MARRIAGE AND MIGRATION IN PORTUGAL: EXPLORING TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF DIVORCE IN EXOGAMOUS AND ENDOGAMOUS COUPLES[1]

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INTRODUCTION

The increase in the number of divorces in Portugal is the result of more than just the changes in marriage and family structures that began in the 1960s. Although divorce is currently closely associated with structures and social representations of marriage and is considered to be a normal phenomenon, there have been very few studies of divorce in Portugal.

This chapter conducts a comparative analysis of divorce between endogamous couples (two people of Portuguese nationality) and exogamous or bi-national couples[2] (in which at least one of the spouses is not Portuguese) from 1995 to 2013. Our interest in bi-national divorces has to do with the growing importance of immigrant communities in Portugal, especially from 1990 onwards, which resulted in an increase in the number of marriages involving people from foreign communities (Ferreira and Ramos 2008, 2012; Gaspar 2010; Gaspar *et al*. 2014). Marriage breakups involving nationals from different countries require a deeper analysis, especially if we consider the problems these couples have in managing the legal, family and personal impacts of divorce. There are questions that we have tried to answer: a) What are the main

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[2] In this study we consider the concepts of 'exogamous' and 'bi-national' to mean the same thing.

sociodemographic characteristics of divorce in national and bi-national couples? b) Are the profiles and types of divorce in national and bi-national couples the same?

In this chapter we first analyse the main studies on bi-national divorces and then explain our methodological choices for the analysis. In the following sections we make a comparative analysis of divorces in Portuguese and bi-national couples living in Portugal and then identify the predominant profiles and types of divorce among these couples. In the final part, we set out our main conclusions described and analysed in this chapter.

IMMIGRATION, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN PORTUGAL

The resident foreign population in Portugal has been growing gradually since 25 April 1974 and began to rise considerably in the 1990s. In the last 30 years, Portugal has gone from being a country only of emigration to one that also receives immigrants and has learned to live with people of other cultures and nationalities. Portuguese society today consists of different communities and immigrants whose arrival in our country was due to older migratory dynamics immediately after decolonisation (i.e. people from the Portuguese-speaking African countries - PALOP) and to more recent migration mostly driven by the need for labour in public works and the modernisation of infrastructure, coming from Brazil, Ukraine and Russia, for example (Malheiros 2007; Peixoto 1999).

We felt it was opportune to analyse the numbers of immigrants living in Portugal from five countries representing older and more recent waves of immigration: Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Ukraine and Russia. Figure 1 shows changes between 2000 and 2014. We can clearly see the low representativity of some of these groups because of their recent history of immigration in Portugal (Russia throughout the period and Ukraine until 2005). As of the beginning of the 21st century, there was an accentuated increase in some communities, such as immigrants from Eastern Europe (Ukraine). While people from Cape Verde had accounted for the largest percentage of immigrants

in the country until then, the progressive arrival of Brazilian immigrants in 2006 gave them the highest weight in Portugal (16% of all immigrants)   and 25% of legal foreign residents in Portugal in 2007. Where Angola and Cape Verde were concerned, the figures vary very little and there are always fewer Angolans. As of 2010 there was a clear reduction in foreigners of these nationalities living in Portugal, due to the economic and financial crisis that broke out in 2009.

Figure 1
Legal foreign residents in Portugal by nationality
(2000 a 2014)[3]
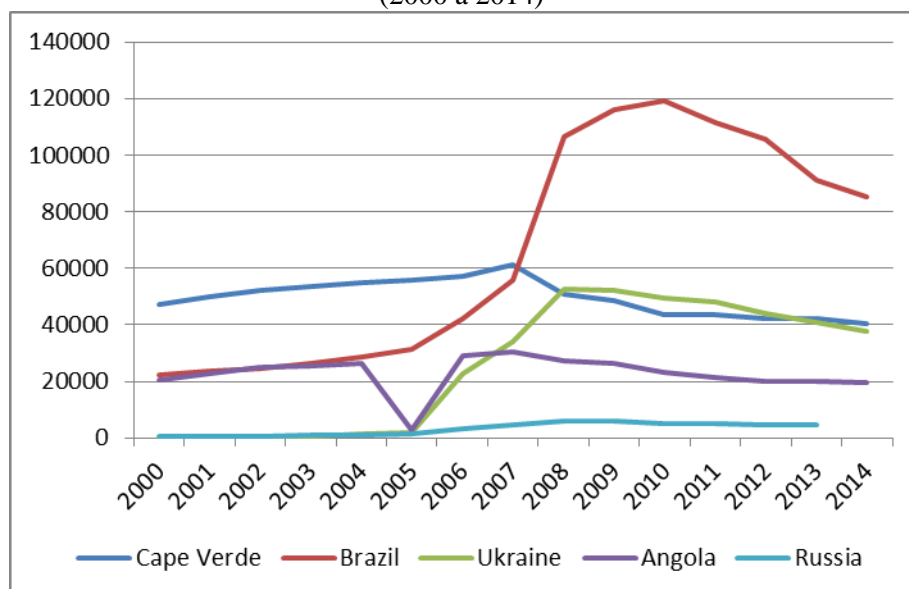
Sources: INE Foreign Population with Legal Residence Status, Pordata (authors' graph)

One of the consequences of these immigrants' presence in Portugal was an increase in the number of bi-national marriages, i.e. marriages in which at least one of the spouses was not born in Portugal (Ramos *et al*. 2015; Gaspar *et al*. 2014). According to Dribe and Lundh (2008) one would expect to see marriages between Portuguese and the members of the communities that had been in Portugal the longest. They uphold that over time, people acquire skills (such as learning the language), knowledge and codes of conduct of the host society that enable them to integrate into

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[3] There is no information for Russia in 2014.

the labour market and native culture. This begins to erase their original individual traits making bi-national marriages more likely.

An exogamous or bi-national marriage is often associated with successful social integration of minority ethnic groups in host societies (Kalmijn 1998; Ramos and Ferreira 2008). Therefore, in the event of a marital breakup, this social integration between different groups is inevitably questioned. Some studies conducted in the United States (Fu 2006; Zhang and Hook 2009), the Netherlands (Kalmijn *et al*. 2005; Smith 2012), Finland (Finnäs 1997) and France (Neyrand and M'Sili 1998) have shown that bi-national marriages are more likely to end in divorce than endogamous couples (spouses from the same ethnic group). At the same time, the probability of divorce is higher when certain sociodemographic indicators are different between the spouses, such as national origins (Kalmijn *et al*. 2005; Neyrand and M'Sili 1998; Smith *et al*. 2012), the sex of the foreign spouse (Neyrand and M'Sili 1998), age (Finnas 1997; Neyrand and M'Sili 1998), school attainment (Finnas 1997; Fu 2006), religion (Kalmijn *et al*. 2005; Smith *et al*. 2012) or race (Fu 2006; Zhang e Hook 2009).

So far, divorces in bi-national couples have been interpreted on the basis of two essential theories, that of homogamy and that of convergence – which offer somewhat different explanations. The homogamy theory upholds that bi-national marriages have an added risk of ending in divorce than national ones (Kalmijn *et al*. 2005; Smith *et al*. 2012; Zhang and Hook 2009), as both spouses have more trouble harmonising their cultural differences on important marital and family issues, such as the upbringing of their children or the organisation of housework (Kalmijn 1998). The homogamy theory also claims that support for the couple from social groups such as family and friends tends to be more favourable for couples of the same ethnic group and criticises the conduct and attitudes of couples of different cultural origins (Kalmijn 1998).

The convergence theory, on the other hand, indicates that the divorce rate among inter-ethnic couples is between the average divorce rates of each of the ethnic groups considered (Smith *et al*. 2012). Its main argument is based on the idea that bi-national couples are influenced by the divorce practices in their own ethnic or national groups and so the likelihood of the couple divorcing is structured by different cultural attitudes

to marriage and divorce within each group. In fact, while some social groups have more liberal attitudes and have a less institutional point of view of marriage and affective relationships (high risk of divorce), other groups tend to be more conservative within the family and disapprove of marriage breakups (low risk of divorce).

It was therefore important for us to conduct a comparative analysis of the prevailing profiles and characteristics of national and bi-national couples, especially in communities where the number of exogamous marriages with Portuguese nationals was largest: Portuguese-Brazilian, Portuguese-Cape Verdean, Portuguese-Angolan, Portuguese-Ukrainian and Portuguese-Russian couples.

METHODOLOGY

Our choice of methodology in this chapter was abided by a number of criteria. The data collected were annual microdata on divorces provided by Statistics Portugal (INE), collected at the time of the divorce proceedings. For each year analysed (1995, 2001, 2011 and 2013), the information is on all divorces in Portugal that year, regardless of when the couple were married. The unit of analysis is the couple and the type of information available (broken down by couple) distinguishes between national and bi-national couples and identifies the main characteristics of each.

Bi-national or exogamous couples were defined on the basis of nationality. The reason for this was that the *microdata on divorces* only included the nationality of the divorced spouses and not their country of birth. Bi-national divorces are therefore those in which one of the members of the couple is Portuguese and the other is of one of the five selected nationalities: Brazilian, Cape-Verdean, Angolan, Ukrainian or Russian.

This constraint posed a number of problems related to the immigrants from these five countries and their nationality. Firstly, many nationals of countries like Angola and Cape Verde, which gained independence from Portugal around 40 years ago, often have dual nationality, one of which is Portuguese. In these cases, it is their Portuguese nationality that is mentioned in the divorce statistics, which could result in a bi-national divorce being considered an endogamous divorce.

On the other hand, as we are analysing divorce and knowing that any foreign citizen married to a Portuguese can apply for Portuguese nationality[4], we have no idea of the differential weight of adoption of Portuguese nationality in marriage among the different groups of immigrants. Some of the divorces between Portuguese were actually bi-national marriages, in that a foreign spouse may have taken Portuguese nationality when they married. Due to the nature of the data, it is likely that the number of divorces in bi-national couples may therefore have been underestimated.

Finally, our comparative analysis of divorces of bi-national and national couples focuses on some of the spouses' sociodemographic indicators recorded during the divorce proceedings. The variables used in this comparison are the evolution of divorce between the two types of couple, form of divorce, how the marriage was entered into, the spouses' sociodemographic profiles (school attainment, age at time of divorce,) and their socio-professional statuses (work situation and status in occupation). After a descriptive univariate analysis of these indicators, we use multivariate analysis techniques (multiple correspondence analysis and cluster analysis) to identity different divorce profiles in order to build a typology of endogamous and exogamous divorces.

DIVORCES IN PORTUGUESE COUPLES

Before we characterise bi-national divorces, we first need to describe the main traits of Portuguese couples who divorced between 1995 and 2013 so that we can then analyse the differences.

The number of divorces between Portuguese couples more than doubled between 1995 and 2011, going from 12,296 to 18,612 in 2001 and 26,050 in 2011. After 2011 there was a decrease in the number of divorces (22,003 in 2013), which was possibly due to a reduction in the number of marriages in Portugal (49% fewer between

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3 - Law 37/81 of 3 October - Nationality Law, Article 3

1995 and 2013, going from 65,776 to 31,998) and a considerable increase in common-law marriages (Gaspar, *et al*. 2014)[5].

As for the type of divorce, litigious divorce went down between 1995 and 2001 (from 2,652 to 2,344) and was replaced by divorce by mutual consent (an increase from 9,604 to 16,867 in the same period of time). Litigious divorce went up to higher levels again in 2013 (5,845)[6].

Most of the divorces between Portuguese citizens (just over 60%) were in couples that had been married by the Catholic Church, throughout the period, and over 80% of the marriages had lasted more than five years. Civil marriages increased progressively over the years in question, going from 10% in 1960 to over 60% in 2013 (Figure 2).

At the same time, between 1995 and 2013 there was in increase in the percentage of divorces after more than five years of marriage and short marriages (less than one year).

**Figure 2**
Non-Catholic marriages (1960 to 2013)
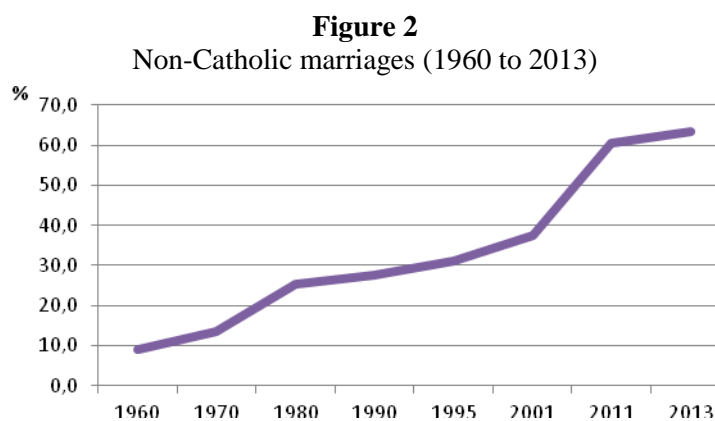
Sources: INE, Statistics of marriage, Pordata, (authors' graph)

Where the characteristics of the divorcees were concerned, the average age of the women was lower than that of the men (as is the case of age at marriage). 2013 was

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[5] Considering Portugal's total population aged 15 and over, the number of common-law marriages went from 381,120 in 2001 to 729,832 in 2011, a 91.5% increase in 10 years. (see INE, 2001 and 2011 censuses).
[6] There is no information for 2011.

an exception. The average divorce age has been increasing. In 1995 it was 37.9 for women and 41 for men, while in 2013 it was 43.3 and 43 (Figure 3).

Figure 3
Average age of Portuguese divorcees (1995, 2001, 2010, 2013)
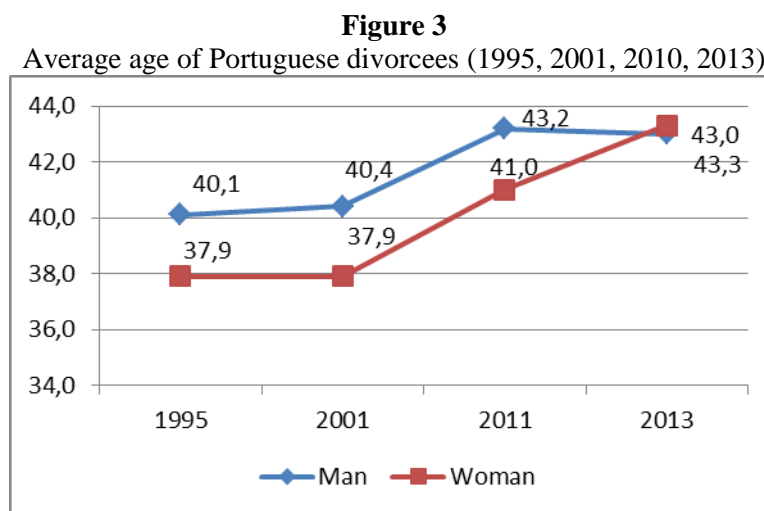
Regarding school attainment, there was a decrease in the percentage of divorcees with low school attainment (9th grade) and an increase in higher academic qualifications for both sexes over the years. Higher education rose from 7% to 17%. In 2001 and 2011, there was a higher percentage of women divorcees with the 12th grade and higher education than other levels. On the other hand, there was a higher percentage of divorced man with the 9th grade. This tallies with the changes in Portugal in recent decades, in which there has been a greater increase in females' school attainment, especially at university level (see Gaspar *et al*. 2013).

Where work situation was concerned, over 70% of the Portuguese getting divorced were employed (except for women in 1995, when the figure was around 66%). There was a tendency for more men than women to have jobs (except in 2013). The number of unemployed rose over the period and until 2011 was higher in women than men. In the last year, the percentage of unemployed divorcees was similar for both sexes at around 9.5%. There were more women without jobs than men (except in 2013).

This difference tends to grow smaller, as there was a general decrease in unemployment among women and an increase in unemployed men during the period.

There were few employers, just under 2% in this universe (there are, however, more men than women employers). This case was similar but with a higher percentage (around 11% in one of the years) of self-employed workers (except in 2013 when the figure for women was slightly higher than for men). Employees always accounted for more than half of the divorcees for both sexes in any year, though there were small fluctuations over the period in question.

DIVORCES IN BI-NATIONAL COUPLES

We must first analyse bi-national divorces over the nearly 20 years of our study. Let us point out once again that they include divorces in couples consisting of one Portuguese native and a person of one of the other five nationalities chosen, i.e. Brazilian, Cape Verdean, Angolan, Ukrainian or Russian, as they represent old and recent immigration flows and a larger percentage of the number of bi-national marriages in the years in question (see Gaspar *et al*. 2014).

There was an exponential growth in these divorces, that is, an increase from 86 in 1995 to 199 in 2001, 744 in 2011 and 11219 in 2013), corresponding to a variation rate of 1212% between 1995 and 2013. There may be a number of reasons for this increase, such as the generalisation of divorce in society, more immigrants involved in bi-national couples or higher rates of people keeping their original nationality when marrying.

As shown in Figure 4, among the marriages dissolved in 1995 in which the man was Portuguese, he was on average older than the foreign woman. If the woman was Portuguese, she was slightly older, on average. In 2001 and 2011, the man, Portuguese or foreign, was always the older spouse. The situation was different in 2013, and there was a sharp increase in the average age when getting a divorce among Portuguese women married to foreigners. They were, on average, three years older than their

spouses. Foreign women continued to be about two years younger than the Portuguese men.

In short, in couples consisting of a Portuguese man and a foreign woman the man's age was always higher at the time of divorce. When the wife was Portuguese and the husband foreign, the pattern was not constant over the period.

Figure 4
Average age of divorce (1995, 2001, 2011 and 2013)
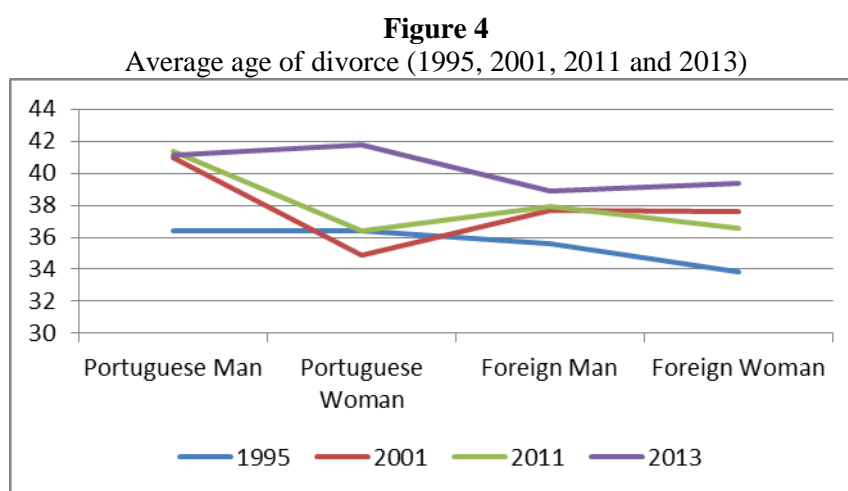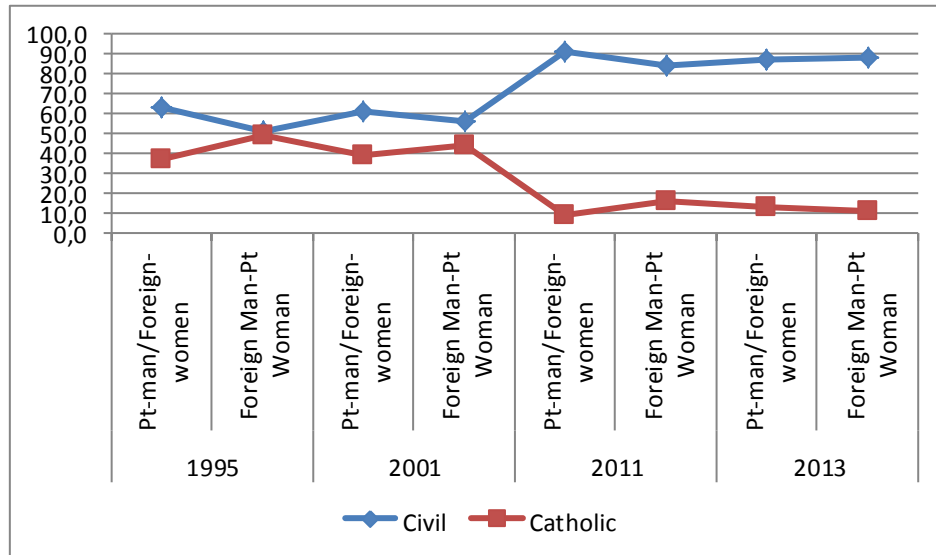

Source: *Divorce microdata (*1995-2013). INE

An analysis of the school attainment of the divorcees shows that in 1995 the 9th grade was the most common level for Portuguese and foreigners alike, always over 58%. The 12th grade applied to 30% to 35%, with the exception of foreign women who got divorced in this period and had a higher percentage of degrees.

In 2001, while the 9th grade was once again the school attainment of both sexes, the percentage for this category was lower than in 1995 (over 50% among the Portuguese men). The percentage of people with university degrees increased in all groups and sexes (always above 15%). In 2011, while the 9th grade was the most common category (except for foreign men), its percentage dropped. In 2013, the 9th grade fell even more to below 34%. The weight of higher education grew to between 12% and 15.7%.

As with Portuguese couples, the decrease in percentage of the 9th grade and the increase in people with degrees accompanied improvement in school attainment in Portugal and other countries in general. However, the variable under analysis refers to school attainment at the time of the divorce. Although there is lifelong learning, it tends to occur at younger ages before marriage. Given that the divorces in 2013 corresponded to shorter and longer marriages, the increase in school attainment of bi-national couples cannot be justified exclusively by the increase in qualifications in Portugal, even though its weight among divorcees is greater. A possible explanation may be the fact that the influx of immigrants with higher academic qualifications increased and, given the tendency for educational homogamy (Ramos *et al*. 2015), there were more bi-national divorces among more highly qualified couples.

The majority of the dissolved marriages were civil, especially when the man was Portuguese. For example, out of Portuguese men who divorced a foreign woman in 1995, 62.8% of the ceremonies had been civil and 37.2% Catholic. As of 2011 the gap tends to narrow, with an increase in the weight of civil marriages in these divorces, at around 90% (Figure 5). The trend fits in with the increase in civil marriages against religious unions in recent decades in Portugal. While in 1960, less than 10% were civil marriages, in 1980 they accounted for over 25%. While civil weddings in 2007 alone exceeded 50%, in bi-national couples, civil or at least non-Catholic weddings can be expected to have taken place earlier (see Gaspar *et al*. 2014).

Figure 5
Catholic and civil marriages (1995, 2001, 2011 and 2013)

Divorce by mutual consent was the type that prevailed in all the years. Although the nomenclature changed over the period and there is no information for 2011, agreement between the parties to end the marriage seems to be dominant, at 86% and 76.7% in 1995 and 87.7% and 92.5% in 2001, respectively for Portuguese husbands and wives. The figures for mutual consent went down in 2013 and there was a difference when the couple consisted of a Portuguese man and foreign woman (where only 56.5% of the divorces were by mutual accord) or a Portuguese woman and a foreign man (where 71.1% were by mutual accord). This means that these figures were lower in 2013 than between Portuguese couples, which may suggest more conflict between bi-national couples formed by a Portuguese man and a foreign woman.

Where work situation was concerned, (Figure 6), with the exception of 1995, unemployment was higher among foreign men involved in exogamous divorces than for Portuguese men, contrary to the case of those with jobs. In 2013 the number of employed Portuguese men who got a divorce was 10 percentage points higher than foreign men in the same circumstances.

Foreign women showed the same employment percentages as Portuguese women in 1995, but were always lower in the other years. The unemployment figure was also higher than for Portuguese women getting divorces (mainly in the later years). In other words, there seems to have been more vulnerability in terms of employment among the immigrants in general. The weight of unemployment was also higher among non-Portuguese nationals than foreign divorcees.

Figure 6
Work situation (1995 to 2013)[7]: Portuguese
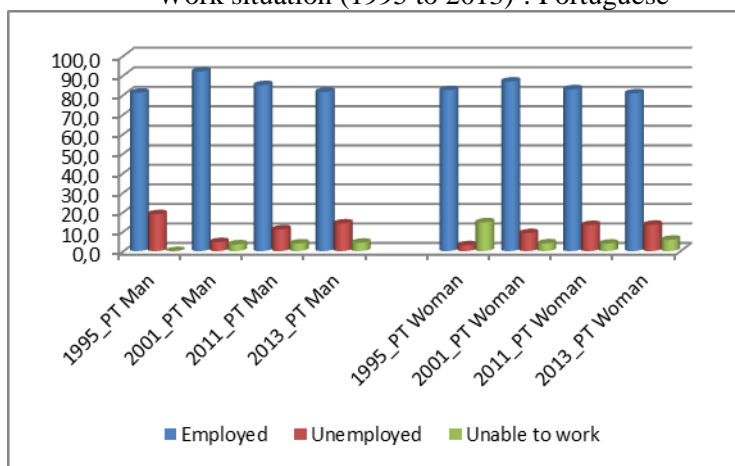
Source: *Divorce microdata (*1995-2013). INE.

Work situation (1995 to 2013)[8]: Foreign
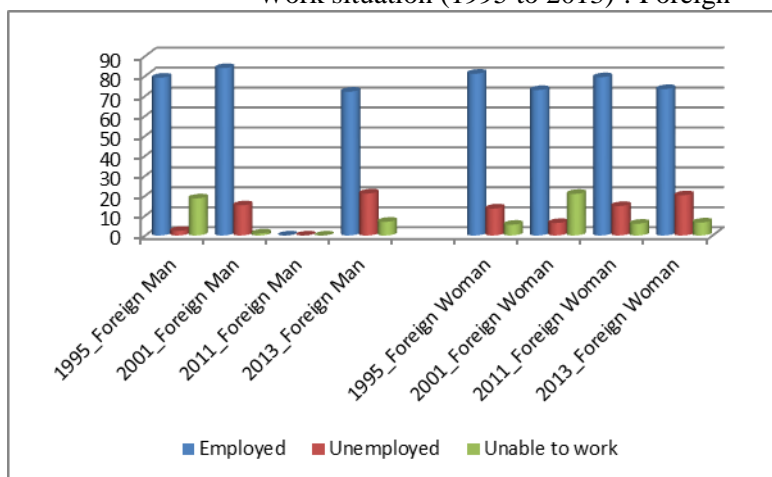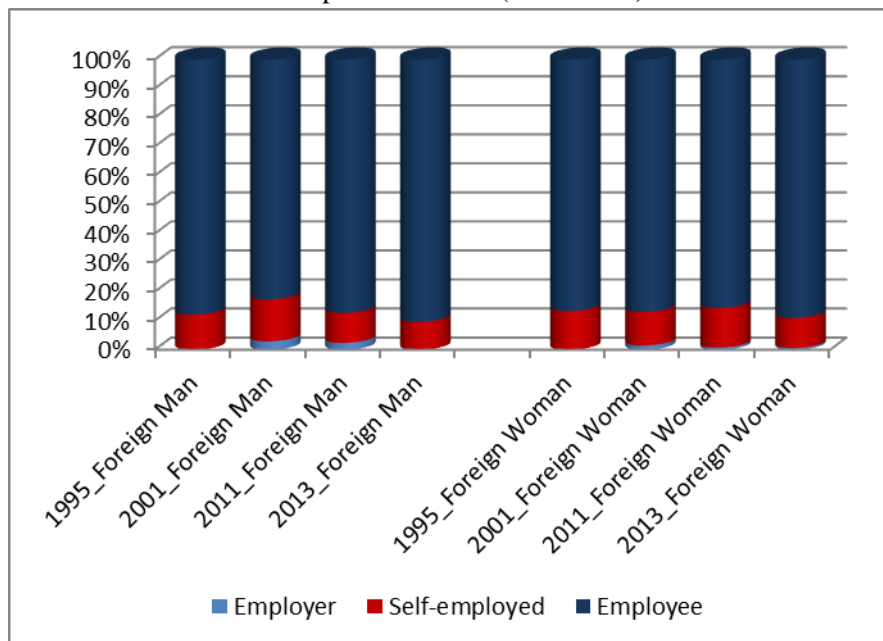

Source: *Divorce microdata (*1995-2013). INE

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[7] Omitted figures and "other situations" were excluded from the analysis.
[8] Omitted figures and "other situations" were excluded from the analysis.

For the different years and situations (sex and nationality) for which employment status was known (excluding *others,* which was very small), the largest percentage was employees, which represented the vast majority male and female divorcees who were employed at the time of the dissolution of the marriage (Figure 7)[9]. A higher percentage of the Portuguese men were self-employed, while the opposite was the case for the women. This can probably be explained by the fact that Brazilian and Eastern European immigrants often work as beauticians as independent workers.

Figure 7
Occupational status (1995-2013)

Source: *Divorce microdata (*1995-2013). INE

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[9] In its 2012 employment statistics, Statistics Portugal indicates 78.3% of the total population in work as being employees.

PATTERNS AND TYPES OF ENDOGAMOUS AND EXOGAMOUS DIVORCE

In order to identify patterns or profiles, we used a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) of Portuguese and bi-national divorces that took place in 2013 to explore associations between some of the above indicators for both spouses (age group, school attainment, work situation) and also the duration of marriage[10].

The MCA showed an association between longer marriages (20 years or more), people aged 43 or over, joblessness, lower qualifications (9th grade), as opposed to the relationship between other durations of marriage, younger divorcees (42 or under) and high qualifications (12th grade and degree). Associations and opposition detected in the MCA plan between the several categories allowed us to identify four different profiles (Figure 8):

Profile A: individuals with divorces after longer marriages in which the divorcees are older, have low school attainment and are not in work.

Profile B: divorces ending shorter marriages (up to nine years) with younger divorcees aged up to 37, in which the proximity of the 12th grade and higher education categories suggests an important weight for these two levels of education.

Profile C: divorces after 10 to 14 years of marriage, mainly aged 37 to 42 years and, as in the preceding profile, with the 12th grade or higher education.

Profile D: Divorce after long marriages (but not the longest) of 15 to 24 years, among people aged 43 to 50.

The positioning of the "employed" and "unemployed" categories at the intersection of the axes indicates that they are not differentiating characteristics shared by several profiles.

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[10] Some of the indicators previously presented were not included in the MCA as they had no discriminatory power.

After identifying the four divorce profiles, we formed the typology by grouping individuals with a cluster analysis[11]. The projection of the four types or clusters, also shown in the MCA plan (Figure 8), indicates the correspondence between these profiles and the typology obtained, which can be seen in the positioning of the clusters in the clouds of points reflecting these same configurations.

Figure 8
Types of divorce
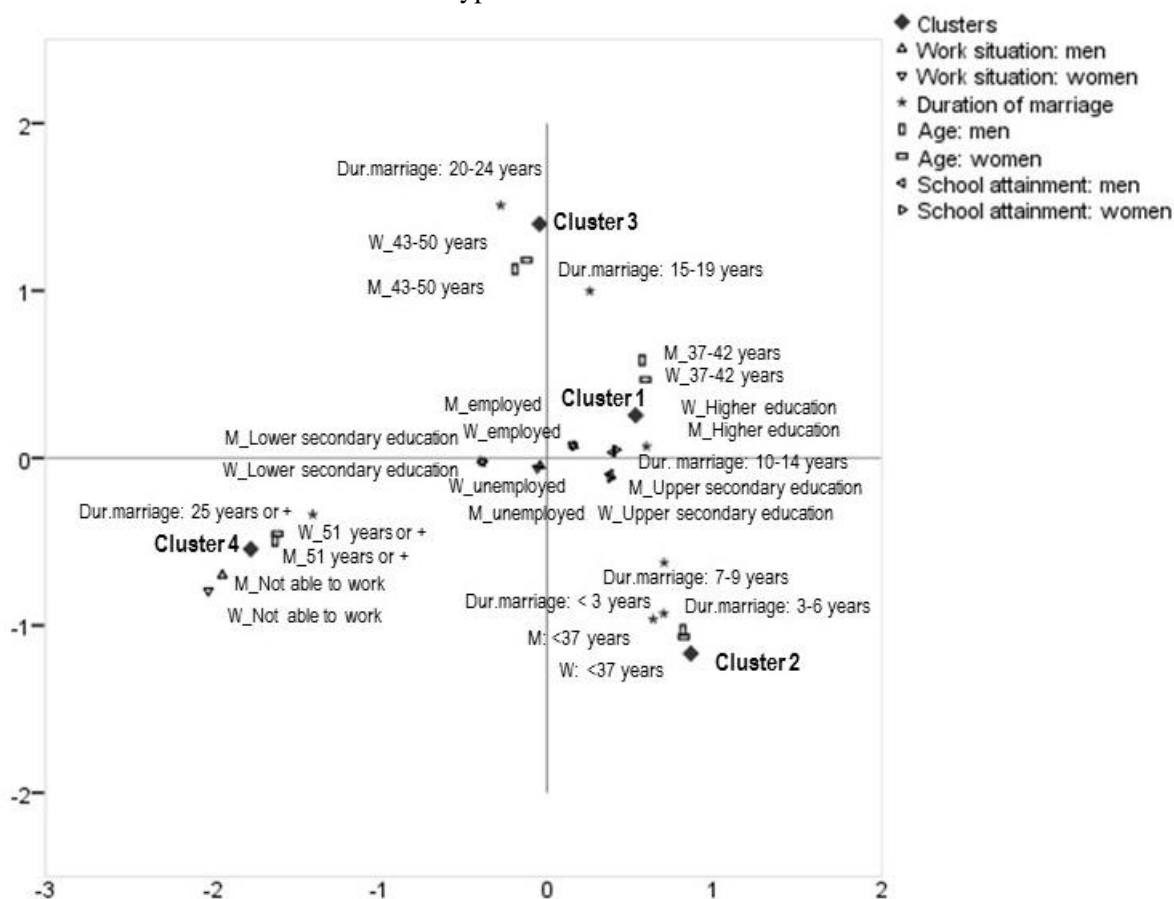
Source: *Divorce microdata (*2013). INE

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[11] The input variables used for classification were the object scores in each dimension. After identifying four different profiles suggested by the MCA, we then defined the groups using the k-means method to optimise the division.

The cross-referencing of the clusters with the input variables for the MCA allowed us to validate the patterns detected in the plan and give a quantitative description of the different types of divorce (Table in appendix).

Firstly, the four clusters are quite balanced in terms of the percentage of divorces. The first cluster contains 24.2% of the cases, the second 26.8%, the third 26.8% and the fourth 21.3%.

In cluster 1, more than 55% of the men and women are aged 37-42, meaning that it includes a large number of divorcees who are considered young, though not the youngest (there is a lower age category). Around 89% of both sexes are employed. There is also a high, but not the highest, percentage of people with the 12th grade (around 39% of the men and 38% of the women). Almost half the marriages (around 46%) lasted between 10 and 14 years. 96.6% of the divorces in this cluster are between Portuguese couples.

Cluster 2 shares many characteristics with cluster 1, though it is more accentuated with regard to the age of the divorced spouses. This is the youngest group of divorces, as about 90% of the men and women are aged under 37. Employed people also dominate, though with a lightly lower percentage than cluster 1 (around 87% for both sexes). The 12th grade is also modal, with slightly higher percentages than cluster 1 (39.9% and 39.4% for men and women respectively). The number of divorces from short marriages of 3 to 6 years stands out at 41.6%. While divorces between two Portuguese in all the clusters are vastly predominant, this is the only group in which bi-national divorces exceed 2% (2.3%).

Cluster 3's characteristics are very different from the previous two, as it consists basically of older divorcees than the other groups, aged 43 to 50 for around 70% of the women and almost 67% of the men). As this population is older, it is no surprise that the dominant school attainment is lower than the previous clusters. In this group, around 53% of the men and women have a maximum of the 9th grade. As in the other groups, the most common job situation is employed, at 87% of men and 88% of women. Almost half the divorces in cluster 3 (41.6%) ended after 20 to 24 years of marriage. This is the group in which Portuguese couples carry the most weight (99%).

Finally, cluster 4 is the oldest group (almost 90% aged over 50) and the least qualified (around 65% with only the 9th grade). As in the other cases, most of the people in this group are working, although with a lower percentage (under 68.5%). On the other hand, it is the cluster where inability to work accounts for more men and women, with more than 20%. This group contains very long marriages (more than 80% longer than 25 years and its percentage of divorces between two Portuguese is over 98%.

CONCLUSION

The comparative analysis of divorce in Portuguese and bi-national couples conducted in this chapter shows in general that there is a common sociodemographic profile between the two. Within the framework in the changes in family and marriage, divorces between Portuguese spouses increased considerably between 1995 and 2011, and then began to fall. These divorces are mostly by mutual consent and mainly between people married in a Catholic ceremony. As was found in previous studies on binational marriages (Gaspar *et al*., 2014), the women's age was generally lower than the man's. Over the years in question, there was a decrease in divorcees with the 9th grade and an increase in those with higher education. Most of these spouses were in work and employees, although the weight of unemployed has increased in recent years probably determined by the economic crisis in the country and the consequent return of some immigrants to their origin country.

These indicators also fit in with the results obtained for divorces of exogamous couples. There was a substantial increase in the dissolutions of marriages over the years as a result of the rise in bi-national marriages in previous years. Besides, in line with homogamy theory (Kalmijn, 2005; Smith *et al*., 2012, Zhang and Hook, 2009) there were far more litigious divorces than in marriages between two Portuguese and most of the divorces were in couples who married in a civil ceremony. This may reveal that bi-national couples might have more difficulties in overcoming some cultural differences, or they do have more secular views of marriage and family, or different religious beliefs

and so choose a civil ceremony. Where sociodemographic characteristics are concerned, we find older Portuguese husbands and an uncertain age pattern in couples in which the wife is Portuguese. As in Portuguese couples, school attainment is mainly 9th grade, although there was an increase in divorces between spouses with higher education. Finally, where occupational and monetary status is concerned, there are some indicators that suggest greater vulnerability in terms of work among foreign than among Portuguese divorcees. Unemployment was higher (especially in the later years) and there were more employees than employers.

Related to this, an important issue that should be further explored is the citizenship of the foreign spouse. The legal status of the immigrant partner can place him or herself in a more fragile position in terms of autonomy or decision-making capacity towards the Portuguese husband or wife. In fact, in some situations, a foreign partner can delay or avoid a desire for marital disruption in case of not holding a legal citizenship that can allow to pursue with his/her life after divorce.

Finally, let us revisit the four profiles of divorced couples identified in the multivariate analysis. The first is associated with longer marriages involving older, poorly qualified spouses. The second is one where there are more bi-national couples, younger individuals with shorter marriages especially associated with the 12th grade and higher education. The third profile is similar to the second, but the divorcees are aged 37-42 with marriages lasting 10-14 years. Finally, the fourth profile consists of couples divorcing after long marriages aged 43-50.

As such, in line with convergence theory (Smith *et al.*, 2012), further studies should expand these findings by revealing different patterns of binational divorces according to specific ethnic couples (e.g., Portuguese-Brazilians, Portuguese Cape Verdian, Portuguese-Angolan, Portuguese- Ukrainian and Portuguese-Russia), since each of these immigrant communities hold different values and cultural ways of behaving, and belong to different waves of immigration with different historical attachment to Portugal as a host country.

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Appendix – Cluster profile

		Clusters							
		Cluster 1		Cluster 2		Cluster 3		Cluster 4	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age: woman	W <37	914	16.0	5447	**89.1**	2	0.0	28	0.6
	W_37-42	3388	**59.4**	606	9.9	1426	23.4	34	0.7
	W_43-50	1029	18.0	18	0.3	4279	**70.2**	434	9.0
	W_51 e +	375	6.6	43	0.7	386	6.3	4337	**89.7**
Age: man	M <37	1152	20.2	5534	**90.5**	5	0.1	26	0.5
	M_37-42	3184	**55.8**	526	8.6	1696	27.8	36	0.7
	M_43-50	1003	17.6	16	0.3	4075	**66.9**	557	11.5
	M_51 e +	370	6.5	40	0.7	318	5.2	4218	**87.2**
School attainment: man	9th grade_M	1606	33.1	1815	36.5	2257	**52.7**	2220	**64.6**
	12th grade_M	1895	**39.1**	1958	**39.3**	1196	27.9	725	21.1
	Higher ed._M	1350	27.8	1203	24.2	830	19.4	494	14.4
School attainment: woman	9th grade_W	1634	33.6	1835	36.8	2260	**52.9**	2262	**65.9**
	12th grade_W	1851	**38.1**	1962	**39.4**	1174	27.5	726	21.1
	Higher ed_W								
		1374	28.3	1188	23.8	836	19.6	445	13.0
Work situation: man	Emp_M	4897	**88.9**	5017	**87.0**	4938	**87.1**	2838	**67.4**
	Unemp_M	541	9.8	654	11.3	602	10.6	422	10.0
	Unable to work_M	68	1.2	94	1.6	130	2.3	953	22.6
Work situation: woman	Emp._W	4924	**89.4**	5028	**87.4**	4992	**88.3**	2882	**68.4**
	Unemp._W	536	9.7	633	11.0	575	10.2	438	10.4
	Unable to work_W	47	0.9	90	1.6	89	1.6	896	21.3
Duration of marriage	<3 years	355	6.2	1204	19.7	13	0.2	116	2.4
	3-6 years	745	13.0	2545	**41.6**	20	0.3	193	4.0
	7-9 years	533	9.3	990	16.2	25	0.4	64	1.3
	10-14 years	2619	**45.9**	920	15.0	463	7.6	146	3.0
	15 -19 years	985	17.3	71	1.2	2211	36.3	172	3.6
	20-24 years	14	0.2	1	.0	2537	**41.6**	263	5.4
	25 years +	458	8.0	385	6.3	825	13.5	3883	**80.3**
Type of couple Pt	Portuguese	5493	**96.6**	5753	**94.7**	6016	**99.0**	4741	**98.3**
	Pt W/for. M	81	1.4	139	2.3	21	0.3	36	0.7
	Pt. M/ for. W	112	2.0	180	3.0	37	0.6	48	1.0