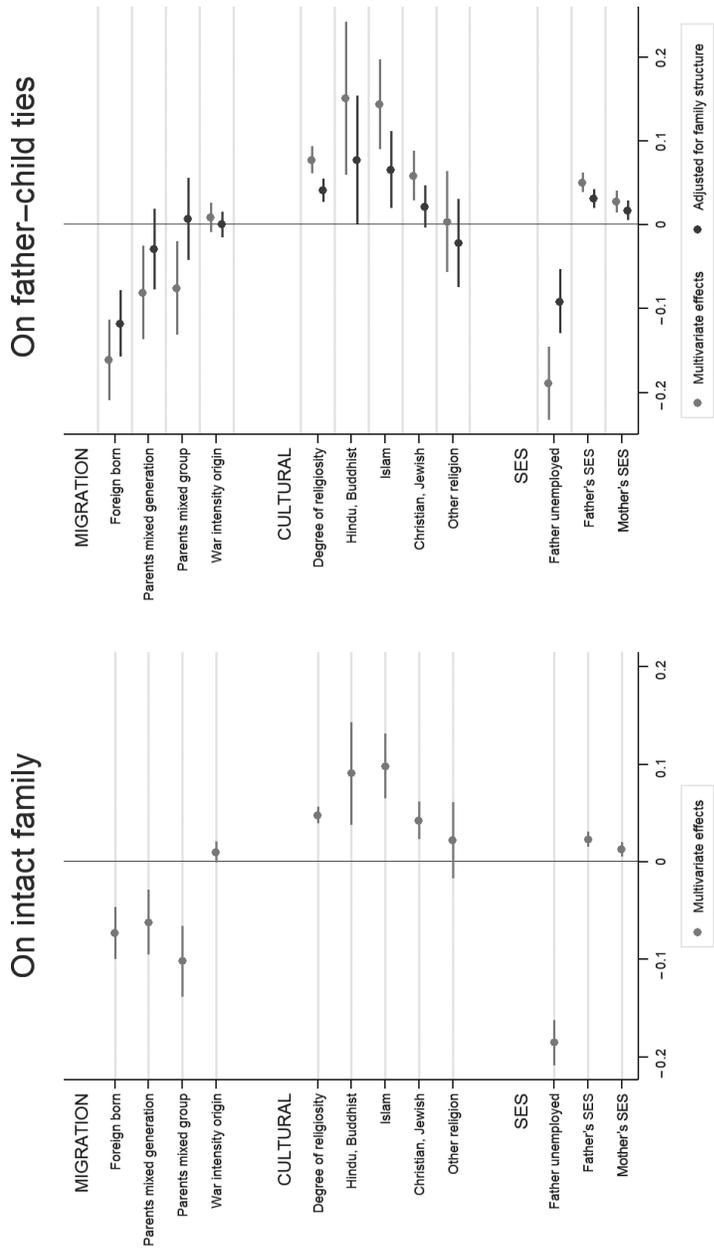


Figure 6.4 Effects on intact family and father-child ties

Table 6.3. Marital status of parents by generational status

	Majority	First generation	Second generation	Transnational marriage	Intermarriage
Married/cohabiting	70.7	65.6	79.5	68.6	56.0
Divorced/separated	25.4	22.6	16.2	26.5	37.6
Never together	1.4	2.3	0.8	2.4	1.8
Widowed	2.3	5.0	2.5	1.5	3.2
Abroad	0.2	4.5	1.0	0.9	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of obs.	10,426	1,894	3,229	732	1,161

parents of the second generation will often have married in the destination country. Second-generation immigrants in fact have the most stable families, with 80% of them living with married parents, higher than the number for majority children (71%).

One of the most obvious migration factor lies in transnational families. When children live in a non-intact family, the father may live abroad. In the regression model, this is one of the strongest predictors of the father–child tie. The effect size is so extreme that it is not presented in the figure (Cohen’s $d=0.89$). To illustrate how important this factor is, we present the frequency of contact with the father broken down by whether or not he lives abroad (focusing only on immigrant children). Table 6.4 shows that contact is greatly reduced when the father is abroad, something which is not surprising. More surprising is that there still is some contact: about a third of the children whose father lives abroad have (at least) monthly contact. Since the question was about face-to-face contact, this points to the importance of transnational relationships (Mazzucato et al. 2015). At the same time, we observe that the sheer number of fathers who live abroad is so small that this will not be a major factor in the differences between the groups that we observe. The impact of transnational family forms is smaller than is often assumed. This parallels the previous results, where we found that only a very

Table 6.4. Face-to-face contact with father by residence father (immigrant families)

	Father in destination	Father abroad ^a	Total	N
Daily	68.0	2.2	67.1	5,071
Weekly	12.0	4.3	11.9	716
Monthly	6.2	27.8	6.5	358
Less often	7.1	47.8	7.7	526
Never	6.7	18.0	6.9	523
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	7,081	113	7,194	

Note: ^a Assessed indirectly: the answer category was ‘parent(s) abroad’; this was considered as ‘father abroad’ in cases where the child lives with the mother and not with the father. N = number of observations.

small portion of non-intact families had ‘a parent abroad’ as the main reason they were non-intact.

One other migration factor was considered. We expected that immigrants from countries which had experience with war would be more likely to have disrupted families. We measured war as the number of years since 1970 in which an origin country had over 1,000 war deaths annually. These data were obtained from data sets developed by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program and the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo. However, in contrast to what we expected, the effect of war on the probability of living in a non-intact family was not significant.

The cultural perspective can be addressed only partially. The notion that some ethnic minority groups are more traditional than the majority, and hence live in intact families more often, can be examined using data on religiosity. We use information on religious denomination (Muslim, Christian etc.) and on religious behaviour. Specifically, we created an index of religiosity at the individual level consisting of the following indicators: how important religion is to the student, how frequently the student attends a place of worship and how often the student prays. These data were obtained from the children themselves because parental questionnaires have high levels of non-response in some countries. The association between parents’ and children’s religiosity is strong (Maliepaard & Lubbers 2013) so we feel that this is a valid approach. Religious denomination is used as well but we have to realise that this strongly overlaps with the groups we are studying. For this reason, the *degree* of religiosity is a more informative measure. It is included as an individual measure, not as a measure of the immigrant group.

We see that more religious families are more likely to be intact. Moreover, father–child ties are stronger when the child, and hence the family, is more religious. The effect of religiosity on father–child ties remains significant when family structure is taken into account. The main effect of religiosity is observed in all four countries (see appendix tables). Two denominations are significantly different: children who belong to the Islamic faith or the Hindu/Buddhist faith are more likely to live in intact families and to have stronger ties to their father. The expectation about matrifocal value orientations cannot be tested as there are no attitudinal measures on these issues. We tested this notion indirectly: Caribbean and sub-Saharan African countries are often more matrifocal and immigrants from these origins appear to live in intact families less often.

Because religiosity plays such an important role, it is instructive to look at the share of intact families in each immigrant group broken down by religious denomination (see Table 6.5). Denominations are presented in columns, immigrant groups are presented in rows. Obviously, there is a close correlation—, for example, most Middle Eastern families are Muslim—but this pattern is not perfect and the ‘exceptions’ can be informative. When we focus on Muslim families first, we see that three of the four groups where these families can be found—Middle East, South Asia South-East Europe—have a very high prevalence of intact families. One group is an exception (South-East Asia). It is interesting that majority families with a Muslim background are also more stable, although this is a

Table 6.5. Family structure by origin group and religious denomination^a

	No religion		Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh		Islam		Christian, Jewish	
	% intact	N	% intact	N	% intact	N	% intact	N
No migration background	63.8	4796	70.4	71	72.6	73	70.7	5222
MENA+	55.5	128	–	–	83.0	2053	75.2	306
South Asia	54.7	64	89.1	201	90.1	111	49.0	98
South-East Asia	59.8	122	44.3	70	59.1	215	50.0	262
Sub-Saharan Africa	–	–	–	–	–	–	33.5	158
Caribbean	48.8	84	56.1	66	–	–	50.8	120
Eastern Europe	43.6	94	–	–	–	–	62.9	474
South-East Europe	59.4	64	–	–	84.7	334	66.5	161
Southern Europe	49.4	83	–	–	–	–	64.0	289
North/Western Europe	57.3	255	–	–	–	–	58.6	278
Observations		5,690		408		2,786		7,368

Note: ^a Other religions not reported in the table. MENA+: Middle East and North Africa plus Afghanistan and Pakistan.

small and probably special group. When we now compare children in the three immigrant groups mentioned *across* religious denominations, we see striking differences. In all three groups, the secular and even the Christian members have a considerably lower prevalence of intact families than their Islamic peers. In short, comparing within the columns (same faith, different origin groups) we see similarities in family structure, whereas comparing within the rows (same origin, different faiths), we see differences in family structure. These two comparisons strongly suggest that religious denomination trumps national origin.

The role of Buddhism and Hinduism is more mixed, however. Among South Asians, this is a factor that stabilises families, but among Caribbeans and South-East Asians, it is not. For Caribbeans, this may have to do with previous migration from South-East Asia to the Caribbean, which could have resulted in a weakening of the Islamic influence and an adaptation to the Caribbean family pattern. Finally, we see clear differences between Christian and secular immigrants, at least for three European groups. Christian immigrants in these three groups are more stable than their secular peers. When we focus on the secular column only, we are struck by the low levels of family stability; this is likewise the case in comparison with the majority. In other words, immigrant families would have been more unstable than non-immigrant families were it not for the fact that they are often ‘protected’ by their religion.

To examine the economic perspective, we focus on the characteristics of the father, in particular his occupational status and whether or not he is unemployed. In cases where the respondent has lost track of the father, this information is often missing. This is also the case when the father is no longer alive. In these cases we impute missing values based on group and country averages. Without these

imputations, the effects were also significant but we do not want to lose cases for testing other effects. In analysing the role of economic factors, it is important to focus on the father rather than on the mother. A disadvantaged economic position of the mother may be the result of divorce or widowhood, rather than the cause. For the father, there may be reciprocal effects, but theoretically and empirically the path from a disadvantaged economic position to a family structure is stronger than the reverse path (Hansen 2005; Poortman 2005). Without longitudinal data on changes in family structure, it is not possible to rule out reverse causation, however.

We expected that the prevalence of non-intact family structure and father absence to be more common among lower strata. We looked at the detailed occupation of the father and scaled this occupation using the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI) of occupational status. When the father has a higher occupational status, father-child ties are stronger and the family is more likely to be intact. This effect is significant in all four countries. We also find that when the father is unemployed, children are less likely to live in an intact family and the father-child tie is weaker. This effect is also present in all countries. The effect of father's occupational status on father-child ties persists when controlling for family structure but the effect of employment on such ties does not persist. Effects of the mother's occupational status on father-child ties are either positive or absent.

6.3.4 Explanatory part: Understanding group differences

Although the three sets of factors are relevant for understanding individual differences, are they also relevant for understanding the differences between minority groups and the majority? To examine this, we calculated group differences before and after adjusting for a set of determinants in multivariate regression models. The extent to which the differences—the effects of each group vis-à-vis the majority—change across models tells us something about the relevance of each set of factors in understanding the differences. We present the results graphically in Figures 6.5 and 6.6. Each figure contains three graphs. The graph on the left-hand side presents the effect of each group before and after adjusting for migration variables. The graph in the middle presents the effect of each group before and after adjusting for cultural variables (while having migration factors in the model). The graph on the right-hand side presents the effect of each group before and after adjusting for economic variables (while having migration and cultural factors in the model). Figure 6.5 charts the probability of living in an intact family, Figure 6.6 the father-child index.

To what extent are the group differences that we found due to migration-specific factors? Although our measurement of the migration process itself is limited, we do see some changes across models. Note that these changes are not due to mediating effects per se, but rather to changes in the reference group across models. More specifically, the unadjusted model applies to differences between the majority and a specific immigrant group whereas the adjusted model applies

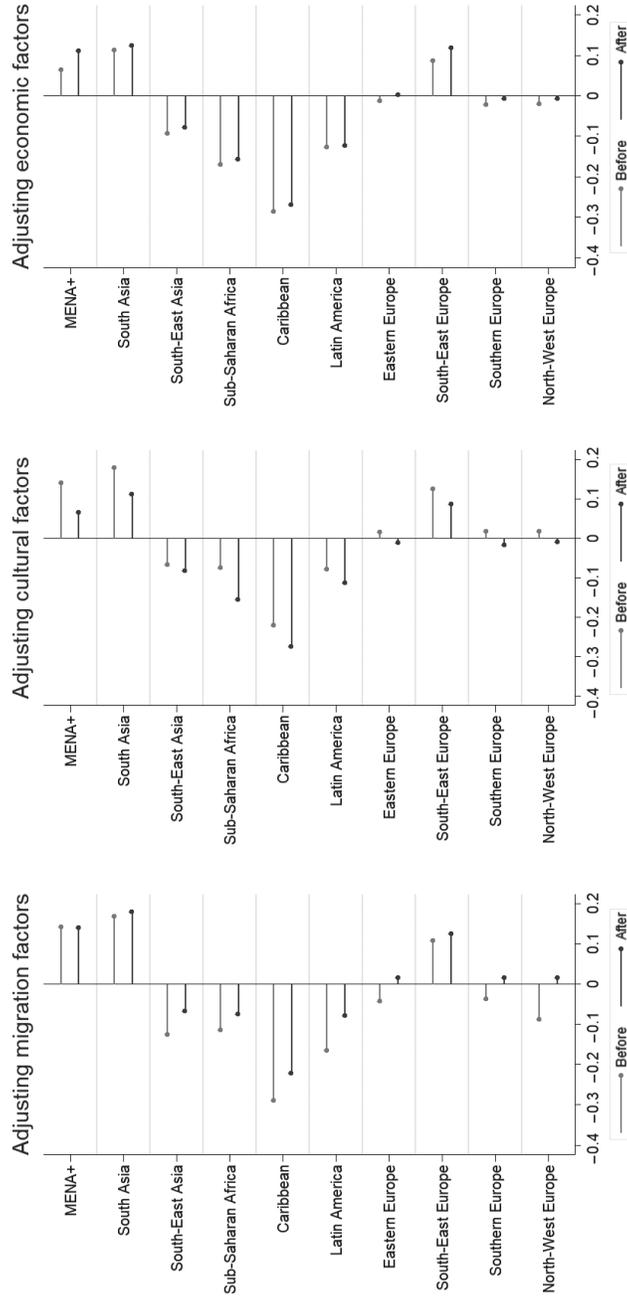


Figure 6.5 Understanding origin group differences in intact families



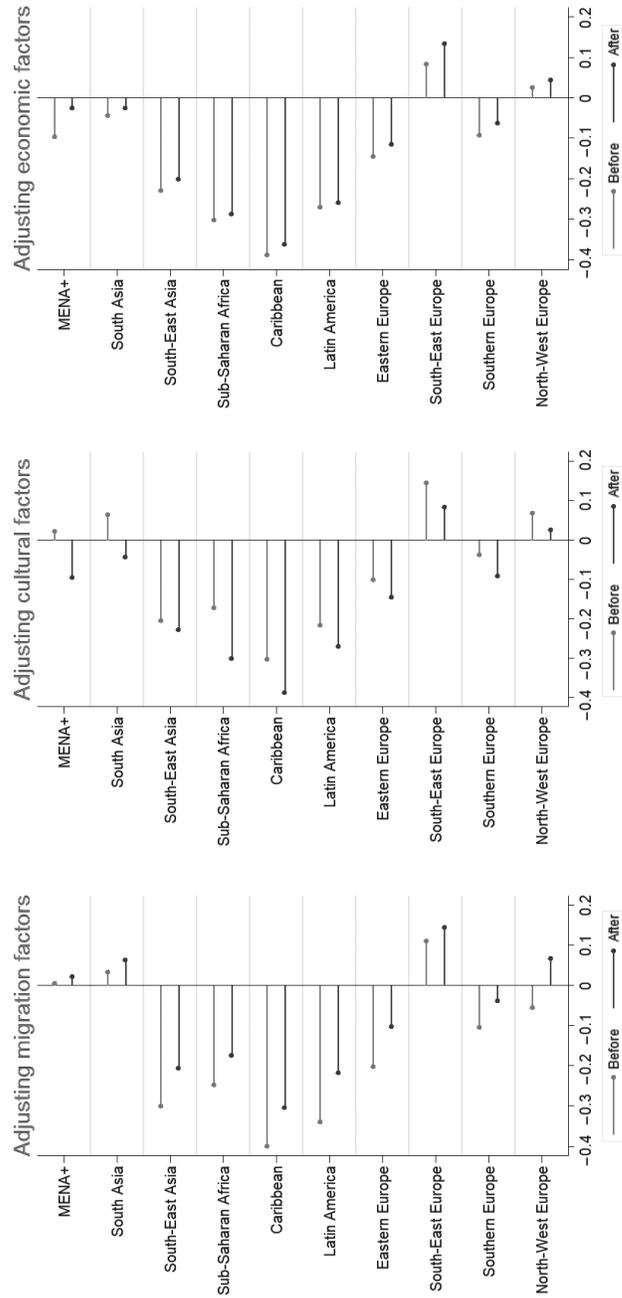


Figure 6.6 Understanding origin group differences in father-child ties

to differences between the majority and second-generation members of the origin group. For the father–child index, we also adjust for whether or not the father lives abroad. In general, we see that the differences in family structure and father–child ties are partly explained by migration factors. The positive effects become less positive and the negative effects become less negative. However, in most cases, the effects remain strong and significant after adjustment.

To what extent are cultural factors able to explain the differences between immigrant groups? We include our index of religiosity in the models but not religious denomination as this is too closely related to the groups we study. When we focus on children of immigrants from the larger Middle East, South Asia and South-East Europe, we see the mediating effects of religion. Children in these groups were more likely to live in intact families but these differences are due in part to religion, as the adjusted gaps in the middle graph of Figure 6.6 make clear. Some effects reverse and even become negative. The mediating role of religion is more or less similar for the strength of the father–child tie. The effects for the larger Middle East and South Asia are reduced (and even turn around). After controlling for religious differences, children of immigrants from the larger Middle East and South Asia appear to have weaker ties to their father than majority children. For South-East Europeans, the positive effect on father–child ties becomes weaker.

What happens to the other side of the spectrum when religiosity is added? For several origin groups, especially from the Caribbean and sub-Saharan Africa, we saw negative effects, both on the likelihood of living in an intact family and on the strength of the father–child tie. In cases where effects were negative, they become more negative after controlling for religious differences. In other words, religion serves as a suppressor variable for these groups. These immigrant groups are more religious than the majority, and because religion strengthens the family, that works against the weaker role of fathers in these groups. In sum, religious differences explain in part the lower prevalence of unstable families of some immigrant groups, but they suppress the less traditional family patterns in other immigrant groups.

To what extent can we understand group differences in socioeconomic terms? In theory, only initially negative effects can be attributed to socioeconomic terms, so we focus on groups that reveal negative effects (e.g. Caribbean, Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa). The graph shows that there are reductions in the negative effects on the probability of living in an intact family for all three groups (Figure 6.5). However, the remaining effects remain significant, the mediation is partial at best. It is interesting that the positive effects on family structure for the more traditional subgroups (e.g. Middle East) increase when controlling for socioeconomic variables. This points to a suppressor effect. Socioeconomic differences partly explain the higher prevalence of instability in some immigrant groups, but they suppress the lower instability in other immigrant groups. What is also important here is that the weaker position of the family among Caribbeans and sub-Saharan Africans persists after adjusting for economic disadvantage; this may point to a more cultural interpretation of these tendencies, especially the role of matrifocality.

6.4 Conclusion

In examining differences in family structure among ethnic minority groups, there is clear divide. On one side of the spectrum, there are children with sub-Saharan African, Caribbean and Latin American origins where the father is absent more often than he is in majority families. On the other side, we have children with Middle Eastern and South Asian origins where fathers are present more often and where the family is more stable than in non-immigrant families. This pattern is consistent with a cultural perspective on group differences. Several African, Caribbean and Latin American countries are characterised by a matrifocal orientation, which means that single motherhood is more accepted and father absence more normalised. In most Middle Eastern and South Asian countries, in contrast, attitudes towards gender, marriage and family are quite traditional, which means that there is a normative disapproval of separation, divorce and single parenthood.

Direct evidence for cultural differences was found when looking at the role of religion. More religious families are more often intact and have stronger father-child ties. Religious differences among different minority groups and between minority groups and the majority explain in part the more stable families in more traditional immigrant groups (e.g. Middle East). However, they suppress the higher prevalence of single parenthood in other immigrant groups (e.g. sub-Saharan Africa). Socioeconomic differences have a clear association with father absence—in economically disadvantaged families, as measured by low status and unemployment, fathers are absent more often and ties to the father are weaker. Socioeconomic differences between groups explain in part the higher prevalence of single parenthood in some immigrant groups but they suppress the lower prevalence of single parenthood in other groups.

Migration-specific factors play a role as well. In many immigrant groups, 'atypical' routes into single parenthood are more common than they are among the majority. Examples are widowhood, a father who is living abroad and a child who does not live with his/her biological parents. This points to the role of war, transnational families ('living apart together across borders') and international adoption. Nonetheless, it is striking that numerically these are unimportant causes for living in a broken family. For both minority and majority children, divorce and separation are the dominant reasons why children live in non-standard families.

Generational differences provide further support for a migration perspective. Compared to native-born children of two parents who were born in the same foreign country, children from mixed marriages were more likely to live in a non-intact family. This is largely due to the higher likelihood of separation for mixed marriages. Foreign-born children were also more likely to live in a non-intact family. Because it is likely that these children moved with their parents, this is indirect evidence for the notion that migration is a stressful life event which may disrupt a marriage. Other findings further confirm this notion. For example, we expected that Western immigrants would be less likely to have intact families and this was what was found.

Differences in the strength of the father–child tie resemble the differences in family structure but provide a more comprehensive view of father absence than a simple family structure variable is able to do. This indicator also provided additional insights. When we control for family structure, children of immigrants from all non-Western groups have weaker ties to their father than majority children. In other words, when comparing minority groups, family structure varies in ‘different directions’ compared to the majority, but father–child ties are consistently weaker among children of immigrants. The weaker father–child ties may have important negative consequences for the transmission of resources and for socialisation in immigrant families.

Our more general conclusion is that there are opposing forces at work in the patterns of family structure in the immigrant population. On the one hand, immigrant families are ‘threatened’ by the migration process and by a disadvantaged economic position. These factors tend to lead to more instability and weaker ties between fathers and children. On the other hand, immigrant families are ‘protected’ by their more traditional norms and values. Some of the important immigrant groups are more religious than the majority and this strengthens ties to the father and reduces the chances of divorce and separation. While the cultural factor may protect some groups, especially Muslim groups, it does not protect other groups, especially Caribbeans and sub-Saharan Africans, which are presumably more matrifocal and hence less likely to have intact families. The cultural factor points to the diversity that exists in the immigrant population in Europe whereas the migration and economic factors point to commonalities in the immigrant population.

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Appendix

Table A6.1. Multivariate analysis (OLS regression) of strength of father–child tie: England

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Origin groups (ref. majority)					
MENA+	–0.148 (0.095)	–0.153 (0.087)	–0.234** (0.087)	–0.245** (0.088)	–0.266** (0.087)
South Asia	–0.017 (0.060)	0.003 (0.066)	–0.104 (0.065)	–0.080 (0.066)	–0.152* (0.069)
Pakistan	0.131 (0.067)	0.122 (0.083)	–0.010 (0.086)	0.037 (0.086)	–0.030 (0.086)
India	0.184*** (0.048)	0.177** (0.061)	0.083 (0.062)	0.079 (0.059)	–0.000 (0.065)
South-East Asia	–0.176* (0.086)	–0.122 (0.087)	–0.129 (0.088)	–0.162 (0.087)	–0.172 (0.088)
Sub-Sah. Africa	–0.193** (0.058)	–0.156* (0.065)	–0.269*** (0.066)	–0.296*** (0.065)	–0.310*** (0.060)
Caribbean	–0.317 (0.167)	–0.262 (0.167)	–0.352* (0.173)	–0.334 (0.173)	–0.361* (0.171)
Antilles	0.932*** (0.032)	0.932*** (0.033)	1.003*** (0.034)	0.838*** (0.044)	0.873*** (0.044)
Jamaica	–0.476*** (0.082)	–0.443*** (0.079)	–0.503*** (0.080)	–0.487*** (0.079)	–0.479*** (0.077)
Latin America	–0.059 (0.134)	–0.012 (0.135)	–0.055 (0.132)	–0.087 (0.126)	–0.082 (0.123)
Eastern Europe	–0.376*** (0.086)	–0.293** (0.091)	–0.336*** (0.093)	–0.321*** (0.094)	–0.325*** (0.096)
S/E Europe	0.388*** (0.031)	0.386*** (0.031)	0.356*** (0.030)	0.402*** (0.034)	0.480*** (0.038)
Southern Europe	–0.116 (0.106)	–0.081 (0.110)	–0.135 (0.110)	–0.127 (0.110)	–0.130 (0.111)
N/W Europe	0.079 (0.085)	0.110 (0.090)	0.049 (0.089)	0.042 (0.085)	0.031 (0.087)
Generational status (ref. 2nd generation)					
Foreign born		–0.096* (0.046)	–0.109* (0.045)	–0.116* (0.046)	–0.087 (0.044)
Child of transnational marriage		–0.094 (0.052)	–0.100 (0.052)	–0.107* (0.051)	–0.100 (0.051)
Child of intermarriage		0.025 (0.056)	0.065 (0.055)	0.042 (0.053)	0.067 (0.056)
Female (ref. male)	–0.204*** (0.032)	–0.204*** (0.031)	–0.211*** (0.031)	–0.208*** (0.029)	–0.218*** (0.028)
Age of student	–0.022 (0.026)	–0.021 (0.026)	–0.017 (0.026)	–0.015 (0.025)	–0.015 (0.025)

(Continued)

Table A6.1. (Continued)

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
War intensity origin		0.024 (0.020)	0.008 (0.020)	0.010 (0.020)	-0.007 (0.021)
Father abroad		-0.341** (0.102)	-0.348*** (0.101)	-0.385*** (0.105)	-0.377*** (0.105)
Religiosity			0.091*** (0.017)	0.080*** (0.017)	0.036 (0.021)
Religion (ref: no)					
Hindu, Buddhist					0.305*** (0.071)
Islam					0.273*** (0.062)
Christian, Jewish					0.131*** (0.035)
Other religion					-0.011 (0.059)
Father unemployed				-0.124* (0.053)	-0.120* (0.052)
Father's occ. status (ISEI)				0.054*** (0.013)	0.053*** (0.012)
Mother's occ. status (ISEI)				0.033* (0.014)	0.033* (0.014)
Intercept	0.451 (0.370)	0.442 (0.369)	0.422 (0.361)	0.412 (0.356)	0.325 (0.354)
No. of observations	4,120	4,120	4,120	4,120	4,120
Adjusted R ²	0.039	0.042	0.050	0.063	0.070

Note: Design weighted, accounting for clustering; standard errors in parentheses;
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. MENA+: Middle East and North Africa plus
 Afghanistan. SES = socioeconomic status.

Table A6.2. Multivariate analysis (OLS regression) of strength of father-child tie:
Germany

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Origin groups (ref: majority)					
MENA+	-0.059 (0.049)	0.049 (0.062)	-0.056 (0.065)	0.017 (0.067)	0.003 (0.071)
Turkey	0.065* (0.032)	0.126 (0.067)	0.010 (0.068)	0.078 (0.071)	0.060 (0.081)
South-East Asia	-0.311* (0.122)	-0.179 (0.133)	-0.194 (0.132)	-0.174 (0.133)	-0.176 (0.138)
Sub-Sah. Africa	-0.438*** (0.098)	-0.302** (0.103)	-0.412*** (0.105)	-0.380*** (0.108)	-0.380*** (0.106)

Table A6.2. (Continued)

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Latin America	-0.300* (0.125)	-0.151 (0.130)	-0.213 (0.127)	-0.234 (0.122)	-0.251* (0.123)
Eastern Europe	-0.230* (0.106)	-0.110 (0.103)	-0.135 (0.102)	-0.110 (0.100)	-0.133 (0.101)
Poland	-0.163* (0.079)	-0.048 (0.078)	-0.117 (0.077)	-0.069 (0.076)	-0.077 (0.076)
Russia	-0.136* (0.059)	-0.007 (0.078)	-0.027 (0.078)	0.001 (0.079)	-0.016 (0.079)
S/E Europe	-0.015 (0.073)	0.029 (0.074)	-0.050 (0.073)	-0.022 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.075)
Serbia	0.214*** (0.055)	0.302*** (0.062)	0.230*** (0.061)	0.273*** (0.062)	0.250*** (0.067)
Southern Eur.	0.037 (0.066)	0.084 (0.064)	0.032 (0.061)	0.057 (0.063)	0.035 (0.062)
Italy	-0.073 (0.077)	0.023 (0.079)	-0.052 (0.077)	0.014 (0.078)	0.004 (0.078)
N/W Europe	-0.311* (0.123)	-0.156 (0.130)	-0.189 (0.125)	-0.165 (0.122)	-0.163 (0.125)
Generational status (ref: 2nd generation)					
Foreign born		-0.193*** (0.053)	-0.184*** (0.053)	-0.191*** (0.053)	-0.188*** (0.053)
Child of transnational marriage		-0.127* (0.053)	-0.100 (0.053)	-0.094 (0.055)	-0.097 (0.055)
Child of intermarriage		-0.150** (0.054)	-0.089 (0.055)	-0.118* (0.055)	-0.112* (0.056)
Female (ref: male)	-0.225*** (0.025)	-0.224*** (0.025)	-0.230*** (0.025)	-0.229*** (0.024)	-0.231*** (0.024)
Age of student	-0.132*** (0.016)	-0.124*** (0.016)	-0.115*** (0.016)	-0.098*** (0.016)	-0.096*** (0.016)
War intensity origin		-0.008 (0.027)	-0.021 (0.026)	-0.018 (0.027)	-0.019 (0.028)
Father abroad		-1.030*** (0.254)	-1.043*** (0.244)	-1.084*** (0.239)	-1.087*** (0.242)
Religiosity			0.124*** (0.014)	0.123*** (0.013)	0.109*** (0.015)
Religion (ref: no)					
Hindu, Buddhist					0.212 (0.151)
Islam					0.126* (0.059)
Christian, Jewish					0.100** (0.037)
Other religion					0.184** (0.069)

(Continued)

Table A6.2. (Continued)

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Father unemployed				-0.256*** (0.044)	-0.252*** (0.045)
Father's occ. status (ISEI)				0.073*** (0.013)	0.074*** (0.013)
Mother's occ. status (ISEI)				0.006 (0.016)	0.007 (0.016)
Intercept	2.034*** (0.230)	1.914*** (0.240)	1.792*** (0.244)	1.560*** (0.240)	1.450*** (0.232)
No. of observations	4472	4472	4472	4472	4472
Adjusted R ²	0.048	0.057	0.075	0.093	0.094

Note: Design weighted, accounting for clustering; standard errors in parentheses;
 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. MENA+: Middle East (except Turkey) and North
 Africa plus Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Table A6.3. Multivariate analysis (OLS regression) of strength of father-child tie:
Netherlands

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Origin groups (ref. majority)					
MENA+	-0.226*** (0.062)	-0.129 (0.079)	-0.226** (0.085)	-0.186* (0.088)	-0.201 (0.108)
Morocco	-0.020 (0.043)	-0.012 (0.048)	-0.159** (0.058)	-0.069 (0.058)	-0.111 (0.099)
Turkey	0.010 (0.043)	0.021 (0.064)	-0.111 (0.067)	-0.002 (0.069)	-0.040 (0.099)
South Asia	-0.263* (0.120)	-0.206 (0.133)	-0.265* (0.131)	-0.232 (0.130)	-0.212 (0.137)
South-East Asia	-0.369** (0.117)	-0.303** (0.115)	-0.354** (0.114)	-0.300* (0.116)	-0.286* (0.116)
Sub-Sah. Africa	-0.407*** (0.113)	-0.340** (0.118)	-0.443*** (0.120)	-0.394** (0.120)	-0.382** (0.120)
Antilles	-0.251** (0.079)	-0.166* (0.081)	-0.220* (0.084)	-0.221** (0.081)	-0.208* (0.080)
Suriname	-0.306*** (0.075)	-0.250*** (0.073)	-0.326*** (0.077)	-0.298*** (0.078)	-0.263** (0.099)
South-East Eur.	0.120 (0.450)	0.123 (0.451)	0.122 (0.455)	0.175 (0.428)	0.212 (0.410)
Southern Eur.	-0.374** (0.122)	-0.322* (0.123)	-0.357** (0.124)	-0.347** (0.122)	-0.335** (0.122)
N/W Europe	-0.217** (0.076)	-0.071 (0.083)	-0.100 (0.085)	-0.085 (0.082)	-0.082 (0.084)

Table A6.3. (Continued)

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Generational status (ref: 2nd generation)					
Foreign born		-0.156** (0.052)	-0.168** (0.052)	-0.163** (0.052)	-0.162** (0.052)
Child of transnational marriage		-0.085 (0.072)	-0.057 (0.073)	-0.099 (0.074)	-0.107 (0.075)
Child of intermarriage		-0.092 (0.073)	-0.036 (0.073)	-0.063 (0.072)	-0.068 (0.073)
Female (ref: male)	-0.231*** (0.023)	-0.234*** (0.022)	-0.235*** (0.022)	-0.227*** (0.022)	-0.227*** (0.022)
Age of student	-0.091*** (0.017)	-0.087*** (0.017)	-0.084*** (0.016)	-0.069*** (0.016)	-0.068*** (0.016)
War intensity origin		0.010 (0.023)	0.011 (0.022)	0.003 (0.022)	0.000 (0.022)
Father abroad		-0.915*** (0.186)	-0.899*** (0.183)	-0.922*** (0.188)	-0.918*** (0.188)
Religiosity			0.080*** (0.015)	0.081*** (0.015)	0.085*** (0.018)
Religion (ref: no)					
Hindu, Buddhist					-0.076 (0.112)
Islam					0.042 (0.080)
Christian, Jewish					0.019 (0.031)
Other religion					-0.124* (0.057)
Father unemployed				-0.127* (0.048)	-0.125* (0.048)
Father's occ. status (ISEI)				0.051*** (0.012)	0.051*** (0.012)
Mother's occ. status (ISEI)				0.048*** (0.013)	0.048*** (0.013)
Intercept	1.589*** (0.248)	1.535*** (0.246)	1.528*** (0.241)	1.297*** (0.236)	1.289*** (0.234)
No. of observations	4,117	4,117	4,117	4,117	4,117
Adjusted R ²	0.055	0.063	0.071	0.082	0.083

Note: Design weighted, accounting for clustering; standard errors in parentheses;
 * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. MENA+: Middle East and North Africa (except
 Morocco and Turkey) plus Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Table A6.4. Multivariate analysis (OLS regression) of strength of father–child tie: Sweden

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Origin groups (ref: majority)					
MENA+	−0.026 (0.037)	0.052 (0.047)	−0.036 (0.055)	0.031 (0.054)	−0.004 (0.054)
Iran	−0.014 (0.045)	0.153 (0.083)	0.062 (0.089)	0.146 (0.090)	0.102 (0.093)
Turkey	0.020 (0.071)	0.077 (0.086)	−0.033 (0.090)	0.044 (0.091)	0.005 (0.092)
South Asia	−0.047 (0.150)	0.039 (0.151)	−0.032 (0.148)	−0.002 (0.155)	−0.008 (0.164)
South-East Asia	−0.345*** (0.075)	−0.210** (0.076)	−0.224** (0.077)	−0.167* (0.079)	−0.160 (0.087)
Sub-Sah. Africa	−0.293*** (0.083)	−0.149 (0.075)	−0.249** (0.078)	−0.207** (0.075)	−0.236** (0.080)
Somalia	−0.073 (0.095)	0.045 (0.109)	−0.104 (0.115)	−0.045 (0.118)	−0.094 (0.112)
Latin America	−0.377*** (0.095)	−0.213* (0.096)	−0.253* (0.098)	−0.213* (0.099)	−0.226* (0.098)
Eastern Europe	−0.170* (0.071)	−0.038 (0.076)	−0.080 (0.076)	−0.050 (0.076)	−0.059 (0.075)
South-East Eur.	0.108 (0.061)	0.164* (0.064)	0.118 (0.065)	0.162* (0.066)	0.142* (0.067)
Bosnia	0.140* (0.058)	0.216** (0.073)	0.166* (0.074)	0.223** (0.073)	0.175* (0.072)
Kosovo	0.240*** (0.064)	0.291*** (0.064)	0.251*** (0.064)	0.334*** (0.070)	0.289*** (0.073)
Southern Europe	−0.241* (0.097)	−0.128 (0.096)	−0.172 (0.094)	−0.164 (0.092)	−0.165 (0.092)
N/W Europe	−0.025 (0.053)	0.136* (0.062)	0.109 (0.062)	0.127* (0.061)	0.125* (0.062)
Finland	0.044 (0.056)	0.161* (0.068)	0.134 (0.069)	0.159* (0.070)	0.151* (0.069)
Generational status (ref: 2nd generation)					
Foreign born		−0.164*** (0.048)	−0.167*** (0.048)	−0.157** (0.049)	−0.148** (0.049)
Child of transnational marriage		−0.090 (0.054)	−0.077 (0.053)	−0.089 (0.054)	−0.081 (0.053)
Child of intermarriage		−0.161** (0.053)	−0.127* (0.054)	−0.148** (0.054)	−0.134* (0.054)
Female (ref: male)	−0.228*** (0.020)	−0.228*** (0.019)	−0.234*** (0.019)	−0.226*** (0.019)	−0.233*** (0.019)
Age of student	−0.160*** (0.039)	−0.132*** (0.037)	−0.125*** (0.036)	−0.102** (0.036)	−0.097** (0.036)
War intensity origin		−0.015	−0.017	−0.021	−0.016

Table A6.4. (Continued)

	Model 1 (Base)	Model 2 (Migration)	Model 3 (Religion)	Model 4 (SES)	Model 5 (Denomination)
Father abroad		(0.021) -0.728*** (0.096)	(0.021) -0.717*** (0.098)	(0.021) -0.729*** (0.098)	(0.021) -0.717*** (0.098)
Religiosity			0.084*** (0.015)	0.083*** (0.015)	0.069*** (0.015)
Religion (ref: no)					
Hindu, Buddhist					0.008 (0.105)
Islam					0.114** (0.043)
Christian, Jewish					0.069** (0.024)
Other religion					-0.080 (0.071)
Father unemployed				-0.207*** (0.034)	-0.204*** (0.034)
Father's occ. status (ISEI)				0.039*** (0.010)	0.039*** (0.010)
Mother's occ. status (ISEI)				0.029* (0.011)	0.028* (0.011)
Intercept	2.474*** (0.547)	2.073*** (0.514)	2.020*** (0.510)	1.677** (0.511)	1.569** (0.504)
No. of observations	4,916	4,916	4,916	4,916	4,916
Adjusted R ²	0.049	0.065	0.073	0.087	0.089

Note: Design weighted, accounting for clustering; standard errors in parentheses;
 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. MENA+: Middle East (except Iraq and Turkey)
 and North Africa plus Afghanistan and Pakistan.