

Living arrangements of immigrants' children in Europe

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Abstract

The increasing interest in children of immigrants is not surprising given that they are reshaping European societies and their behavioral patterns represent a challenging issue. Many studies have been devoted to their educational outcomes and social mobility pathways while family dynamics and patterns among immigrants and ethnic minorities were under-researched topics for many years, especially in the Southern Europe where the peculiar traits of migration regime may play a role. In this paper, we aim at analyzing living arrangements and household behaviors of immigrant descendants encountering three dimensions, namely migration generation, area of origin and area of destination. Using the 2008 ad-hoc module on migrant workers of the EU Labor Force Survey, we found that young migrants or descendants of migrant parents are strongly influenced by different contextual behaviors according to their country of destination supporting the existence of at least two main different patterns of living arrangements in Europe. In the Centre-North European countries, the behaviors of immigrants' children tend to align with those of the majority of the population suggesting a prevailing adaptation mechanism. Conversely, in the Mediterranean countries, we also found evidence of a socialization effect linked to the persistent role of cultural traits acquired by parents in their country of origin and transmitted to their children.

Keywords: Living arrangement, children of immigrants, immigrant descendant, living parental home, couple formation

1. Introduction

The increasing interest in immigrants' descendants is not surprising given that they are reshaping our societies (Dewind and Kasinitz 1997). Children of immigrants in Europe are growing faster not only in numbers but also because they are getting older. Born or arrived at very young ages in the destination countries, they reached adulthood, entered the job market and formed a new family. Their behavioural patterns represent a challenging issue useful to assess not only the outcome of the immigration experience but also how our societies are evolving. Following an established line of research in North America, many studies in Europe have been devoted to the educational outcomes and social mobility pathways of second generation immigrants (see, among the others, Algan et al., 2010; Chiswick, 2004; Crul, Schneider, Lelie, 2012; Heath et al., 2008). Conversely, family dynamics and living arrangements among immigrants and ethnic minorities have become topics of analysis only in recent years. Some scholars have analysed the spread of transnational couples' formation, their attitude, characteristics and their role in immigrant integration (González-Ferrer, 2006; Dribe, Lundh, 2012), and fertility dynamics of second generation migrants (Milewski, 2011). Others dealt with the topics of partnership dynamics, union formation and dissolution (Andersson, Obucina, Scott 2015; Pailhé, 2015; Milewski, Hamel, 2010; Hannemann, Kulu, 2015). In addition a number of works investigated leaving home and living arrangements in North America (Boyd, 2000; Burr, Mutchler, 1993; Glick, Van Hook, 2008; Landale, Thomas, Van Hook, 2011) and North and Continental Europe (de Valk, Billari, 2007; Giuliano, 2007; Pailhè, 2015; Kulu, González-Ferrer, 2014; Zorlu, Mulder, 2011). Nevertheless, there is a substantial lack of knowledge about family patterns and living arrangements experienced by immigrants' descendants in Southern Europe, mainly due to the relative young age of children of immigrants arrived massively only in the last three decades and a consequent lack of data (see, e.g. Vitali, Arpino 2013).

The *ad-hoc* module of EU-LFS 2008 - based on an oversampling of the foreign population, allows comparing immigrants' children with the rest of the population for several European countries including southern countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal. In particular, we aim to analyse living arrangements and household behaviours encountering three main dimension, namely migration generation (defined according to the place of birth of respondents and their parents and the time of migration), area of origin and area of

destination (with a specific focus on the comparison between southern countries and the rest of Europe).

Bearing in mind the wide heterogeneity along these three dimensions, our analysis wants to highlight possible common trends and behaviour across countries and for different migration backgrounds and shed light on the dichotomy considering, on the one hand, the relevance of the context and, on the other hand, the impact of the parents' norms and attitudes on the choices of their children.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we present the theoretical background. Two main hypotheses are tested, namely the adaptation and socialization hypothesis. Section 3 presents data and methods used for the empirical analysis and the sample description whereas section 4 contains the results of the multivariate regression models. Some concluding remarks are discussed in the section 5.

2. Theoretical background

The scientific debate concerning the mechanisms by which migration can affect the living arrangements is led by two main theoretical approaches, namely adaptation and socialization hypotheses. Although these two approaches have been developed within the analysis fertility among first generation of immigrants (Lopez Ramirez, 2009; Kofman, 2004), they can be easily extended to the analysis of immigrants' children (Rahnu et al. 2014) and for the entire family formation process.

The *adaptation* hypothesis assumes that first generation migrants and their descendants adapt their family behavior to the norms and values dominant in the host context (Hervitz 1985, Andersson and Scott 2005). Thus, living arrangements among immigrants' children may increasingly resemble that of natives as an adaptive behavior to norms and values prevailing in the society of settlement, as well as its social, political, and labour market conditions (Foner 1997). This process is mainly considered as triggered by two channels: origin background and socio-economic conditions (Landale, 1994; Sebille, 2005). Furthermore, the adaptation can be reinforced by the fact that immigrants are generally a highly selected group from their country of origin and that this selection may be based on skills required in the host country which may impact family behaviours (Pailhé 2015).

Nevertheless, rather than the effect of the mainstream society and the institutional context, characterized by laws, welfare regime and institutions like school and labour market,

there may be some cultural traits, acquired by parents in the native country and transmitted to their children through the socialization process, which are important in influencing the behaviours in living arrangements. This *socialization* effect assumes that the childhood environment exerts the greatest influence and being exposed to certain norms and values during childhood, transmitted from immigrant parents, may have long-lasting effects in shaping individual behaviours (Michaël and Tuma 1985). In particular, socially recognized norms exist for the timing and sequencing of the events in the transition to adulthood, and thus influence partnership dynamics (East 1998; Pailhé 2015). Thus, migrants, and their children, would show family preferences and behaviour that are relatively stable over time and similar to those observed in the country of departure (Hanneman and Kulu 2015). This idea is reinforced by the fact that cultural and ideational factors are portable from one country to another and can be transmitted to younger generations even outside its original geographical context (Furtado et al. 2013). The uncertainty associated with the migration experience and the perception that the new environment threatens the values imported from the country of departure can even result in an over-emphasis of these values among immigrant parents (Huschek, de Valk, and Liebroer 2011). If for the immigrant parents the migration itself can be a stressful event able to influence family formation (an effect also known in literature as disruption effect), this is not the case for their children born in the host country. According to the socialization hypothesis, people from a specific geographical origin but settled in different contexts may show similar behaviours and differences, outlined in a comparison between immigrants and natives, which are persistent across generations (Andersson 2004, Kulu and Milewski 2007). In this sense, the diversity of immigrant origins are considered to measure the influence of cultural context on the patterns of living arrangements (Carlson, 1985; Charsley *et al.*, 2012; González-Ferrer, 2006), even though the socialization effect can emerge only if there is a large difference in family patterns between the country of origin and the host country (Hanneman and Kulu 2015).

Children of immigrants may encounter very different patterns in their family formation according to the family migration experience. Scholars showed the multi-faced picture of migrant descendants according to the time of their migration underlying that there is no single, undifferentiated, category of immigrants' children (see, e.g. Rumbaut 1997). In line with the theoretical approaches so far synthesized, the adaptation perspective suggests that living arrangements for children of immigrants and the population majority should gradually converge as the time of arrival increases, i.e. differences should be lower for those born in the host countries and higher for those arrived later in the life course. Conversely, the

socialization effect assumes persisting different patterns in living arrangements among natives and children of immigrants. It should be stressed that these two hypotheses are not alternative but complementary. If both socialisation and adaptation mechanisms determine the family trajectories, we should expect that the children of immigrants assume patterns in living arrangements that are in-between the first migrants and native counterparts (Milewski, 2007).

Immigrant's children occupy a socio-cultural middle ground between the mainstream culture in the country of origin and that in the country of arrival. Cultural norms and practices may be transmitted and maintained by family and friends from the same origin. Among the immigrants' characteristics influencing living arrangements, emphasis was given to their countries of origin that is often considered a proxy of their values and cultural heritage, which can be maintained after migration (Boyd, 2000; Burr, Mutchler, 1993; Giuliano, 2007). Therefore, persons from different geographical origins may show different household behaviours in the same country of destination. In this perspective, an adaptation issue occurs as much as we observe similar patterns in respect to natives and across different ethnic groups in the same destination area.

Considering the destination areas, scholars outlined the existence of at least two main migration models in Europe. They grouped and discussed "new" Southern European immigration countries into the so-called "Mediterranean model of migration" in contrast with "old" European receiving societies (Baldwin-Edwards, 2012; King, Black, 1997; Peixoto et al., 2012; Ribas-Mateos, 2004). The "Mediterranean model" is based on important and empirically grounded similarities between Italy, Spain, Greece and Portugal, in terms of country socio-economic features, migration histories and policies, types of immigration and migrant characteristics, migrant labour market access, and integration in the receiving society. Southern European countries are somehow characterised by similar historical evolution of international migration (from mass emigration to mass immigration), by lax and unselective admission policies (prevalence of irregular and low-skilled migration), by scarcity of welfare system and services. In particular, among such countries, scholars observe peculiarities of the immigrant labour market such as high employment rate of first migrants, informal economy, segregation by ethnic groups, larger occupational differentials between migrants and natives, worst women conditions (King and Rybaczuk 1993; Baldwin-Edwards and Arango 1999; Bettio et al. 2006; Strozza et al. 2009; Reyneri and Fullin 2011; King and DeBono 2013; Di Bartolomeo et al. 2016). In the "Mediterranean context", immigrants' children tend to have younger ages, lower educational level and higher percentage of

unemployed and inactive rates than in the other EU countries. The living arrangements and family behaviours of them can be affected by their specific characteristics within the Southern European migration regime and show original paths in an adaptive hypothesis.

3. Data and methods

Empirical analyses are based on the 2008 *ad-hoc* module on migrant workers of the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS 2008). In particular, we focus on individuals aged 20-34 in ten EU receiving countries (Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom). The advantage of this data is that it draws on a large sample allowing the comparison between native and foreign households. However, LFS have several limitations. Firstly, it provides only cross-sectional information on living arrangements, partnerships and fertility behaviours and, therefore, a longitudinal perspective cannot be applied. Secondly, area of origin is coded considering wide macro-areas (e.g. Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, etc.) and thus it is not possible to consider the existing heterogeneity within each macro-area of origin. Thirdly, there are well-known limitations in quality and coverage in the LFS data, e.g. there is an under-representation of recent migrants and non-residential migrants are not captured (for a detailed account of the limitations of the LFS data see Martí and Ródenas 2007), although these latter aspects have only a limited impact in our study who mainly focuses on second generations.

In our analysis, we focus on the following behaviours: living with parents, being in couple, living in a non-marital cohabitation (among those in couple) and having an own child in the household¹. We estimate the propensity to experience each behaviour through binomial logit models according to the area of origin and the migration generation for two distinct European areas: Southern Europe, or Mediterranean area including Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, and Centre-North Europe, here defined as Continental Europe, including France, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom and Ireland. In order to account for compositional effects, in the regression models we also included the following control variables: gender, age (15-19; 20-24; 25-29; 30-34), educational condition (currently studying at the interview or not), the higher educational level achieved (high or tertiary, medium or

¹ Analyses for living with parents and being in partnership are limited to young adults aged 20-29 years at the interview.

upper secondary, low or lower secondary or lower level) and the occupational status at the interview (employed, unemployed or inactive).

As regard the migration generation, groups are defined according to the Rumbaut's classification (Rumbaut 1997) based on the respondent's place of birth, parents' place of birth and year of arrival in the host country. The resulting groups are: *G2* (individuals born in the host country or arrived in the first five years of age); *G1.5* (individuals arrived between 5 and 14 years of age with both immigrant parents); *Mix* (one immigrant parent and one native parent); *G1* (individuals migrated after 14 years of age) and *Majority* including all the individuals born in the host country with both non-immigrant parents².

Area of origin is available only at a macro-area level identifying the following groups: EU-15 and countries of the European Free trade Association (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland), post-enlargement EU-12 migrants (EU-NMS), Other Europe, Africa and Middle East; Sub-Saharan Africa; South and East Asia; America and Oceania; Latin America.

Table 1 shows the sample distribution according to generation and origin separately for Mediterranean and Continental areas. In the former area there is a lower incidence of children of immigrants as a result of the more recent migration inflows. Generally speaking, people with a migration background constitute the 23% of the total population in the Continental area and only 10.5% in the southern area. The internal composition of migrant background is also different. In the Mediterranean area, first generation migrants are highly prevalent (71%) and the *G2* is a very small group (4%) if compared to the Continental area, where the same percentages are 48% and 21%. Some differences emerge also in terms of origin. If Latin America is overrepresented in the Mediterranean area, mainly due to the links also in terms of languages with Spain and Portugal, South and East Asia are more frequent in the Continental Area. Besides, even if the percentage of people for other European countries tend to be similar in the two areas around 50% of all individuals with a migrant background, in the Mediterranean area is larger the proportion of people from non-EU European countries.

² Ancestry-based individuals, i.e. those born abroad but with both parents born in destination country were excluded from the analysis and thus they are not within the Majority group. Cases are also excluded when at least one piece of information related to respondent's place of birth, age at arrival (for those born abroad) and parent's place of birth is missing. As a result, 4% of cases are omitted for missing information.

Table 1. Sample description (unweighted number of cases). 20-34 years of age.

	Continental	Mediterranean	Total
By generation (whole sample)			
Majority	54,492	57,009	111,501
Mix	3,916	1,136	5,052
G2	3,460	264	3,724
G1.5	1,112	552	1,664
G1	7,791	4,712	12,503
<i>Total</i>	<i>70,771</i>	<i>63,673</i>	<i>134,444</i>
By origin (migrants and children of migrants)			
EU15+EFTA	3,633	654	4,287
EU NMS	2,868	1,097	3,965
Other Europe	2,264	1,565	3,829
Africa & Middle E	2,197	905	3,102
Sub-Sah. Africa	1,199	490	1,689
SE Asia	2,641	413	3,054
America & Oceania	445	81	526
Latin America	1,032	1,459	2,491
<i>Total</i>	<i>16,279</i>	<i>6,664</i>	<i>22,943</i>

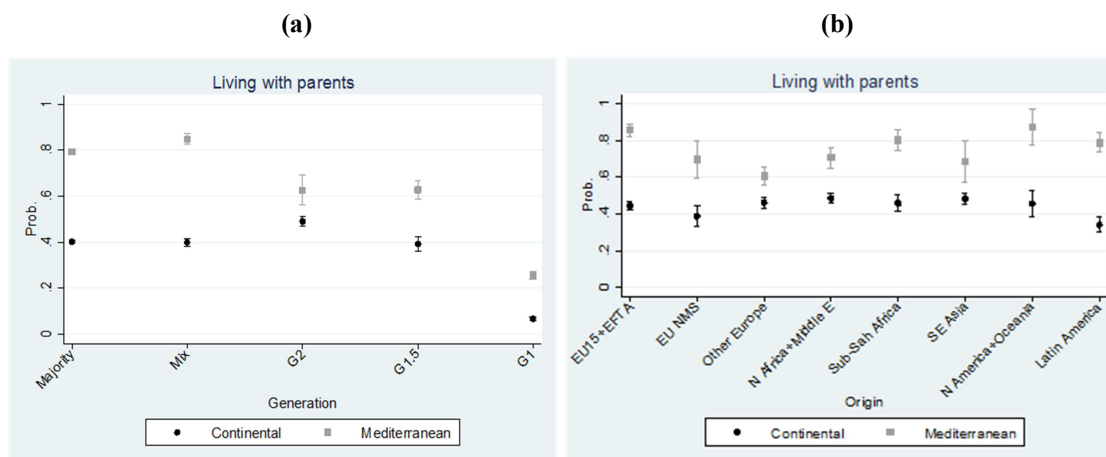
Source: EU-LFS 2008

4. Results

Figure 1 contains the predicted probability to live with parents at the interview obtained through the development of logistic models. Figure 1a shows substantial differences between Mediterranean and Continental areas as far as the majority group and the descendants of transnational couples (mix group) are concerned. G1 have the lowest propensity to live with parents and a limited gap between the two destination areas. Finally, G2 and G1.5 show a pattern that is in between the previous situations. Focusing on the Continental area, no relevant disparities emerge by generation, except for G1, suggesting that adaptation hypothesis tend to prevail. Conversely, in the Mediterranean country we can identify three different groups: 1. descendants from majority group and transnational couples, 2. G2 and

G1.5; 3. G1. Differences between children of both immigrant parents and population majority outline a behaviour that is in-between socialization and adaptation hypotheses.

Fig. 1 - Living with parents by generation (a), origin (b) and area of destination. People aged 20-29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model).



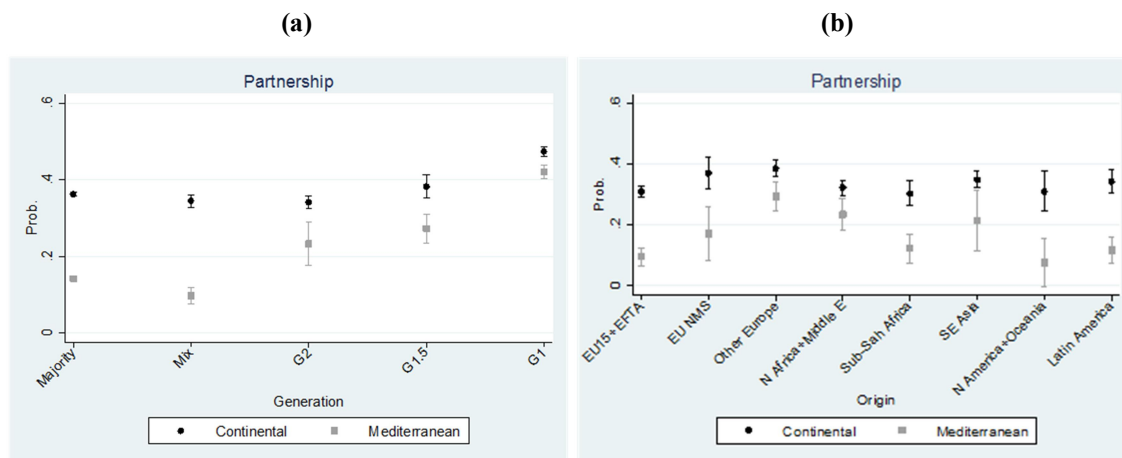
Source: EU-LFS 2008

Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, being enrolled in education, ILO working status. Figure 2b refers only to children of immigrants (Mix, G2 and G1.5).

The more relevant role of socialization in the Mediterranean countries is also highlighted by the higher heterogeneity of behaviours according to the origin. Indeed, Figure 1b shows the same predicted probabilities but according to area of origin and area of destination and focusing only on children of immigrants. It is also interesting to note that children of parents migrated from America, Oceania and Sub-Saharan Africa show different results according to the destination. Conversely, “other Europe” (referring mainly to people originating from Turkey), North Africa, Middle East, and South-East Asia adopt similar behaviour despite the area of destination, suggesting a lower degree of adaptation and a higher effect of socialization among children of migrants originating in these areas.

Predicted probabilities to live with a partner (Figure 2) reflects the results just outlined with small differences according to generation in the Continental area (Figure 2a) and relevant differences between descendants of majority group/transnational couples and children of both immigrant parents in the Mediterranean area. Similarly, signs of behaviours according to the socialization hypothesis are observed among migrants coming from other Europe, North Africa, Middle East, and South-East Asia (Figure 2b).

Fig. 2 - Partnership by generation (a), origin (b) and area of destination. People aged 20-29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model).



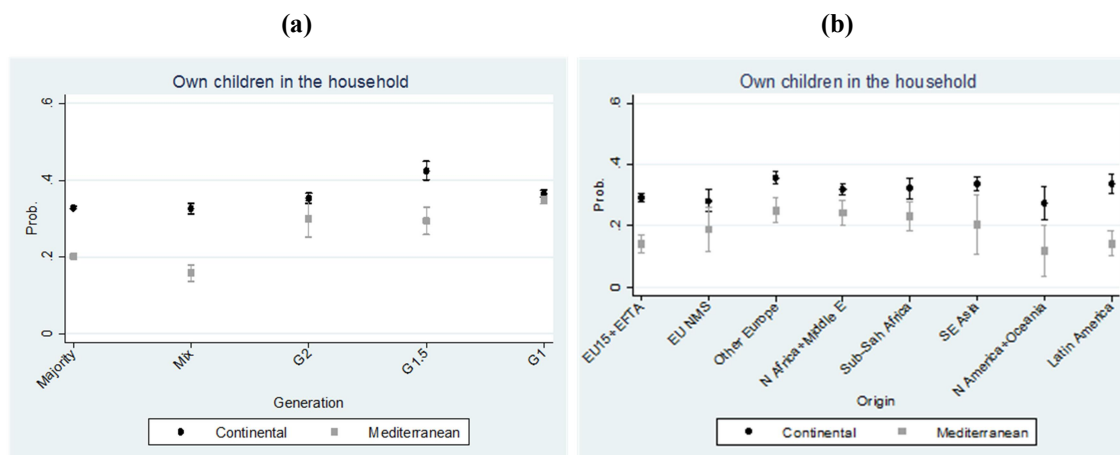
Source: EU-LFS 2008

Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, being enrolled in education, ILO working status. Figure 2b refers only to children of immigrants (Mix, G2 and G1.5).

Looking at the presence of own children in the household (Figure 3a), we observe a general lower heterogeneity in fertility behaviour by generation groups compared to the previous results. Nevertheless, relevant differences based on migration status emerge more clearly in the Mediterranean area given that in this area G2 and G1.5 are more distant from majority group than in the Continental one. Having a children reveal less clear differences also according to the area of origin (Figure 3b). However, we can note that migrants from Latin America (together with the ones from EU15 and EFTA countries) assume significantly distant values in the two areas of destination.

Finally, figure 4a shows the probability to experience a non-marital cohabitation. Differently from the other behaviours just outlined, the gap between majority group and children of both immigrant parents is high both in the Continental and Mediterranean areas. This result suggest a low degree of adaptation also in the Continental area as no significant differences emerge between G1, G1.5 and G2, while majority group and transnational couples show higher values than the groups of migrant origins. Furthermore, Figure 4b shows a high heterogeneity by area of origin revealing that, more than other behaviours considered in this analysis, non-marital behaviour strongly depend on cultural factor inherited from the context of origin,

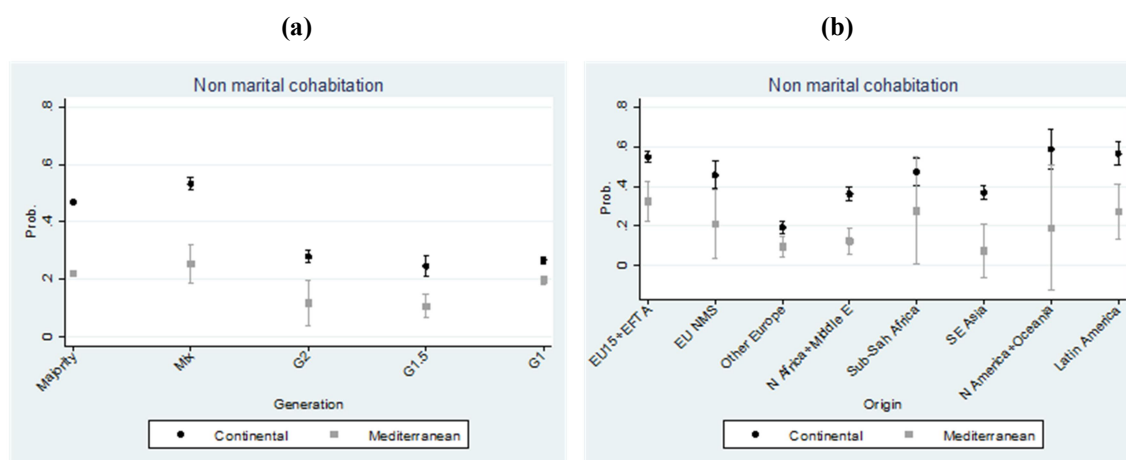
Fig. 3 - Own children in household by generation (a), origin (b) and area of destination. People aged 20-34. Predicted probabilities (logistic model).



Source: EU-LFS 2008

Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, being enrolled in education, ILO working status. Figure 2b refers only to children of immigrants (Mix, G2 and G1.5).

Fig. 4 - Non marital cohabitation by generation (a), origin (b) and area of destination. People aged 20-34. Predicted probabilities (logistic model).



Source: EU-LFS 2008

Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, being enrolled in education, ILO working status. Figure 2b refers only to children of immigrants (Mix, G2 and G1.5).

5. Discussion

The analysis of living arrangements in Europe according to time of migration and the area of origin reveal strong differences between Mediterranean countries and the other

European receiving countries supporting the existence of at least two main different models. In particular, different behaviours are observed in living parental home and union formation highlighting the key role of the mainstream society and the institutional setting. Indeed, we observe important differences between Mediterranean and Continental areas even for groups coming from the same area of origin. Nevertheless, contextual factors cannot explain the whole heterogeneity and the role of norms and values transmitted from immigrant parents can be relevant. In this sense, the socialization and adaptation hypotheses can help to better interpret the behaviours of immigrant's children in living arrangements. If descendants from transnational couples (mixed parents) generally assume very close patterns in living arrangements to majority group in different contexts, crucial differences emerge in the two destination areas for children with both immigrant parents. In the Mediterranean area, we observe evident differences according to migration generation. Young adults of migrant origins (G2 and G1.5) leave parental home and form a family earlier than majority. Moreover, in the Mediterranean area more evident differences according to area of origin tend to be more relevant to what emerges for the Continental context where we observe reduced differences, both in terms of generation and origin, between majority group and migrant groups. Such results suggest that in terms of leaving parental home and family formation the adaptation hypothesis is higher among immigrant families living in the Centre-North of Europe, whereas in the southern Europe the socialization effect emerge as a relevant feature interacting with the adaptation mechanism. A different picture emerges for the diffusion of non-marital cohabitation being the socialization hypothesis prevailing among children of immigrants in both destination areas.

Regardless of the area of destination, our analysis also reveals interesting differences according to the context of origin. Children of migrants coming from America, Oceania, EFTA and EU15 countries tend to experience more adaptive behaviours, while those coming from South-East Asia, North Africa and other non-EU European countries show patterns mostly characterized by a socialization pattern. Living arrangements that are somehow in between the two previous ones are observed among migrant immediate descendants coming from Sub-Saharan Africa and Europe NMS.

Our results suggest that adaptation clearly prevail in the countries with a more universalistic welfare, with inclusive integration policies, with a wide range of policies to reduce economic differences between population subgroups and promote equality in all spheres of society (e.g. welfare redistribution between social groups, gender equality) in comparison to the countries where market forces are expected to (mostly) hold sway over an

individual's life (Hanneman, Kulu, 2015). At the opposite, high residential segregation and higher inequalities in the school system may lead to poor education outcomes among ethnic minority population and an earliest autonomy. In these contexts, the familial group more than the individual tends to predominate in the socialization of the young (Reher, 1998).

Further analyses may better disentangle *cultural* vs *contextual* factors in shaping life course behaviours. In particular the limited number of cases affected our analyses that are forced to consider origin-destination macro-areas and do not consider specific ethnicities and existing heterogeneities among origin/destination countries. In adding, further developments, with different source of data, may assume a life course perspective and may consider living arrangements in the origin country (testing selection hypotheses as well).

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