Intergenerational change in religious salience among immigrant families in four European countries

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates religiosity among immigrant children in four European countries: England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Drawing on major strands of theories in the sociology of religion and migration, we analyse intergenerational change within immigrant families of different religious affiliation and test how far common arguments can contribute to explaining existing patterns. We overcome several challenges and shortcomings in this field by studying adolescent-parent dyads. Using strictly comparable and comprehensive data from the new Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU), we find a considerable stability of religiosity or even an increase therein within Muslim immigrant families, in contrast to Christian immigrant families, whose religiosity declines over generations. This finding is astonishingly stable across the four countries. Our analyses furthermore suggest that interfamilial change in religiosity is only weakly related to assimilation processes in other domains of life.

Keywords: Religion, migrants, transmission, secularisation, assimilation, revival

INTRODUCTION

The role of religion in the integration process of immigrants is a topic of major concern in immigration countries on both sides of the Atlantic. Whereas in the United States religion is perceived as a means for successful structural and social integration, strong religious attachment is often assumed to be a barrier rather than a bridge to overall integration in Western European immigration countries (Foner & Alba 2008, Hirschman 2004, but see Connor 2011). Strong religious identities are seen as a reason for failure in the educational system and in the labour market, and as a hindrance to adequate contact with members of the majority population as well as to cultural inclusion (Bisin et al. 2008, Diehl et al. 2009, Foner & Alba 2008). While a large proportion of immigrants in the United States share their Christian background with the on average strongly religious majority population (Cadge & Ecklund 2007), the story is different in Western European countries, where the religious landscape is much more diverse, with Muslim immigrants constituting a considerable part of the overall population (Buijs & Rath 2002, Voas & Fleischmann 2012). Accordingly, the questions of how the religiosity of immigrant groups develops in the middle and in the long run and how it is related to other areas of life are of key interest in almost all European receiving countries (Voas & Fleischmann 2012).

Theoretical arguments in the field of religion and migration research arrive at conflicting expectations about the development of religion and religiosity among immigrants in Western European countries (e.g., Bankston & Zhou 1995, Connor 2010, Diehl & Koenig 2009, Phalet et al. 2008, Smits et al. 2010, van Tubergen 2007). More precisely, there is no agreement on whether immigrants' religiosity is expected to decrease, remain stable or even increase after migration into a secular society. The empirical picture is also far from clear: Whereas some empirical studies basically find a decrease of religious involvement among immigrants (e.g., Connor 2010, Diehl & Schnell 2006, Maliepaard et al. 2010, Phalet et al. 2008, van Tubergen 2007, van Tubergen & Sindradóttir 2011), others report a considerable stability of religiosity especially among Muslim immigrants (Diehl and Koenig 2009, Diehl et al. 2009, Güveli & Platt 2011, Maliepaard et al. 2012, Phalet & ter Wal 2004) or even an increase in immigrants' religious practices after migration (Güveli & Platt 2011, Smits et al. 2010, Maliepaard et al. 2012).

However, comparative research on religious trends among immigrants in Europe suffers from at least two major methodological drawbacks. First, given the various measures of religious

affiliation and religiosity, there is no easy way to compare studies conducted in different countries, examining different immigrant groups and surveying different points in time. Second, secularisation trends among immigrants are usually analysed over period time by trend designs, by looking at synthetic cohorts or by analysing immigrants' religiosity dependent on length of stay in the country of destination. In addition, only a few studies take into account a reference group, thereby neglecting to control for trends in religiosity among the majority population.

This paper contributes to this line of research by using data from the new Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU). On the one hand, the study provides strictly comparable measures and designs, which allow us to study the religiosity of immigrant youth and their peers by means of identical analyses across countries. On the other hand, the data include information given by one of the parents; thus we are able to assess trends of religiosity by looking at intergenerational change within adolescent-parent dyads. Two research questions guide this paper. The first one is descriptive: What patterns of intergenerational transmission of religiosity do we find among different religious groups in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden? The second aim of the paper is to analyse the potential causes behind these patterns. Referring to the rivalling theoretical approaches mentioned above, we are especially interested in the impact of cognitive-structural and social integration.

THEORY AND PAST RESEARCH

Major strands of theoretical argument from different fields of study would lead us to expect that the importance of religion to immigrants and their descendants is likely to decline. In the field of the sociology of religion this expectation could be derived from general secularisation theory, which states that comparatively higher levels of modernization in the receiving countries will delimit the salience of religious beliefs and practices in daily life among minorities as well (Berger 1967, Bruce 2002, Phalet et al. 2008, Pickel 2010, Wilson 1982).[1] In the field of migration, the same expectation would be in line with general assimilation theory, which predicts that immigrants tend to become similar to members of the host societies with respect to diverse aspects of behaviour and attitudes over time and especially over generations (Alba & Nee 1997, Gordon 1964, Park 1950). This implies an adaptation to the secularisation trend of Western European societies when immigrants are exposed to alternative and non-religious

values and worldviews (Diehl & Koenig 2009, Güngör et al. 2011, van Tubergen 2007). Accordingly, some empirical studies find a decline in religiosity in the second generation and with an increasing length of stay (Bisin et al. 2008, Connor 2010, Eilers et al. 2008, Güveli & Platt 2011, Maliepaard et al. 2010, Phalet & ter Wal 2004, Smits et al. 2010, van Tubergen 2007), as well as over period time (Diehl & Schnell 2006, Phalet et al. 2008). Implicitly assumed, mere exposure to the host society and increasing contact with members of the native population enhance familiarity with the mainstream culture, eventually leading to assimilation in different life domains. A decrease in religiosity would therefore be more likely, the more immigrants participate in central institutions of the host society, the more frequent their social contact to the native population is and the greater their fluency in the destination language is, since cognitive-structural and social assimilation can be seen as accelerators to religious assimilation (Maliepaard et al. 2010).

However, secularisation trends among immigrants and their descendants are not always supported empirically. Some studies detect a remarkable stability of religiosity, especially among Muslim immigrants (Diehl & Koenig 2009, Diehl et al. 2009, Güveli & Platt 2011, Maliepaard et al. 2012, Phalet & ter Wal 2004, Verkuyten & Yildiz 2010). As a flipside of assimilation theory, this could be explained by the fact that if parents are weakly assimilated in cognitive-structural and social terms, they put stronger efforts into the intergenerational maintenance of culture. But there are also competing theoretical perspectives, like the theory of segmented assimilation, which stresses that immigrants might integrate very well into other domains of life, such as the educational system or the labour market, while not assimilating culturally but instead maintaining their cultural heritage (Bankston & Zhou 1995, Portes & Rumbaut 2001, Portes & Zhou 1993, Zhou 1997).[2] Consequently, cognitive-structural and social assimilation would not necessarily be positively related to a decline in religiosity among immigrants. In the sociology of religion it has been argued that also modern societies provide some crucial structural conditions that foster religious revival and reactivity (Connor 2009, Stark 1999, Stark & Finke 2000) by encouraging competition among religious organizations, which in turn raises religious identification and participation by offering more attractive and diverse religious products (Smits et al. 2010).

An even stronger expectation has been formulated: a religious revival. This means that under certain conditions even an increase in religiosity over time or generations is seen to be likely. One empirical study indeed shows such an increase in Muslims' religious participation relative to the length of stay in Belgium (Smits et al. 2010, see also Güveli & Platt 2011, Ma-

liepaard et al. 2012). Reactive ethnicity is assumed to occur when immigrants feel less welcome in host societies, experience discrimination and social exclusion and increase their ethnic and religious identities as a means of compensation (Connor 2010, Diehl & Schnell 2006, Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Consequently, one would expect an intergenerational *increase* in religiosity to occur due to missing cognitive-structural and social assimilation.

In sum, we find arguments for intergenerational religious decrease, as well as for stability or increase. How assimilation in other areas of life might influence the outcomes is also theoretically debatable. Empirical evidence is likewise ambiguous, suggesting that results might depend on receiving countries and groups. However, research by now has suffered from at least two major methodological shortcomings: First, when looking at intergenerational change, most studies have compared synthetic immigrant cohorts, and thus are not able to account for different composition of immigrants in different cohorts in terms of unobserved characteristics (Borjas 1994, Diehl & Koenig 2009). Second, a lack of truly comparable data prevents studying immigrants' religiosity between countries. Results usually cannot be compared to each other since they refer to different target groups and use different indicators for religion and religiosity.

In the following, we will try to overcome both of these problems by investigating adolescent-parent dyads, employing the data of a recent comparative study on the integration of immigrant children in Europe.

DATA, MEASURES AND METHODS

Data

The empirical part of this paper uses data from the new *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU)*. Funded by *NORFACE (New Opportunities for Research Funding Agency Co-Operation in Europe)* since October 2009, this project seeks to answer key open questions on the integration of children of immigrants in four European countries: England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Strictly comparable designs and measures in all countries allow us to study religious integration patterns of immigrant children between countries. Between November 2010 and June 2011, the first wave of the study was conducted and 19,316 14-year old adolescents of native and immigrant origin were

surveyed within their schools. In order to achieve high numbers of adolescents with an immigration background, a three-stage disproportional stratified sampling design, oversampling schools with higher proportions of immigrant students, was applied. Within these schools, two school classes were randomly selected and all students within these classes were surveyed. Additionally, using bilingual survey instruments, self-completion and telephone interviews were conducted with 11,417 parents.[3] This offers the unique opportunity to investigate transmission processes and intergenerational change of religion and religiosity rather directly. Identical questions on religion were asked in the youth and parental questionnaires.

The empirical analysis uses the first wave of CILS4EU data. We start with the whole student sample to detect trends in religiosity by looking at synthetic cohorts in the canonical way. In our core analyses, we then only use cases with complete youth and parental interviews (n=11,394) in order to investigate transmission processes among immigrant compared to native families. Here, we also further restrict our sample to 8,402 families who belong to any religious affiliation. Additionally, in the multivariate analyses we only investigate cases without missing values on any of the model variables (n=7,290).

Measures

The central dependent variable is the intergenerational change in *religious salience* between adolescents and their parents. We use answers to the question "How important is religion to you?" included identically in both questionnaires, with answering categories ranging from "not at all important" to "very important".[4] Intergenerational change in religious salience then has three categories: Decrease, stability and increase. Increase means that the adolescent states a higher importance of religion than their parent, stability indicates identical answers given by child and parent, and decrease is observed when religion is less important in the adolescent than in the parental generation.[5]

Of major interest in our empirical analyses are differences in religious salience between immigrants and natives belonging to different religious affiliations. In order to define religious groups we use self-reported religious affiliation and categorize it into the following broader categories: no religion, Christianity, Islam and other religion (for instance, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Sikhism, Yazidism). Immigrant background is based on countries of birth of respondent adolescent, biological parents and biological grandparents. An immigrant child is defined as a student belonging to one of the following generational categories: a) student born

abroad (1st generation), b) student born in the survey country, both parents born abroad (2nd generation), c) student and one parent born in the survey country, the other parent born abroad (2.5 generation or mixed marriages), d) student and both parents born in the survey country, at least two grandparents born abroad (3rd generation). Natives are consequently students who do not belong to either of these categories.

Measures of cognitive-structural and social assimilation are used for both the adolescent and the parental generation. Since respondents and their parents are located in different life situations, structural assimilation is not operationalised identically for both generations. For parents, we use the degree of education (no education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education or university education) and whether or not the parent is currently employed. School performance is our measure of adolescents' structural integration. Students were asked to assess their school performance by answering the question "How well are you doing in the following subjects?" using answer options "very well", "quite well", "OK", "not that well" and "not well at all". We created a mean index from three subjects – Math, the survey country's language, and English (in England: only Math and English). In Germany and the Netherlands – both countries with a stratified school system – we use type of school attended as an additional indicator of structural assimilation. Social assimilation is operationalised by the proportion of native friends. The question is: "Think about all of your friends. How many of them have a [survey country] background?" Answers range from "almost all or all" to "none or very few", in both the youths' and the parents' questionnaires. Finally, language is one central dimension of cognitive assimilation. In school surveys, we conducted an objective language test (synonyms in England, Germany and the Netherlands, antonyms in Sweden). Unfortunately, we do not have a comparable measure of parents' language proficiency, hence, we use self-assessed language proficiency for the parental generation. This is a mean index of "how well the respondent parent thinks he/she can speak, understand, write and read [the survey country's language]?" using a 5-point scale with "not at all" and "excellently" constituting the positive and negative ends of the scale.[6]

In addition to these variables, we control for sex of the respondent youth and the parent, as well as parents' religiosity in every model. All metric variables are standardised separately for England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden and have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

Methods

We start analysing religiosity among immigrant and native children by looking at trends over synthetic cohorts; as this is done in many other studies too, this should be telling for reasons of comparison. We then examine how the level of religiosity changes over generations within one and the same family, analysing adolescent-parent dyads. This method has successfully been applied to study the transmission of cultural values among immigrant families in general (Idema & Phalet 2007, Jacob & Kalter 2011, Nauck 1989, 2001, Phalet & Schönpflug 2001, Schönpflug 2001) and religious transmission among non-immigrant families (Bao et al. 1999). To our knowledge, only one study investigates religious transmission using parent-child data (Maliepaard & Lubbers 2012). This study, however, is restricted to one country only.

After these descriptive views, we test theoretical expectations about the influence of assimilation in various dimensions on the probability of intergenerational religious change among families in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, using a series of logistic regression models. For this purpose, we use two distinct dependent variables. Decrease models estimate the probability of a decrease in religious salience compared to intergenerational stability. A rise in religiosity is contrasted to stability in the increase models. All families in which a religious increase occurs are excluded in the decrease models, and vice versa. Basically, this is estimating a multinomial logit model using individualized regressions (Begg & Gray 1984). We pursue this approach instead of using common MNLM-estimates for reasons of statistical modelling: Models should control for parents' religious salience because the base level of religiosity in the parental generation crucially affects the likelihood of religious change across generations. However, there exist several cases for which the predicted probability cannot be estimated due to logical impossibility. These are parents who state that religion is "not at all important" in the decrease models, and parents to whom religion is "very important" in the increase models. Therefore, we run different models and exclude these families in the decrease and increase models, respectively.

RESULTS

Descriptive results

- Figure 1 about here -

Starting with the canonical approach, figure 1 illustrates how immigrant adolescents' religious salience develops over synthetic generational cohorts (black lines) compared to the native population (grey lines). Immigrants and natives are further differentiated according to the religious affiliation stated by the respondent youth: Non-religious adolescents (dashed-dotted lines) are contrasted to Christian (dotted lines), Muslim (solid line) and other-religious respondents (dashed lines).

First and foremost, we find that the pattern with respect to relative differences in the importance attached to religion is basically the same in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Unsurprisingly, figure 1 reveals that immigrant and native respondents who do not belong to any religion are very similar to each other, both stating a very low importance of religion. Muslim immigrants show the highest values in terms of religious salience, and Christian respondents and respondents belonging to another religion lie between these two extremes. With respect to trends over synthetic cohorts, Christian immigrants' religious salience adapts to that of the Christian native population. While first- and second-generation Christian immigrants are more religious than native Christians, those who belong to the third generation do not significantly differ from native Christians in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. This pertains to a lesser extent to immigrants belonging to other religions as well. In contrast, religiosity among Muslim immigrants is more or less stable over generational categories. Moreover, second-generation Muslim immigrants are even more religious than those in the first generation in two countries, England and the Netherlands (this difference is significant at the 10 per cent level). However, later Muslim immigrant generations display some minor religious assimilatory trends. The question arises whether we can observe this pattern as well when we look into families and examine changes between generations within one and the same family.

- Table 1 about here -

For this purpose, we look at intergenerational change of religiosity within immigrant and native families of different religious groups, which are defined by parents' religious affiliation. Table 1 displays differences in terms of the importance of religion between adolescents and their parents. Families who affiliate with Christianity, both with and without an immigration background, display a declining importance of religion over generations in all countries. In the Netherlands, for instance, 52 per cent of native Christian and 49 per cent of immigrant Christian families show a religious decrease over generations. In contrast, religious salience remains considerably stable among Muslim families. In more than 80 per cent of Muslim families in England, in approximately 60 per cent in Germany and in the Netherlands and in 45 per cent of Muslim families in Sweden, religiosity does not change over generations. At the same time, Muslim families are much less likely to secularise over generations, that is, to experience a decrease in religiosity, compared to native and immigrant respondents of other religious denominations. In addition, the amount of intergenerational decrease in religiosity is almost outweighed by a considerable proportion of Muslim families in which adolescents are even more religious than their parents. Again, we find these patterns in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden alike.

To summarise, both methodological designs arrive at basically the same result: In line with Diehl and Koenig (2009) and contradictory to many empirical studies addressing the development of religion and religiosity of Muslim immigrants in Western immigration countries (e.g., Connor 2010, Maliepaard et al. 2010, Phalet et al. 2008, van Tubergen 2007), we find – even descriptively – an impressive stability or even an increase of religiosity among Muslim families. In contrast, Christian immigrants seem to adapt to the Christian majority population in later generations, and their intergenerational change in religious salience resembles the pattern observable in native Christian families.

Multivariate results

- Tables 2a to 2d about here -

Tables 2a to 2d show the results of our multivariate analyses. For every country, we estimate separate logistic regression models, using the likelihood of intergenerational change within families as dependent variable. The base models display gross differences in intergenerational change of religious salience between religious immigrant groups, controlling only for adoles-

cents' and parents' sex and parents' religiosity. Almost all religious immigrant groups differ significantly from the reference group – native Christian families – showing a lower likelihood of a religious decrease and a higher likelihood of a religious increase over generations. However, whereas these effects are weak and hardly significant for Christian immigrant groups in all countries, Muslim families display a pronounced pattern of intergenerational stability or even increase in religiosity; this pattern is almost identical across countries.

In a next step, we look at the influence of parents' cognitive-structural and social assimilation on religious intergenerational change within families (parents' model). Like briefly sketched in the theoretical part, we assume that parents' assimilation moderates the strength of religious change by affecting the efforts parents put into the religious socialisation of their children. However, our results suggest that parents' cognitive-structural and social assimilation do not seem to play a major role with respect to religious assimilation. Only a few coefficients reach statistical significance and the main effects of religious groups are only slightly reduced. The picture is not very clear over countries: On the one hand, employment status and language skills enhance the probability of a religious intergenerational decrease in England, but this is not true for Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. In these three countries, on the other hand, language skills are related to a religious increase within families, while the same is true for social assimilation in Sweden. Overall, however, parents' assimilation does not seem to be crucial for intergenerational religious assimilation.

The third (complete) model additionally controls for adolescents' assimilation measures. The question we pursue is whether – controlling for parents' cognitive-structural and social assimilation – adolescents' assimilation weakens the religious transmission process within families. One coefficient we find is consistent across countries: Self-assessed school performance lowers the probability of a religious decrease in England, Germany and in the Netherlands, but it raises the probability of a religious increase in Sweden.[7] This result contradicts theoretical expectations derived from assimilation theories that structural and religious integration should co-occur. With respect to social contacts and proficiency in the language of the country of destination, we find some effects supporting assimilation theory, but only in some countries and only for some assimilation dimensions. In Germany, for instance, the proportion of native friends is related to both intergenerational religious decrease and increase, and the same is true for intergenerational increase in religious salience in Sweden. Language skills matter for religious increase in the Netherlands, with better skills lowering the likelihood of a religious increase within families.

To make sure that the effects of certain variables are not dominated by the reference groups, the last models leave out native families and estimates effects only for immigrants. We can observe that some assimilation indicators are slightly more pronounced and become statistically significant in the immigrant models; this mainly applies to indicators of adolescents' assimilation. For instance, language skills are now important for intergenerational decrease and increase in religious salience for immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands. Furthermore, social assimilation affects the likelihood of interfamilial secularisation trends in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Thus, cognitive-structural and social assimilation exert some influences on intergenerational change in religiosity for immigrants. However, even when looking at immigrant youth only, the overall impact is rather weak, and – most importantly – the differences between Muslim and Christian immigrants can hardly be explained.

To summarise, cognitive-structural and social assimilation of both parents and adolescents are only weakly related to intergenerational change in religiosity. However, they explain the initial difference between Christian native and immigrant families in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, which is quite marginal already in the base models. In contrast, the pattern of Muslim immigrants' intergenerational religious stability does not change substantially when we add measures of cognitive-structural and social assimilation dimensions for both parents and adolescents.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This contribution aimed to improve our knowledge about the development of immigrant children's religiosity in four European countries: England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. Drawing on major theoretical contributions in the sociology of religion and migration, previous studies have revealed several challenges and shortcomings of research: On the one hand, theoretical approaches in both fields differ in their expectations about the general direction of trends and about the role of assimilation in other areas of life (e.g., Bankston & Zhou 1995, Connor 2010, Diehl & Koenig 2009, Phalet et al. 2008, Smits et al. 2010, van Tubergen 2007). On the other hand, a lack of appropriate data prevents the comparative and direct study of immigrants' intergenerational religious assimilation. As a consequence, studies have reached different conclusions with respect to immigrants' religious assimilation (e.g., Connor 2010, Diehl & Koenig 2009, Fleischmann & Phalet 2011, Güngör et al. 2011, Güveli & Platt 2011, Maliepaard & Lubbers 2012, Maliepaard et al. 2010, 2012, Phalet et al. 2008, Smits et al.

2010, van Tubergen 2007, van Tubergen & Sindradóttir 2011). We tackled some of these problems by investigating in four European countries adolescent-parent dyads and intergenerational change in religiosity within one and the same family, thereby using highly comparable designs and instruments.

In line with previous research on group differences in religiosity, we find that Muslim immigrants in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden are on average highly religious, both compared to the majority population and to immigrants with non-Muslim religious backgrounds (e.g., Connor 2010, Eilers et al. 2008, van Tubergen 2007, but see Connor 2009). One central result of our study is the remarkable intergenerational stability of religious salience among Muslim families. In contrast to Christian immigrant respondents who are subject to secularisation trends within their country of destination, Muslim immigrants and their parents on average differ less in the importance they attach to religion. For a considerable subsample, even an intergenerational increase in religiosity is visible. This pattern is identical in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. In addition, it does not change substantially when we control for several assimilation measures both in the parent and the adolescent generation. Thus, similar to Diehl and Koenig (2009), we show that general assimilation cannot sufficiently explain why Muslim immigrants in Europe do not adapt to secularisation trends taking place in the majority population. Overall, the effects of cognitive-structural and social assimilation are rather weak and inconsistent across countries. Again, this pertains to all countries we investigate in this study.

Our results demonstrate that it does not make much sense to understand the major approaches outlined in the first part of this paper as candidates for a sufficient theory. All in all, we find empirical support for reasoning contained in all three lines of argument. Contact with native peers affects intergenerational change within families, which speaks in favour of classical assimilation theories (Smits et al. 2010, van Tubergen 2007). At the same time, in line with arguments for segmented assimilation, structural assimilation is barely related to religious developments within immigrant and native families (Connor 2010, van Tubergen 2007, but in contrast to Fleischmann & Phalet 2011, Maliepaard et al. 2010, Smits et al. 2010). School performance is even inversely related to an intergenerational decrease and positively related to a religious increase within families. A possibility to explain this result is that especially immigrants who possess a large amount of human capital are able to develop and maintain an ethnic counterculture in order to deliberately demarcate themselves from the mainstream culture (DiMaggio & Ostrower 1990, Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Xie & Greenman 2005; Zhou

1997). Finally, we can also find evidence of a religious revival in later generations, which is only speculative, however: Religious revival in the adolescent generation as a result of parents' efforts to compensate for lacking acceptance by the native population can be detected when assimilation is important in the increase models, but this is again only sometimes the case and not consistent across countries. It will be an important and challenging task for future theoretical work to come to a more integrative framework; we need a more explicit account of the mechanisms underlying intergenerational stability or change, and we need more precise overarching hypotheses on the exact conditions under which the one or the other mechanism is more likely to occur.

Also on the empirical side, our study still has limitations: The relatively low response rate, especially in England and in Sweden, might be seen as problematic due to selective parental non-response. Indeed, we find that immigrant families in general and Muslim families in particular are underrepresented in our core sample of adolescent-parent dyads. We find that children of non-participating parents are on average more religious than those from families with complete interviews, and this applies to all religious groups and to natives and immigrants alike. However, given the structure of our analysis, this is not as problematic as it might seem. Taking into account our dependent variable – intergenerational change in religiosity – results would only be biased if the distance between parents and their children in terms of religious salience were subject to selectivity. In this context, it is reassuring that the trends in the canonical account using synthetic cohorts, which does not suffer from the same non-response problem, confirm the major trends underlying our core analyses.

Another criticism might be raised due to our measure of religiosity, since we only examine religious salience but not religious participation. This is an important objection in light of current discussions about symbolic religiosity (Diehl & Koenig 2009, Gans 1994). Unfortunately, we only have information about adolescents' frequency of visiting mosques and praying in all countries, but not about that of their parents'. Only for the Dutch subsample are we able to investigate adolescent-parent dyads with respect to intergenerational change in religious practice. These results (not shown) indicate that intergenerational change in public and private forms of religious practice is very similar. Muslim immigrants do not differ in their probability of religious decrease over generations compared to native Christian families; however, they have a higher likelihood of increase in public *and* private forms of religious practice. If the assumption of symbolic religiosity would be true, intergenerational change in praying should resemble our results on religious salience, and only mosque visits should be subject to

decline. But still we have to be aware that the importance of religion is not a perfect indicator of individual religiosity and that it might mean something different to persons belonging to different religious affiliations.

To conclude, religion is still a major part of Muslim immigrant children's lives. The most important follow-up question is whether this has serious consequences on their life chances in general. Our results using the first wave of the CILS4EU data suggest that the link between religiosity and integration into other domains of life is rather weak. Future research should focus on the precise causal relationships between religiosity and cognitive-structural as well as social assimilation, using longitudinal information. The crucial questions are certainly not about trends in religiosity among immigrant children per se, but rather about their long-term consequences for social exclusion, educational outcomes and labour market success.

NOTES

[1] However, the applicability of this trend, which is mainly a generalisation of the historical experience of predominantly Christian societies in Northern and Western Europe, to non-Christian religions and non-European contexts, is at least questionable (Gorski & Altinordu 2008, Smits et al. 2010, Stark 1999). Counterexamples can for instance be found in on average highly religious societies such as the United States, or in non-Christian religions such as the Islam (Phalet et al. 2008).

[2] Similar predictions follow from other theoretical approaches, mainly from cultural capital theory (Bourdieu 1977, Sullivan 2001) and value transmission research (Idema & Phalet 2007, Nauck 1989, 2001, 2007, Phalet & Schönpflug 2001, Schönpflug 2001).

[3] Parental response rates are 37 per cent, 78 per cent, 70 per cent and 49 per cent for England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, respectively.

[4] The youth questionnaire also included questions about religious practice. Adolescents were asked about the frequency of visiting a religious meeting place and praying. However, identical questions were only asked in the parental questionnaire in the Netherlands. Therefore, unfortunately we cannot analyse intergenerational change in terms of religious practice in all countries, so we decided to use the comparable measure instead.

[5] In contrast to Maliepaard and Lubbers (2012), who find that intergenerational increase in religiosity occurs in only 0.5 per cent of their sample, we find that this is anything but a rare phenomenon. It occurs in 15 per cent of families in our sample on average, and it is even more pronounced in Muslim immigrant families. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between stability and increase in our empirical analyses, besides the theoretical rationale outlined before.

[6] For adolescents, we ran our models using objective and self-assessed language proficiency. The basic patterns in the empirical results hardly change; therefore, subjective language skills seem to be an appropriate proxy for parental language proficiency as well.

[7] Using an objective measure of school performance for the German and the Dutch subsample where questions about school grades in mathematics, the survey country's language and English were asked – we obtain identical results. Therefore, this effect cannot be explained by an overestimation of school performance by a selective group in the sample.

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Figure 1: Religious salience of natives and immigrants, by immigrant generation

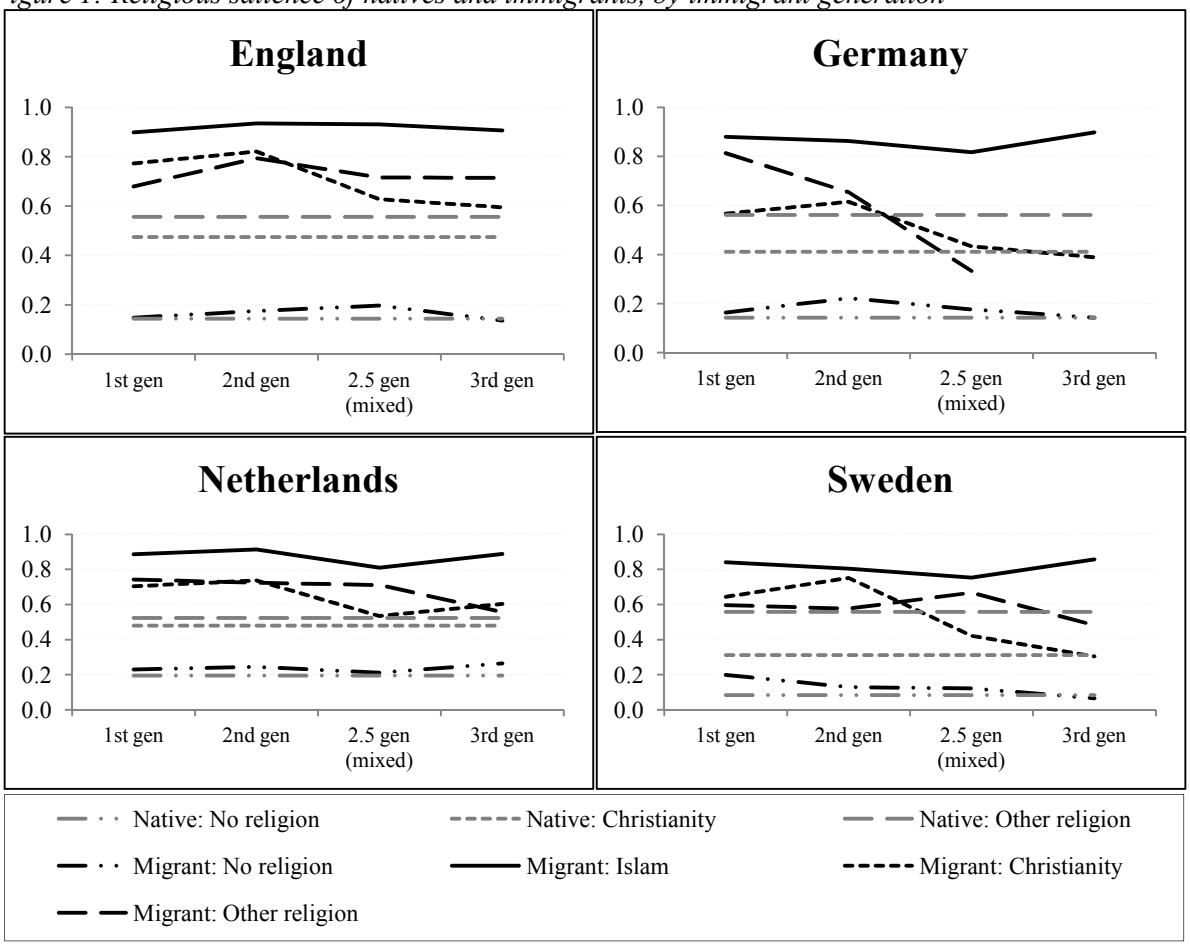

Table 1: Intergenerational change in religious salience among native and immigrant families

	Native: No religion	Native: Christi-anity	Native: Other religion	Migrant: No religion	Migrant: Christi-anity	Migrant: Islam	Migrant: Other religion	Total (N)
England								
Decrease	22..30	52..73	52.00	15.94	45.74	13.08	39.78	560
Stability	50.17	35.04	40.00	50.72	43.95	80.37	48.39	630
Increase	27.53	12.23	8.00	33.33	10.31	6.54	11.83	219
Total (N)	287	605	25	69	223	107	93	1409
Germany								
Decrease	21.50	40.94	70.00	21.71	44.76	22.14	33.33	1244
Stability	50.81	42.84	20.00	44.96	38.49	60.78	40.48	1609
Increase	27.69	16.22	10.00	33.33	16.75	17.08	26.19	637
Total (N)	307	1529	10	129	782	691	42	3490
Netherlands								
Decrease	34.72	51.58	74.07	32.77	48.63	20.17	48.39	1254
Stability	48.17	40.75	18.52	38.42	42.12	60.08	37.10	1327
Increase	17.11	7.67	7.41	28.81	9.25	19.75	14.52	399
Total (N)	1011	1173	27	177	292	238	62	2980
Sweden								
Decrease	16.55	39.54	50.00	15.23	36.61	26.09	37.50	614
Stability	56.12	41.37	30.00	51.66	41.96	46.38	37.50	894
Increase	27.34	19.09	20.00	33.11	21.43	27.54	25.00	451
Total (N)	417	875	10	151	336	138	32	1959

Source: "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries", own calculations

Table 2a: Logistic regression models: Intergenerational change in religious salience among native and immigrant families; England

	Base model		Parents' model		Complete model		Immigrants' model	
	Decrease	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**
Immigrant-religion group *(Ref.: Native: Christianity)*								
Native: Other religion	0.616 ***	0.999	0.661 **	0.949	0.641 **	0.886	-	-
Migrant: Christianity	0.489 ***	1.434	0.535 **	1.312	0.540 **	1.216	-	-
Migrant: Other religion	0.351 ***	1.464	0.408 **	1.330	0.458 **	1.061	0.931	0.969
Migrant: Islam	0.058 ***	12.586 **	0.072 ***	11.218 **	0.080 ***	8.475 *	0.178 ***	8.475 *
Parents' assimilation								
Parent's education *(Ref: No education)*								
Lower secondary education			1.068	0.750	1.166	0.840	1.115	0.381
Upper secondary education			0.751	0.773	0.838	0.858	0.758	0.284
University education			0.919	0.806	1.087	0.906	0.822	0.380
Parent's employment status *(Ref.: Not employed)*								
Employed			1.371 +	0.757	1.357	0.756	1.745 +	0.860
Parent's proportion of native friends			0.928	1.128	0.907	1.150	0.872	1.435
Parent's language proficiency			1.177 +	0.876	1.125	0.928	1.164	0.868
Adolescents' assimilation								
Adolescent's school performance					0.671 ***	1.021	0.674 **	1.093
Adolescent's proportion of native friends					1.100	0.928	1.188	0.664 +
Adolescent's language proficiency					1.104	0.789	1.197	0.878
Control variables								
Parent's religious salience *(Ref.: Fairly important)*								
Not at all important	-	3.807 **	-	3.808 **	-	3.865 **	-	6.875
Not very important	0.577 **	1.791 *	0.557 ***	1.767 *	0.501 ***	1.739 *	1.593	2.164
Very important	1.490 *	-	1.585 *	-	1.511 *	-	2.213 **	-
Sex *(Ref.: Female)*								
Parent Male	0.857	1.619	0.833	1.598	0.850	1.581	0.574 +	1.850
Adolescent Male	1.474 **	1.019	1.457 **	1.012	1.574 **	0.973	1.377	0.764
Constant	1.652 ***	0.215 ***	1.331	0.357 +	1.176	0.353 +	0.483	0.861
N	919	400	919	400	919	400	381	123
R^2	0.090	0.050	0.098	0.055	0.119	0.061	0.152	0.151

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$

Source: "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries", English subsample, own calculations

Table 2b: Logistic regression models: Intergenerational change in religious salience among native and immigrant families; Germany

	Base model		Parents' model		Complete model		Immigrants' model	
	Decrease	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**
Immigrant-religion group *(Ref.: Native: Christianity)*								
Native: Other religion	4.252	3.672 **	4.415	4.282 +	3.877	4.443	-	-
Migrant: Christianity	0.899	1.521 ***	1.000	1.321 **	1.051	1.223 *	-	-
Migrant: Other religion	0.448 ***	8.752 ***	0.538 ***	6.279 ***	0.645 ***	4.615 ***	0.737 ***	3.841 ***
Migrant: Islam	0.155 ***	5.897 ***	0.181 ***	4.801 ***	0.215 ***	3.984 ***	0.257 ***	3.246 ***
Parents' assimilation								
Parent's education *(Ref: No education)*								
Lower secondary education			0.917	0.922	0.926	0.959	0.938	0.930
Upper secondary education			0.834	0.852	0.857	0.929	0.748	0.819
University education			0.820	0.711	0.851	0.774	0.984	0.679
Parent's employment status *(Ref.: Not employed)*								
Employed			0.939	0.858	0.926	0.889	0.981	0.963
Parent's proportion of native friends			1.060	1.018	1.035	1.035	0.988	1.223
Parent's language proficiency			1.100	0.844 *	1.092	0.873	1.091	0.853 +
Adolescents' assimilation								
Adolescent's school performance					0.873 **	1.035	0.896 +	0.932
Adolescent's school type *(Ref.: Special needs school)*								
Lower secondary school					0.833	0.736	0.619	0.638
Intermediate secondary school					0.807	0.496	0.651	0.444
Upper secondary school					0.594	0.708	0.587	0.632
Comprehensive school					0.792	0.659	0.549	0.580
Adolescent's proportion of native friends					1.278 ***	0.908 +	1.480 ***	0.747 *
Adolescent's language proficiency					1.029	0.875	1.148 *	0.819 *
Control variables								
Parent's religious salience *(Ref.: Fairly important)*								
Not at all important	-	7.225 ***	-	7.061 ***	-	6.869 ***	-	5.770 ***
Not very important	0.293 ***	2.150 ***	0.290 ***	2.171 ***	0.284 ***	2.131 ***	0.501 ***	2.477 ***
Very important	1.596 ***	-	1.619 ***	-	1.637 ***	-	1.945 ***	-
Sex *(Ref.: Female)*								
Parent Male	0.821 +	1.562 **	0.832	1.643 ***	0.839	1.639 ***	0.808	1.478 +
Adolescent Male	1.26 **	0.806 +	1.255 **	0.791 +	1.211 *	0.791 +	1.022	0.950
Mode parental interview *(Ref.: Self-completion)*								
Telephone	1.191 +	1.231	1.235 *	1.223	1.269 *	1.148	1.037	1.150
Constant	1.395 ***	0.184 ***	1.511 +	0.259 **	1.876	0.404	2.303	0.477
N	2490	1436	2490	1436	2490	1436	1243	574
R^2	0.102	0.104	0.104	0.108	0.111	0.116	0.105	0.130

*** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05, + p < 0.1

Source: "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries", German subsample, own calculations

Table 2c: Logistic regression models: Intergenerational change in religious salience among native and immigrant families; Netherlands

	Base model		Parents' model		Complete model		Immigrants' model	
	Decrease	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**
Immigrant-religion group *(Ref.: Native: Christianity)*								
Native: Other religion	3.018 +	1.780	3.033 +	1.491	3.035 +	1.409	-	-
Migrant: Christianity	0.716 *	1.907 *	0.791	1.482	0.881	1.184	-	-
Migrant: Other religion	0.618	4.218 **	0.720	2.679 *	0.891	1.848	1.111	1.456
Migrant: Islam	0.142 ***	11.352 ***	0.180 ***	6.156 ***	0.230 ***	4.138 ***	0.259 ***	4.027 ***
Parents' assimilation								
Parent's education *(Ref: No education)*								
Secondary education			0.933	0.446	0.903	0.484	0.875	0.419
University education			1.086	0.504	1.057	0.596	1.174	0.636
Parent's employment status *(Ref.: Not employed)*								
Employed			1.126	0.725	1.117	0.661	0.927	0.598
Parent's proportion of native friends			1.020	1.018	1.018	1.025	1.021	1.201
Parent's language proficiency			1.113	0.739 *	1.076	0.849	1.082	0.797
Adolescents' assimilation								
Adolescent's school performance					0.898 +	0.932	0.923	0.886
Adolescent's school type *(Ref.: Lower secondary school)*								
Intermediate secondary school					0.901	0.910	1.237	0.492
Upper secondary school					0.866	0.879	0.922	0.550
Adolescent's proportion of native friends					1.098	0.887	1.266 +	0.733
Adolescent's language proficiency					1.128	0.691 **	1.340 **	0.716 *
Control variables								
Parent's religious salience *(Ref.: Fairly important)*								
Not at all important	-	13.937 ***	-	15.592 ***	-	16.341 ***	-	3.024
Not very important	0.246 ***	1.359	0.243 ***	1.535 +	0.242 ***	1.604 +	0.414 **	1.667
Very important	1.177	-	1.221	-	1.237	-	2.437 ***	-
Sex *(Ref.: Female)*								
Parent Male	0.793 +	1.194	0.765 +	1.198	0.769 +	1.302	0.711	0.991
Adolescent Male	1.590 ***	1.014	1.602 ***	1.038	1.639 ***	1.074	1.306	1.264
Mode parental interview *(Ref.: Self-completion)*								
Telephone	0.694 *	1.173	0.686 *	1.264	0.693 *	1.197	0.747	1.864
Constant	1.969 ***	0.113 ***	1.729 +	0.327 *	1.756 +	0.341 +	1.382	0.498
N	1598	731	1598	731	1598	730	506	218
R^2	0.115	0.161	0.117	0.174	0.120	0.186	0.133	0.193

*** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05, + p < 0.1

Source: "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries", Dutch subsample, own calculations

Table 2d: Logistic regression models: Intergenerational change in religious salience among native and immigrant families; Sweden

	Base model		Parents' model		Complete model		Immigrants' model	
	Decrease	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**	**Decrease**	**Increase**
Immigrant-religion group *(Ref.: Native: Christianity)*								
Native: Other religion	1.736	1.292	1.779	1.005	1.865	0.919	-	-
Migrant: Christianity	0.722 +	1.419 +	0.813	0.992	0.837	0.885	-	-
Migrant: Other religion	0.517	7.219 **	0.657	1.803	0.699	1.525	1.024	2.092
Migrant: Islam	0.295 ***	3.868 ***	0.344 ***	1.497	0.368 **	1.137	0.489 *	1.223
Parents' assimilation								
Parent's education *(Ref: No education)*								
Lower secondary education			2.131	0.432	2.184	0.431	2.079	0.774
Upper secondary education			2.486	0.417	2.544	0.418	2.746	2.494
University education			3.107	0.445	3.199	0.448	4.825 +	1.923
Parent's employment status *(Ref.: Not employed)*								
Employed			0.950	1.432	0.963	1.527	1.149	1.524
Parent's proportion of native friends			0.947	0.631 ***	0.950	0.629 ***	0.887	0.586 ***
Parent's language proficiency			1.147	0.748 *	1.127	0.777 *	1.016	0.780
Adolescents' assimilation								
Adolescent's school performance					0.941	1.204 *	0.824	1.162
Adolescent's proportion of native friends					0.977	0.883 +	1.292 *	0.852
Adolescent's language proficiency					1.080	0.833	1.035	0.957
Control variables								
Parent's religious salience *(Ref.: Fairly important)*								
Not at all important	-	1.914 **	-	2.621 ***	-	2.726 ***	-	2.002 +
Not very important	0.378 ***	0.999	0.372 ***	1.250	0.373 ***	1.310	0.542 +	1.267
Very important	0.707	-	0.713	-	0.725	-	0.864	-
Sex *(Ref.: Female)*								
Parent Male	0.773	1.200	0.763	1.033	0.765	1.058	0.547 *	1.055
Adolescent Male	1.706 ***	0.692 *	1.692 ***	0.675 *	1.690 ***	0.665 *	1.784 *	0.643
Constant	2.303 ***	0.406 ***	0.856	0.726	0.806	0.702	0.390	0.154 +
N	938	775	938	775	938	775	350	258
R^2	0.053	0.045	0.058	0.075	0.060	0.084	0.072	0.122

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$

Source: "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in 4 European Countries", Swedish subsample, own calculations