

Does religiosity matter for partnership & fertility aspirations?

A comparison of immigrant
and native adolescents in Madrid

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Introduction

- Family formation is a crucial factor in the process of 'integration' of migrants into their host societies.
- Religion & religiosity are known to strongly shape and influence family values & behaviours, even in secularized contexts
- Religiosity diff between immigrants and non-immigrants tend to be large but also to decrease across generations (depending)

Research Questions

1. How does religiosity differ among immigrants and non-immigrants in Spain? Changes across generations, if they exist.
2. How does differences in religiosity affect family formation preferences of descendants of immigrants and comparable non-immigrants? Partnership & Fertility
3. Which role of parental influence?

Spanish context: Secularization

1. Rapid secularization:

- Mostly Catholics but growing percentage of non-practice
- 28% practicing Catholics in total, only 10% if younger than 40 years old (CIS 2008)

2. Clear reflection in changing family patterns:

- Baptized newborns: from 85% in 1990 to 62% in 2010
- Religious marriages: from 76% in 2000 to 37% in 2012
- Increasing cohabitation, 38% children born out of wedlock
- 80% declare they never/hardly ever follow the Catholic Church ideas on sexuality, marriage, contraception, divorce... (CIS 2004)

Spanish context: Immigration (I)

1. Rapid growth from less than 2% in 1998 to 14% in 2014.
2. Still relatively recent and small sizes of second generation.
3. But rapid family reunification process has led to huge 1.5 generation, who is becoming of adult age in Spain... transition to adulthood (leave parental home & family formation).

Spanish context: Immigration (II)

Own and parents' place of birth	Size	Female	Age	Single	% 16 or more	3 first origins
1st gen	3,830,496 8	50%	41	29%	100	Rom Mor Ecu
1.5 gen	1,066,777 2	45%	18	88%	51	Mor Rom Ecu
2nd gen	797,289 2	46%	11	91%	18	Mor Rom Ecu
Children of mixed couples in Spain	1,180,519 3	50%	24	77%	52	Fr Mor Germ

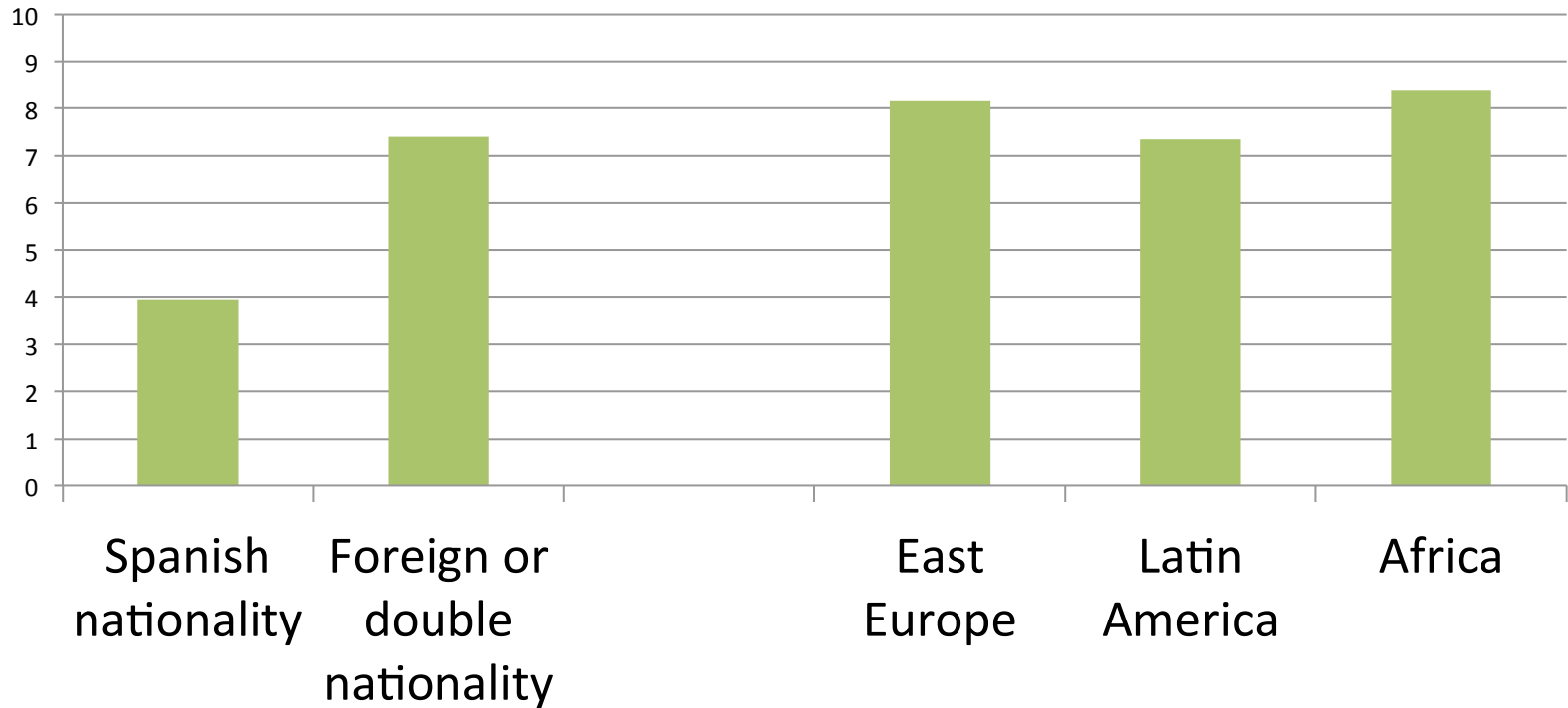
Source: Census (2011)

Religiosity & Immigration (I)

1. Transition from 100% Catholic country to a much more plural landscape.
2. Diversity of origins → religious diversity & pluralization (Muslims, Catholics-Evangelical & Orthodox Eastern Europeans).
3. Largest groups from Latin America, who are mostly Catholics but also a large number of Evangelical (much more than in native population).

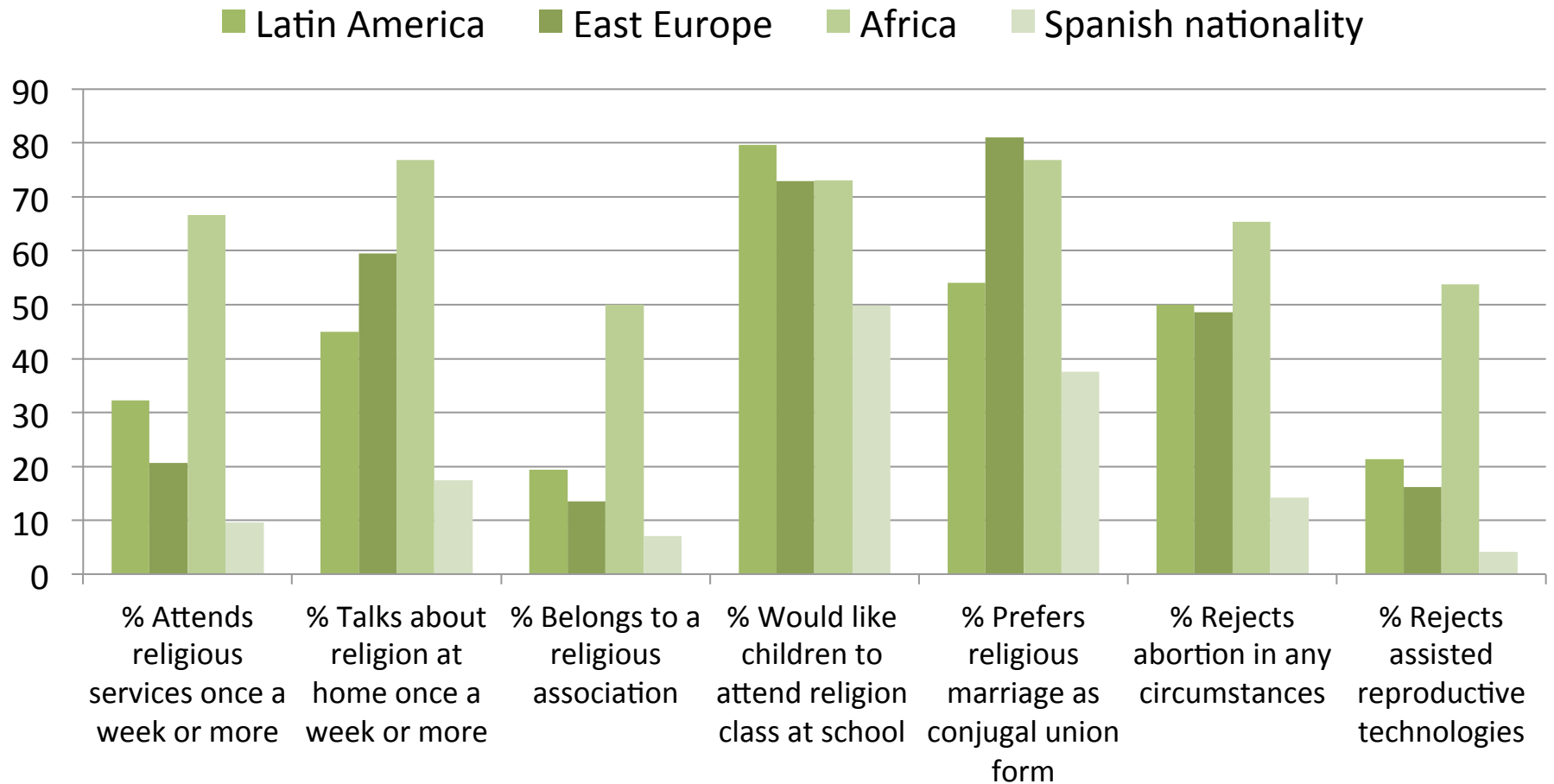
Religiosity & Immigration (II)

Importance of religion in your life (0 to 10)



Source: CIS 2008

Religiosity & Immigration (II)



Source: CIS 2008

Religiosity & Immigration (IV)

1. Large differences in all indicators
2. Immigrants in Spain follow a common pattern of higher religiosity of immigrants compared to natives
3. Differences also within immigrant by origin

BUT... what about younger generations?

Are things changing for them or is the gap getting wider?

With which impacts?

Data: Chances 2011

- 30 secondary schools in Madrid municipality
- All students enrolled in all classrooms from 3rd & 4th grade of secondary schools
- Parallel questionnaires for parents
 - Students completed it at school (55 min)
 - Parents (mother or father) completed it at home.
Response rate: 45%
- Questionnaire about life preferences & expectations in wide range of domains

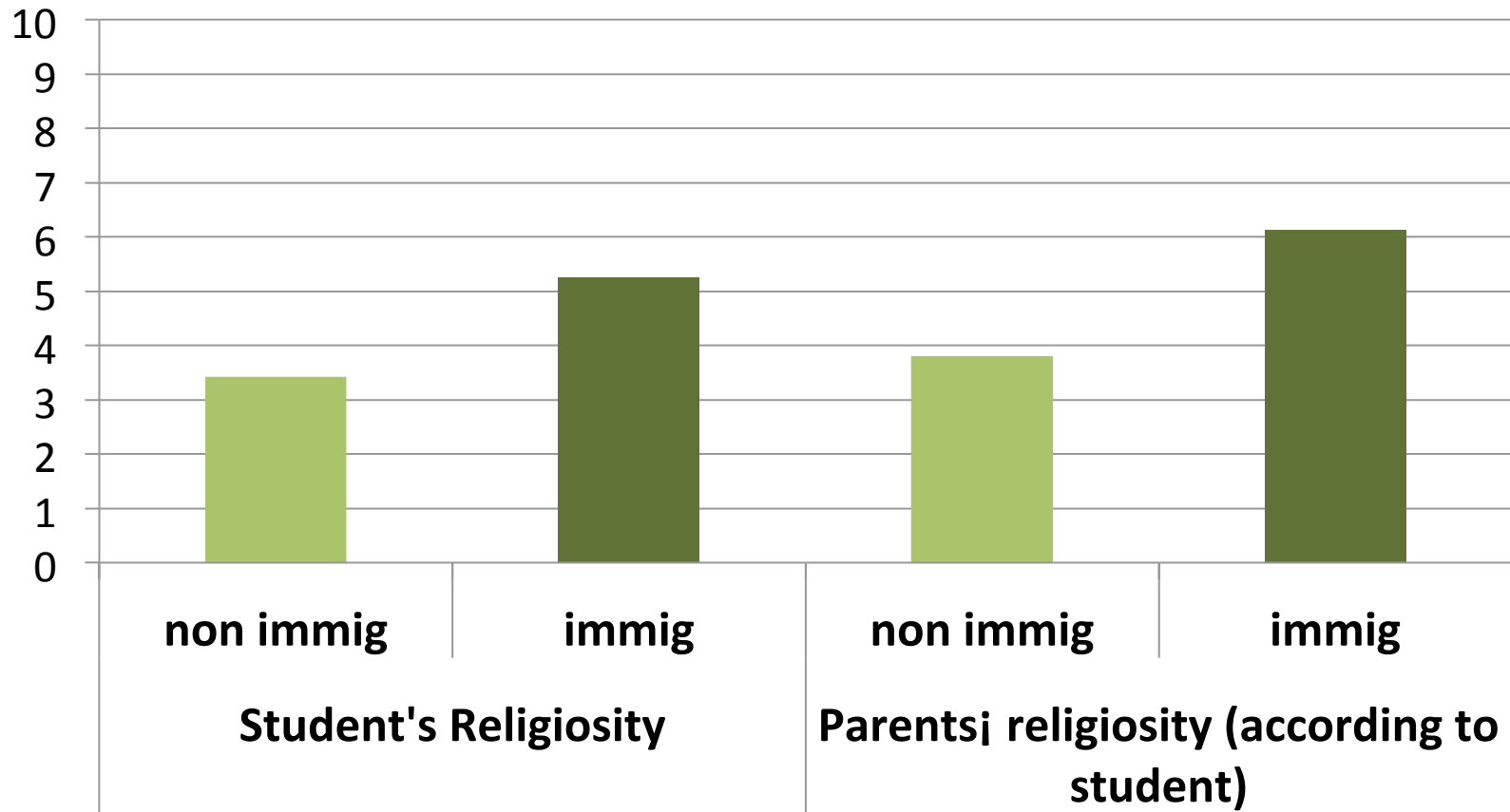
Sample of Students

	3rd Grade				4th Grade				Total	
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Native	348	53	427	56	339	54	384	59	1,504	55
Mixed parents	32	5	45	6	34	5	46	7	159	6
1.5 Generation	198	30	202	27	217	34	172	26	794	29
2nd Generation	81	12	87	11	42	7	50	8	261	10
Total	659	100	761	100	632	100	652	100	2,718	100

Immigrant Origins

	3rd Grade				4th Grade				Total	
	Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Native	348	53	427	56	339	54	384	59	1,504	55
Ecuador	110	17	131	17	104	16	73	11	422	16
Other LA	107	16	99	13	107	17	109	17	424	16
Africa	30	5	21	3	17	3	13	2	82	3
Eastern Eur.	25	4	34	4	19	3	24	4	102	4
Asia	22	3	24	3	27	4	20	3	93	3
EU15-developed	17	3	25	3	19	3	29	4	91	3
Total	659	100	761	100	632	100	652	100	2,718	100

Religiosity of adolescents and their parents



Source: Chances 2011

How does religiosity affect partnership
& fertility preferences of adolescents?

Cohabitation in Spain

1. Cohabitation started in 1990s & substantial and rapid increase since 2000s.
2. Pioneers of cohabitation were highly-educated people (positive education gradient)
3. Nowadays: educational gradient for cohabitation has disappeared.

What about next generations?

- 1. Spread out behaviour, high levels of acceptance**
- 2. Educational gradient? reversal?**

Cohabitation of immigrants

1. US: increase over generations but large variations across ethnic origins, especially for women.
2. Europe: lower levels, esp. for women, positive effect of father's education. BUT focus on Turks (and Moroccans + former-Yugoslavs)
3. Latin America:
 1. Dual system of nuptiality: marriage & cohabitation are equally important (not transitory, socially recognized, with children...).
 2. BUT associated to low social status (cohabitation 'a la European' only recently).

What about descendants of (LA) immigrants?

Fertility in Spain

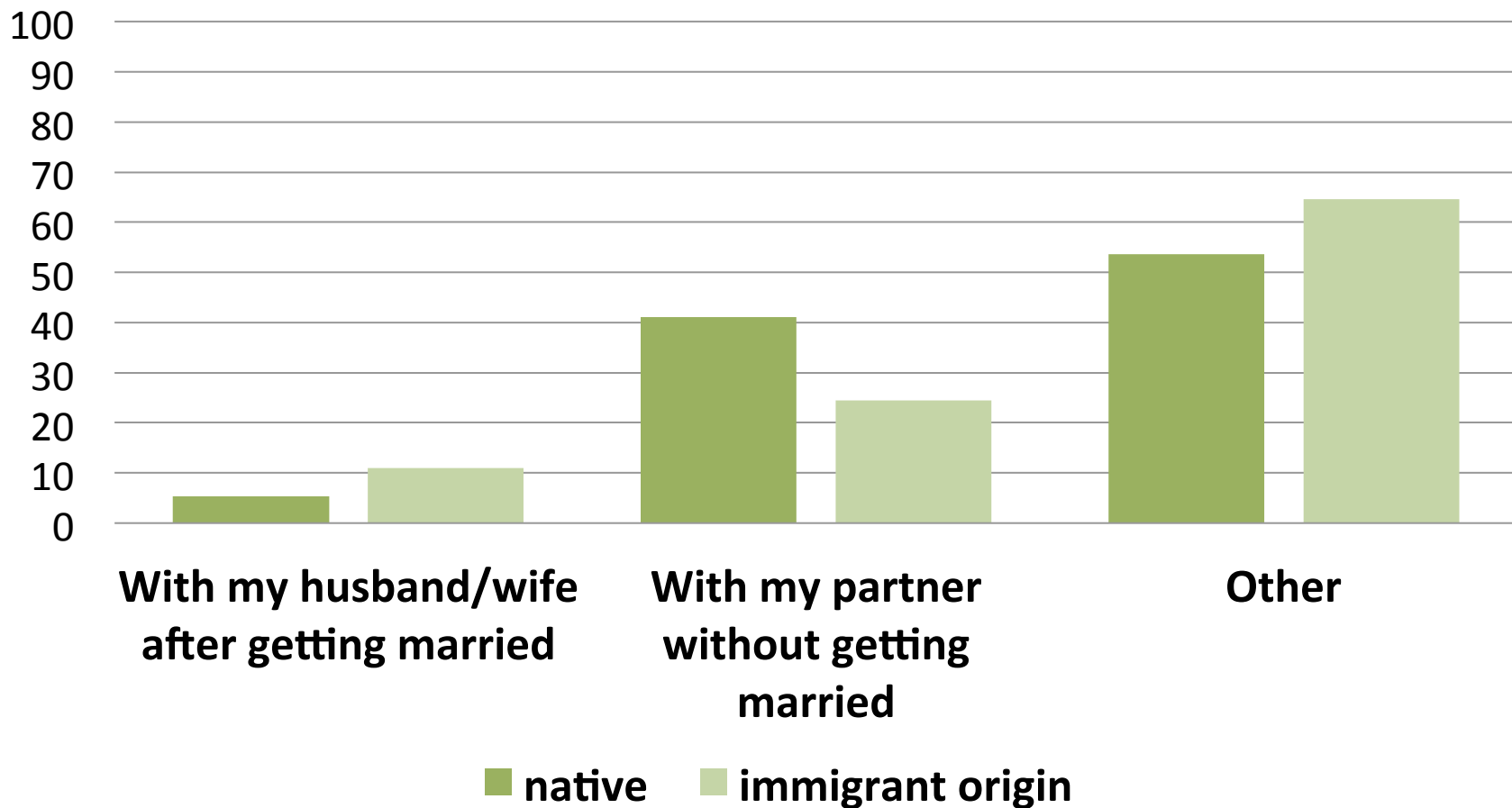
1. More than two decades of fertility below 1.5 children per woman but low % of childless women (13% cohort 1965)
2. Even though the mean desired number of children is about two, there is certain resignation that very low fertility is here to stay
3. The mean age at first birth increased from 25 in 1980 to 30.4 among women and 33.6 among men in 2013

Fertility of immigrants

1. Immigrants tend to have higher fertility levels but experience some convergence over time and generations
2. Crude birth rate of foreign women in 1998-2008 was about twice that of Spaniards, (immigrants' younger age)
3. The fertility rate of foreign women residing in Spain fell from 2.05 children in 2002 to 1.53 in 2013, still above native women (1.23) but also quite low.
4. However, immigrant women had a younger childbearing schedule –their mean age at first birth in 2013 was 27 compared to 31 among Spanish women.

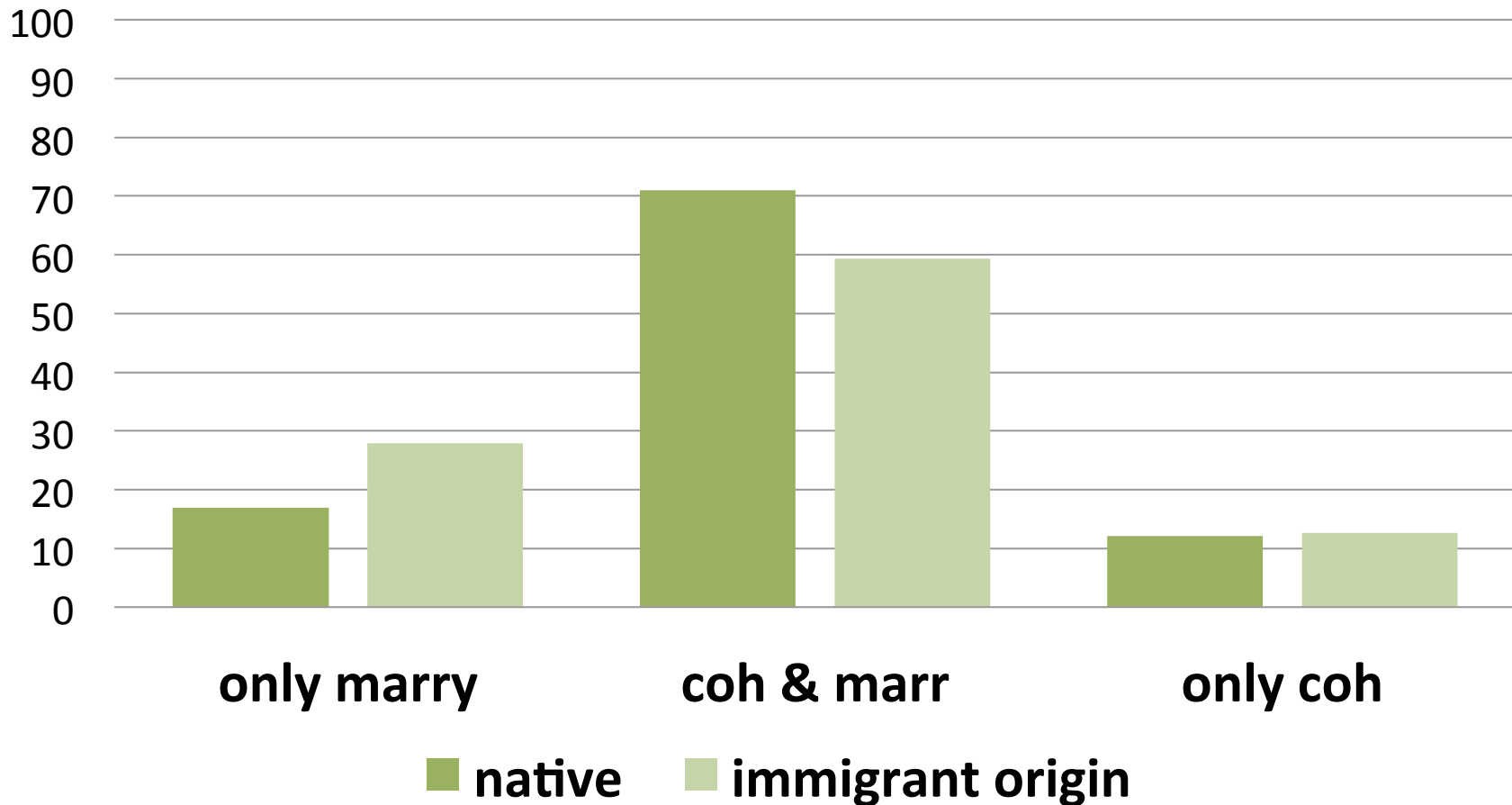
What about descendants of (LA) immigrants?

When you leave your parents' house, would you like to live...



Source: Chances 2011

Would you like to get married in the future? Would you like to live with your partner without getting married?

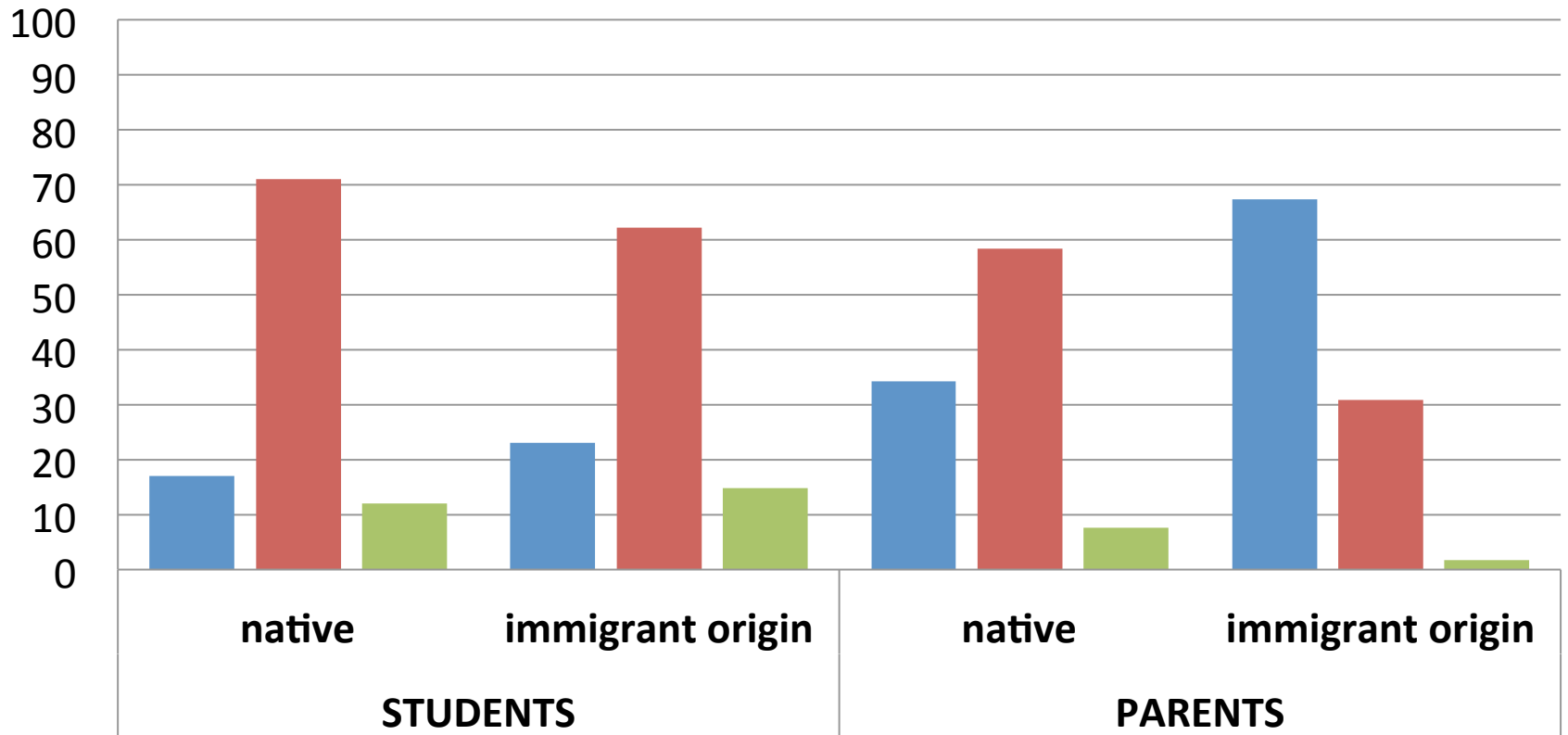


Source: Chances 2011

Would you like your child to get married in the future?

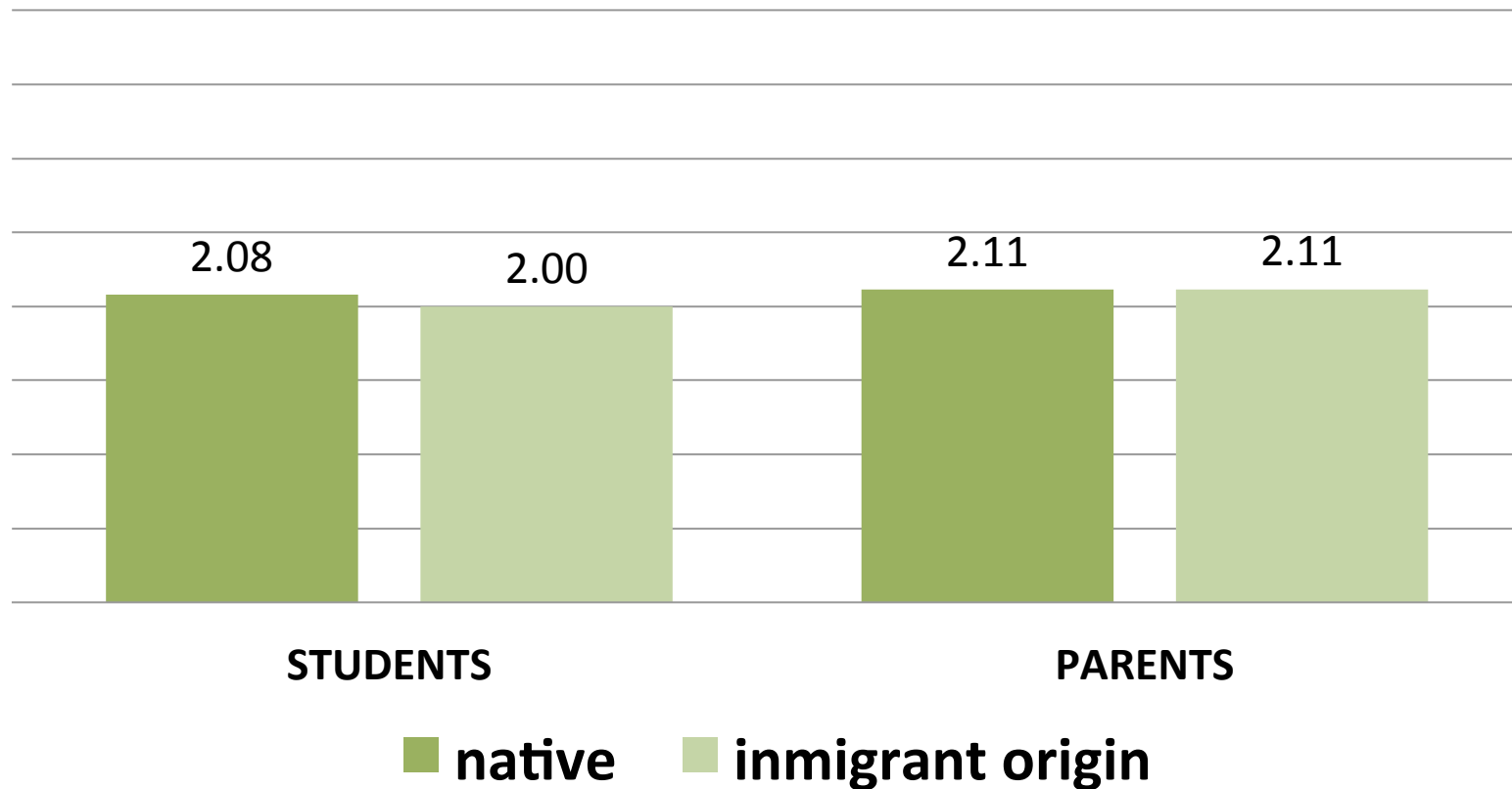
Would you like your child to live with her/his partner without getting married?

■ only marry ■ coh & marr ■ only coh



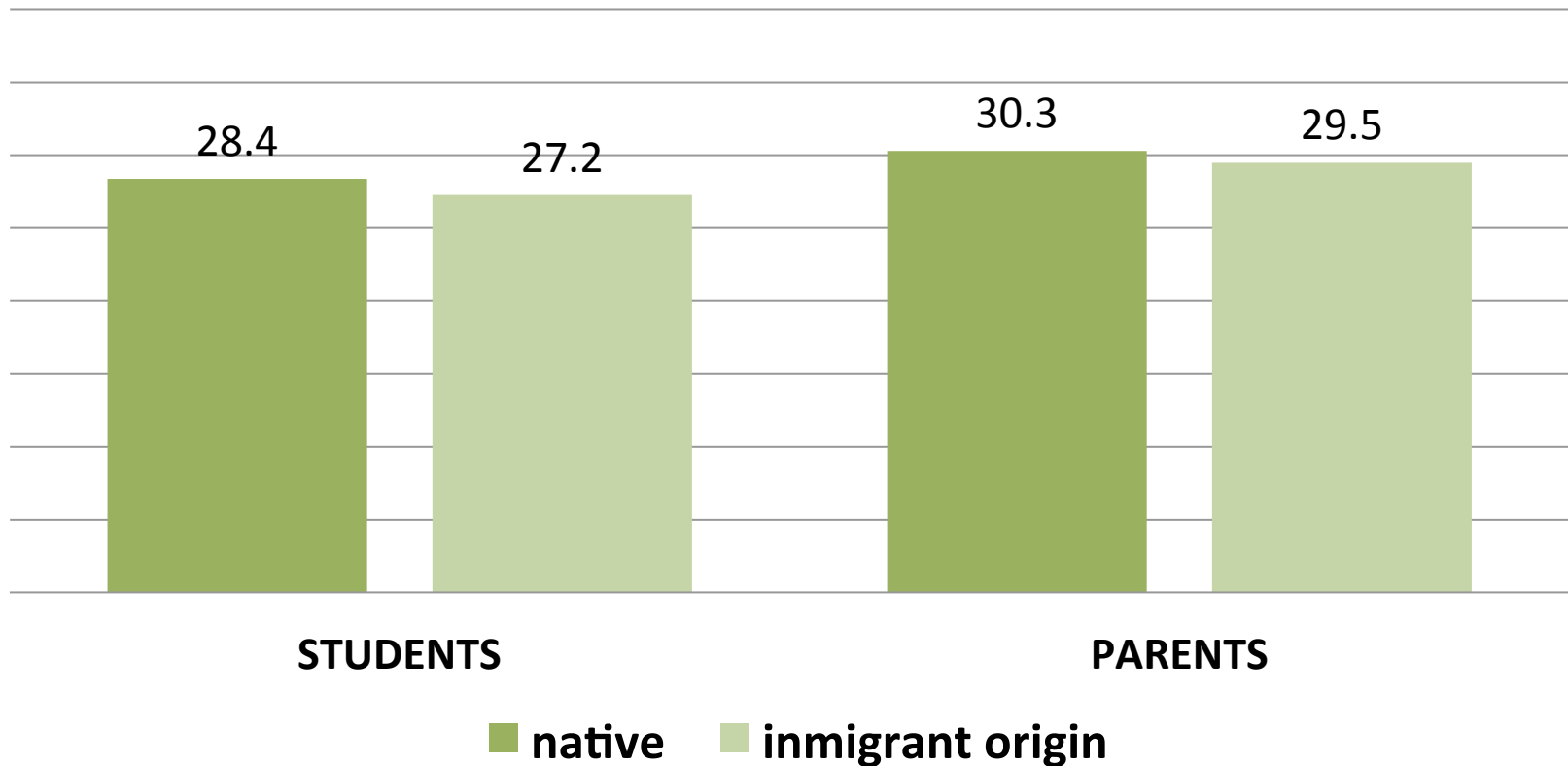
Source: Chances 2011

How many kids would you like to have? How many kids would you like your child to have?



Source: Chances 2011

At what age would you like to have your 1st kid? At what age would you like your child to have her/his 1st kid?



Source: Chances 2011

MULTIVARIATE RESULTS

Methods

1. Partnership Arrangement

- multinomial logit (odds ratio)
- DV: direct marriage, coh & marriage, only coh

2. Fertility/ age at first child

- linear regression
- DV: wished age at first child

Partnership: All

	Without Relig		Relig Child		Relig Parents		Relig Parents+Diff	
	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh
inm	0.519***	0.647**	0.697**	1.101	0.754**	1.107	0.738**	1.08
sex	0.946	0.732**	0.966	0.786	0.93	0.722**	0.96	0.792
Parents' tertiary edu	0.688**	0.851	0.743**	0.96	0.766*	0.994	0.754*	0.979
Repeated school year	1.015	0.871	1.06	0.926	1.018	0.927	1.021	0.929
Wish to go to Univ	0.958**	0.914***	0.969*	0.935**	0.958**	0.925**	0.961**	0.931**
Parents' divorce	1.484**	3.149***	1.391**	2.848***	1.402**	3.018***	1.419**	3.048***
Religiosity child			0.852***	0.734***				
Parents' religiosity					0.856***	0.775***	0.842***	0.731***
Religiosity differential							1.131***	1.330***
N	2543	2543	2498	2498	2418	2418	2418	2418

Exponentiated coefficients. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Partnership: Ecuadorians

	Without religiosity		Relig Child		Relig Parents		Relig Parents+ Diff.	
	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh	Coh&Mar	Coh
inm	0.703**	0.904	0.984	1.855**	1.101	2.001**	1.08	1.989**
sex	1.144	0.87	1.127	0.858	1.125	0.799	1.137	0.854
Parents' tertiary edu	0.531***	0.742	0.585**	0.906	0.620**	0.915	0.611**	0.913
Repeated school year	1.165	0.971	1.15	0.945	1.135	0.971	1.119	0.939
Wish to go to Univ	0.982	0.924**	0.993	0.945*	0.979	0.929**	0.984	0.938**
Parents' divorce	1.151	2.818***	1.076	2.404***	1.176	2.767***	1.18	2.729***
Religiosity child			0.860***	0.723***				
Parents' religiosity					0.861***	0.754***	0.848***	0.709***
Religiosity differential							1.113**	1.321***
<i>N</i>	1813	1813	1787	1787	1733	1733	1733	1733

Exponentiated coefficients. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Preferred Age at first birth

	ALL			ECUADORIANS		
	(1)	(2)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(4)
Inmigrant origin	-0.72***	-0.76***	-0.73***	-0.85***	-0.92***	-0.90***
Female	-1.39***	-1.43***	-1.39***	-1.41***	-1.43***	-1.42***
Parents divorced	-0.19	-0.16	-0.21	-0.67***	-0.66***	-0.69***
One parent with Tertiary edu	0.35**	0.38**	0.39**	0.48**	0.50**	0.51**
Desire to go to university	0.15***	0.15***	0.15***	0.13***	0.13***	0.13***
Repeated year at school	-0.53***	-0.58***	-0.59***	-0.54**	-0.49**	-0.50**
Importance of religion to child	-0.11***			-0.11***		
Importance of religion to parents		-0.08***	-0.09***		-0.09***	-0.10***
Gap religiosity parents-child			0.13***			0.081
Constant	28.42***	28.43***	28.32***	28.67***	28.63***	28.57***
N	2193	2121	2121	1557	1510	1510

Conclusions (i)

1. Religiosity plays a crucial role in explaining different preferences of immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents regarding their future patterns of family formation
2. In general, the more religious the parents and the adolescent are (regardless of origin), the more likely to prefer earlier parenthood and direct marriage over cohabitation
3. However, increasing intergenerational differences over religiosity tend to also increase adolescents' preferences for less traditional family formation arrangements

Conclusions (ii)

4. Preferences about age for parenthood are easier to explain than preferences for partnership arrangements
5. Reason: changing interpretation of the meaning of cohabitation for Spaniards and immigrants (especially Latin Americans):
 - Natives show an incipient reversal in educational gradient
 - Immigrants in Spain seem to respond to the positive gradient pattern (in line with previous Spanish generation rather than their culture of origin)

Limitations

1. Sample sizes and gender separated analyses
2. Robustness check for fertility analyses

THANK YOU!

Distribution DV fertility

