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Migrant Families in Europe

Evidence from the Generations & Gender Programme

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Migrant Families in Europe

Evidence from the Generations & Gender Programme

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Introduction

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While in previous eras Europe was mostly a region of emigration, this pattern reversed when living standards increased in the 19th century. The end of the Second World War marked an especially large growth of immigration to western Europe, mostly originated from former colonies and from surrounding European and non-European countries. In 2004 and 2007 the territory of the European Union was enlarged with the inclusion of several central and eastern European countries, resulting in a notable influx of immigrants from these new Member States to western Europe. Nowadays in the European Union, about a fifth of households include at least one person who was not born in that country (first-generation migrant) or has at least one foreign-born parent (second-generation migrant) (Agafitei & Ivan, 2016).

In view of the fact that the proportion of the population of non-native origin is increasing rapidly, Europe is challenged to understand how best to integrate these migrants in their societies, not only economically, but also socially and culturally. This hinges on data sources that capture these types of information. The Generations and Gender Programme (GGP) offers such data, and its use has contributed greatly to migration research, especially to understanding Migrant Families. The articles in this Discussion Paper capture a selection of research based on GGP data studying migrants in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Estonia.

The Generations and Gender Programme

The GGP is a research infrastructure facilitating cross-national research in population dynamics, family life, and gender relations. The GGP currently distributes information of more than 20 countries in Europe and beyond. At the core of the GGP is the

Generations and Gender Survey (GGS). The GGS collects data of men and women aged 18-79-years-old via questionnaires. The GGS provides rich information on household composition, life partners, children, family life, social networks, attitudes, subjective wellbeing and socio-economic status. In addition it captures information that is an asset to migration research, such as language usage at home and migration histories of individuals, their parents, partners, and household members, including information on country of birth and residence and age of migration.

The GGS has a longitudinal design; the men and women who are questioned in the first wave are reproached respectively three and six years later. Thanks to its large sample size, the GGS captures a substantial number of migrants. This aspect is extensively used by researchers to compare first- and second-generation migrants with the native population. Examples are provided by the contribution of Roberto Impicciatore and Ariane Pailhé. The cross-national characteristic of the GGS has resulted in a unique data source in which migrants from the same origin can be studied in different societal contexts, allowing for example to compare Turkish migrants in the Germany with those living in the Netherlands, France and Sweden. In some instances both origin and host society were part of the data collection. This allows to compare migrants not only with the population in the host country but also with their peers living in the origin country. This situation is rare in the context of survey data, and has led to interesting insights into migrants lives as the articles of Leen Rahnú and of Alzbeta Bartova, Kaisa Karpinskia, Nina Conkova and Tineke Fokkema demonstrate. Moreover, during previous data collection some countries decided to oversample certain migrant groups. The increased number of migrants captured, allowed researchers to fully exploit the potential of the rich data by performing highly dif-

ferentiating analyses and using the longitudinal aspect of the data. Two examples are highlighted in this Discussion Paper: the oversampling of Turkish migrants living in Germany (see Johanna Schütz and Robert Naderi) and of Polish migrants living in the Netherlands (see Bartova, Karpinska, Conkova and Fokkema).

Importance of family in the lives of migrants

Due to the detailed information captured, the large sample size, and its cross-national and longitudinal design, the GGS has proved to be a valuable source to study migrant families. It has especially contributed to three areas of research.

— Family formation

An increasing proportion of the population is of non-native origin. As a result, understanding demographics of migrants and their descendants such as timing and number of children, becomes increasingly important for predicting a country's future population. Since the 1950s, European societies have changed considerably regarding family formation, with the adoption of non-married cohabitation and postponement of childbearing. Research has shown that migrant groups which are more culturally distant from the host society, such as those originating from north Africa and Turkey, remain more conservative regarding family formation practices. Schütz and Naderi show that similarity between second-generation migrants from Turkish origin and the native German population depends on the type of behaviour considered. Second-generation Turks are more similar in behaviour to the generation of their parents when it concerns marriage and cohabitation, however, they do show more comparability to native Germans when it comes to the number of children.

Research based on the GGS shows that changes in demographic behaviour of migrants over time is not necessarily a reflection of adjustment to norms of the host society. Rahnu reports that the postponement of childbearing of Russian migrants in Estonia is not so much a reflection of Russian migrants adopting behaviour of Estonians, but rather a reflec-

tion of attachment of Russian immigrants to habits in the origin country. Impicciatore and Pailhé show that second-generation migrants from the north African region postpone leaving the parental home, union formation, and parenthood even more than native French. However, the authors attribute this delay to strong family ties and commitment to family values among these migrants, or the constraints migrants face on the French labour market.

— Intra- and inter-national support

Social ties are an indication of the level of attachment and integration in a society. The detailed information on migrant's network and family relations captured in the GGS has allowed to study intra- and inter-national ties in detail. Bartova, Karpinska, Conkova and Fokkema show that different transnational relationships can be identified which can predict the level of contact, commitment, and emotional, financial, and material support between Polish immigrants and their parents living in Poland. In addition it is found that the type of personal networks of Poles in the Netherlands, affect trans-national relationships by influencing to what extent immigrants visit and send money back to Poland. The article of Schütz and Naderi shows that young Turkish adults living in Germany generally report better relationship quality with their parents and often live closer to their parents than German natives.

GSS has also been used to examine how cultural differences influence how family responsibilities are experienced. Research based on the Netherlands shows that Polish migrants start using childcare facilities at a later age of the child than Dutch parents, however, they use it earlier compared to Polish parents living in Poland (see Bartova, Karpinska, Conkova and Fokkema). The article of Schütz and Naderi reveals that Turkish grandparents take more often care of their grandchildren as compared to German grandparents. This research shows that the use of welfare state facilities depends not only on the availability of these facilities in a country, but also on cultural and social aspects.

— *Wellbeing of elderly migrants*

Although labour migration may have a temporal character, many migrants stay for prolonged periods of time, or even indefinitely. Agafitei and Ivan (2016) conclude for the European Union in 2014 that 'At least four in every five (or 83%) households consisting solely of immigrants were "long-term settled households", where the first arrived foreign-born adult in the household has been living in the country for 10 years or more'. Many western European countries are therefore dealing with an increasing elderly population of non-native background. Due to the long age-range of the GGS and the content covered, the GGS proves very suitable data to study these elderly migrants. Schütz and Naderi conclude that Turkish migrants feel more often lonely at older ages than native Germans. However, had Turkish migrants had the same socio-economic status and health as native Germans, no differences would have been found between both populations. Regarding the importance of socio-economic status and health, Bartova, Karpinskia, Conkova and Fokkema come to the same conclusion for Polish migrants in the Netherlands. However, elderly Polish migrants in addition benefit from having direct family around, especially if these family members live in the Netherlands too.

The new round of data collection

From 2020 onwards, a new round of data collection of the Generations and Gender Survey is organised. Research based on the previous data collection of which a selection is captured in this Discussion Paper, has shown that this data will be highly informative for policy makers in immigration and emigration countries. In immigrating countries, the data can be used to study migrant's demographic behaviour, socio-economic and cultural integration, as well as their wellbeing, and use of welfare state facilities. In emigrating countries, the data can provide insights in how migrants arrange their (family) lives and to what extent they nurture their transnational ties in the origin country. Apart from the wealth of information already captured in the previous round of data collection, the new GGS will also capture where a person lived three years ago, their main motivation for moving to the new address or country, and their

intention to move in the next three years to another country and another address. This can increase knowledge on the socio-economic and family circumstances that influence emigration and return migration, which will be of particular value to emigration countries – such as those in the central and eastern European region – who are faced with an outflow of their population, especially where it concerns highly qualified workers. All things considered, it is expected that the new round of data collection of the GGS will result in a richness in data for migration research that would be hard to match by country-specific surveys and project-specific designs. ■

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Do the Descendants of Immigrants Become Adults Sooner or Later than Native-born? Evidence from the French Generations and Gender Survey

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- **The French Generations and Gender Survey contains detailed information to study the exit from parental home and family formation processes among children of immigrants born in France. The longitudinal information contained in this data allows to trace the main events experienced in the early stages of the life course. Moreover, it contains information about the year of arrival in the host country and the characteristics of parents.**
- **The timing in the transition to adulthood for the second generation from European countries is close to the transition of native French individuals.**
- **Second generations from Maghreb leave the parental home and live with a first spouse – married or not – later than French natives, but only those with two immigrant parents.**

Introduction

Transition to adulthood has been studied by demographers and social scientists as a set of different stages. The timing and the age when a person makes those steps is relevant with respect to personal achievements and demographic effects, such as social mobility, wellbeing and fertility. In the last 50 years in Europe, the process that brings adolescents to adulthood has changed radically. The acquisition of residential autonomy and family formation have been postponed and the biographical trajectories are increasingly differentiated. Have these changes also taken place among immigrants and their descendants? This emerges as a significant issue given the increasing prevalence of people in Europe with a migratory background. Furthermore, the second generation of immigrants is emerging as a particularly

interesting group since they share the same welfare and institutional context as the majority population and, at the same time, are exposed to a different cultural influence inherited from their immigrant parents. Differences and similarities in the timing of the transition to adulthood between children of immigrants and the rest of the population reveals: 1) The level of adherence to norms and practices in the host society; 2) the extent to which immigrants and their offspring integrate culturally into their host society (Pailhé, 2015); and, 3) the relevance of the welfare regime and the institutional settings in shaping the transition to adulthood (Impicciatore, 2015).

This paper focuses on the exit from parental home and family formation among children of immigrants born in France using the GGS dataset. The longitudinal information contained in this data source allows us to trace the main events experienced in the early

stages of the life course. Moreover, the information about the year of arrival in the host country and the characteristics of parents makes it possible to define the subpopulations of interest.

France is a country with a long history of immigration where individuals with a direct migration experience or children of immigrants represent one-fifth of the population (Insee, 2012) and come from countries more or less culturally distant from France. This country has also adopted a specific model of integration, i.e. assimilation, by promoting the conformity of immigrants and their descendants to the ideals of the French Republic (see for example Favell, 2001), which limits the persistence of cultural differences. This specific context should theoretically drive a convergence of behaviours towards French standards.

Adapted or socialised?

Because they are attached to two cultural heritages, the behaviours of immigrants' descendants are shaped by both the dominant norms of the society in which they grow up and by the intergenerational transmission of family values and practices. In other words, their living arrangements and family formation can be characterised by either the adaptation or socialisation process.

The former process assumes living arrangements among immigrants' children may increasingly resemble that of natives as they adapt to norms and values prevailing in the society of settlement, as well as its social, political and labour market conditions (Foner, 1997). Furthermore, adaptation can be reinforced by the fact that immigrants can be a selected group from their country of origin based on skills required in the host country, which may affect family behaviours. Adaptation occurs if there are similar patterns between natives and different ethnic groups in the same destination area.

This socialisation process 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. In particular, socially recognised norms exist

for the timing and sequencing of the events in the transition to adulthood, and thus influence partnership dynamics (East, 1998). Consequently, migrants and their children show family preferences and behaviours that are relatively stable over time and similar to those observed in the country of departure (Hanemann and Kulu, 2015). Therefore, persons from different geographical origins may show different behaviours in the same country of destination.

French and children of immigrants along the pathways to adulthood

In France, the transition to adulthood has profoundly changed over the last 40 years. Formal marriage has lost ground to cohabitation, the conjugal bond has weakened and marital trajectories have become more complex (Pailhé et al., 2014). As far as the timing is concerned, young French men and women have increased their investment in education and delayed their entry into the labour market, as well as union formation and the age they become parents. However, within the European context, France is still characterised by leaving the parental home relatively early and multiple transitions on the path to marriage and parenthood (Billari and Liefbroer, 2007), particularly in comparison with southern Europe, i.e. the main origin among European immigrants in this country.¹

The socialisation process in families is not the same for girls and boys. Normative timetables vary by gender, reflecting pervasive cultural differences in the age stratification of men and women (see for example Hogan and Astone 1986). In France, as well as in other European countries, women tend to leave their parental home and form a new union before men (Chiuri and Del Boca, 2010). Ethnic differences may also be relevant even though previous results relating to second generations show that gender differences in the transition to adulthood are quite constant across different ethnic groups (Hamel et al., 2012). In other words, the patterns experienced by men and women differ significantly whatever the origin.

What can we (and what we cannot) determine from the GGS dataset

Family dynamics and living arrangements among immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe have become topics of analysis only in recent years because of the lack of relevant data. For southern Europe this is mainly due to the relative young age of children of immigrants who arrived in mass amounts only in the last three decades. However, even in countries with a longer history of immigration such as France, the lack of longitudinal data hinders the analysis of patterns of family formation, fertility and, more broadly, of transition to adulthood. More recently, the TeO (Trajectoires et Origines), conducted in 2008 (Beauchemin, Hamel and Simon, 2010)² by the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and the French National Statistical Office (INSEE), allows for an investigation of the living conditions and social trajectories of more than 16,000 immigrants and second generation immigrants. The survey contains retrospective biographical data concerning leaving the parental home, couple formation, childbirths and employment history.

The Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) constitutes an additional source of information for analysing the behaviours of people with a migration background, since it provides longitudinal data allowing us to trace all the main events experienced in the early stages of the life course (leaving the parental home, end of education, entering the labour market, union formation, fertility). In some cases, such as the French dataset³, information related to the country of birth of respondents and their parents, as well as the date of arrival in the host country, are also available, thus making it possible to define the migrant population and their descendants. However, differently from TeO, GGS data are not devoted to the analysis of migrants and this implies some limitations. Firstly, the size of the migrant sub-sample is quite limited; secondly, in the case of the French GGS the country of origin is not available, but only a rough aggregation of countries, thus strongly restricting the possibility to analyse existing heterogeneity within each macro-area of origin. In particular, we can identify two specific areas of origin: EU-25 and Maghreb.

The three main groups of interest are defined according to the respondent's place of birth, parents' place of birth and year of arrival in the host country: Native French (born in France with both parents born in France); Second gen. EU-25 (born in France or arrived in France before the age of six with at least one parent born abroad in the EU-25); Second gen. Maghreb (born in France or arrived in France before the age of six with at least one parent born abroad in Maghreb). After having selected people aged 18-49 at the interview, we have 5,537 cases, among which 366 are children of immigrants from other European countries and 364 originate from Maghreb (see Table 1).

	Males	Females	Total
Native French	1,728	2,395	4,123
Second gen. EU-25	175	191	366
Second gen. Maghreb	152	212	364
Other	295	389	684
Total	2,350	3,187	5,537

Table 1. Number of cases according to the migration background in the GGS dataset (wave 1). France 2005. 18-49 years of age.

Source: GGS data

Second generations delay, but the origin counts

Second generations leave the parental home and live with a first spouse – married or not – later than French natives (Table 2). However, this delay is relevant and significant only for those from Maghreb: They exit the parental home 1.2 years later and form their first union 0.8 years later, and differences are higher among men, in particular when leaving the parental home. Children of European immigrants behave very similarly (or with a very slight delay) to that of French natives. The birth of the first child also occurs later among second generations, but the differences are not statistically significant.

	Males	Females	Total
Exit from parental home			
Native French	20.8	20.2	20.4
Second gen. EU-25	20.8	20.3	20.6
Second gen. Maghreb	22.7*	20.5	21.2*
First Union			
Native French	23.6	21.7	22.6
Second gen. EU-25	23.9	22.0	23.1
Second gen. Maghreb	24.9*	22.7*	23.4*
First Child			
Native French	30.2	27.1	28.4
Second gen. EU-25	30.2	27.4	28.7
Second gen. Maghreb	30.4	28.5	29.6

Table 2. Median age by sex and migration background. France 2005, 18-49 years of age.

Note: "*" 95% statistical significance compared to Native French. Median ages computed through Kaplan-Meier life tables. *Source: GGS data*

These results remain when we control for composition effects, i.e. for differences in level of education, age, number of siblings, and father's and mother's level of education (Table 3). For both men and women, second generations from Maghreb have a lower propensity to leave the parental home than French natives. As far as the first union is concerned, differences were also found but only for women. Again, no relevant differences emerge for the transition to the first child.

Among descendants of immigrants, only those with both immigrant parents from Maghreb substantially delay the transition to adulthood, both the departure from the parental home, the first union and the birth of the first child (Table 4⁴). In contrast, those with mixed parents (only one immigrant parent) show behaviours that are very close to French natives, regardless of origin.

Conclusions

This study is a first attempt to investigate the timing of leaving the parental home and family formation among second generations of immigrants through the GGS data. This data allows for an identification of the two main origin groups in France, namely those

	Males	Females	M+F
Exit from parental home			
French Natives	0.00	0.00	0.00
Second gen. EU-25	-0.04	-0.14	-0.08
Second gen. Maghreb	-0.39*	-0.19*	-0.27*
First Union			
Majority	0.00	0.00	0.00
Second gen. EU-25	0.07	-0.12	-0.05
Second gen. Maghreb	-0.10	-0.20*	-0.17*
First Child			
Majority	0.00	0.00	0.00
Second gen. EU-25	0.04	-0.10	-0.03
Second gen. Maghreb	0.04	-0.14	-0.09

Table 3. Effect of origin on the propensity to experience different stages of transition to adulthood by gender (Coefficient estimates from Cox model). France 2005, age 18-49.

Note: Other covariates included in the models: Level of education; age; number of siblings; father's level of education; mother's level of education; sex (when pooled). Cox models. Episodes start from the fifteenth birthday and end at the date of specific event or at the interview (censored episodes). *Source: GGS data.*

with parents born in the EU-25 and in Maghreb, despite the fact they have not been developed to study immigrants' backgrounds.

Overall, we found that the timing in the transition to adulthood for the second generation from European countries is closer to the transition of native French individuals than that of the second generation from the Maghreb, but only for those with two immigrant parents. These results, which are confirmed even when the level of education achieved and the family background are taken into account, are in line with previous analyses based on data dedicated to study populations with immigrant backgrounds. They may suggest a limited adaptation between French natives and children of immigrants from Maghreb. Following this line of thought, children would reproduce their parents' behaviours highlighting a possible effect of cultural maintenance for second generations, i.e. a prevalence of a socialisation process. Moreover, it may also suggest that the greater the cultural differences between immigrants and the native population, the larger the difference in the leaving of the parental home and union formation patterns is likely to be. In particular, differences would tend to increase for those who come from countries charac-

	Exit from parental home	First union	First child birth	N
Majority	0.00	0.00	0.00	4,123
Second gen. EU-25 (2 parents immigrants)	-0.22	0.03	-0.11	159
Second gen. EU-25 (mixed parents)	0.02	-0.11	0.04	207
Second gen. Maghreb (2 parents immigrants)	-0.38*	-0.37*	-0.21*	174
Second gen. Maghreb (mixed parents)	-0.17	0.04	0.04	190

Table 4. Effect of mixed and non-mixed origin on the propensity to experience different stages of transition to adulthood by gender (Coefficient estimates from Cox model). France 2005, age 18-49.

Note: Other covariates included in the models: Level of education; age; number of siblings; father's level of education; mother's level of education; sex (when pooled). Source: GGS data

terised by strong family ties, strong commitment to family life or values, and a longer co-residence with parents, especially for men and where direct marriage is frequent (Ferrari and Pailhé, 2016).

An alternative explanation takes into account a different mechanism. Children of immigrants, in particular those from Maghreb and those with a non-mixed origin, face huge constraints in the labour market, such as job insecurity, low income levels and higher unemployment rates. These, in turn, make it impossible for them to provide the guarantees required by the housing market, a problem compounded by the steady increase in housing prices and their parents' inability to support them (Santelli, 2007). They also face discrimination in access to housing (Pan Ke Shon and Scodellaro, 2015). Moreover, being unemployed tends to hinder union formation among men, given that they are less attractive on the marriage market because they are unable to fulfil the role as breadwinners (Kalmijn, 2011). This explanation applies to a lower proportion of children of Europeans, as they join the labour force more quickly and face a lower unemployment rate. At the same time, contextual factors such as level of segregation might explain some of the differences we found in the ways that children of immigrants and natives move towards adulthood.

GGS data does not allow to enter into a detailed debate about the role of cultural roots or constraints arising from being a part of an immigrant family in shaping the life course trajectories, mainly because immigrants, and to some extent their children, cannot be considered as a non-selected group (see Impicciatore, 2015 for a discussion). Nevertheless,

GGS data has proven to be an additional source for the analysis of life course trajectories of descendants of immigrants in Europe leaving room for potential further analyses and comparisons with the native population in other immigration countries. ■

Footnotes

1 On the contrary, in the northern African countries it is more common for women to marry early and there to be large age differences between spouses (Pailhé, 2015).

2 In the previous years, the main sources for the study of home departure and family formation of immigrants and their descendants in the French context have been: The MGIS (Mobilité géographique et insertion sociale) held in 1992 and the EHF (Étude de l'Histoire Familiale) in 1999.

3 Information on the country of birth of respondent and their parents is also available at least for the following cases: north Africans and western Asians in Sweden, and eastern Europeans in Austria and Turks in Germany. For the latter case, see: Windzio M. and Aybek, C. (2015). Marriage, norm orientation and leaving the parental home: Turkish immigrant and native families in Germany. *Comparative Population Studies* 40(2): 105-130.

4 Given the reduced number of cases, we take both sexes together.

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Migrant Families in the German Generations and Gender Survey

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- **In Germany, the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey in 2005 was supplemented with an additional survey among Turkish migrants in 2006. Data from more than 4,000 interviews with Turkish migrants are available for analysis, whereas data of over 10,000 German respondents is available from the main survey. Both surveys have been repeated one time each after three years.**
- **The topics of the supplemental migrant survey are in line with the first GGS main survey and revolve around themes such as family relations, social networks, partnership biographies, children and attitudes towards partnership, family, fertility decisions or society.**
- **Studies based on this data present both differences and similarities between people with Turkish roots (including migrants) and people without migration background in Germany, in different relevant fields of population and family research.**

Introduction

In the second half of the 20th century, Turkish migrants began to come to Germany as a consequence of the *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) programme of the German government. Nowadays, Turkish migrants are the largest group of foreign residents in the country (Fokkema and Naderi, 2013: 289; Valdes, Wagner and Naderi, 2013). Most of the former Turkish guest workers formed families in Germany or brought their family from Turkey. This implies that part of the Turkish population living in Germany who was born in Turkey (the so-called first generation) is nowadays at retirement age, have children and grandchildren. Of course, there are also new immigrants from Turkey who also get married and have children. The life trajectories of this population, including partnerships, fertility biographies, mobility, family structure and wellbeing, intergenerational relations, socio-economic status, among others are captured by the Generation and Gender Survey (GGS).

The German GGS data contains a specific dataset on Turkish migrants. Specifically, the first wave of the German GGS core survey in 2005 was supplemented with an additional survey among Turkish migrants in Germany in 2006. The target population of the German GGS consists of German-speaking persons aged 18 to 79 who live in a private household in Germany. This sample also includes respondents with Turkish migration background as they participated in a random sample. The problems are: First, the main survey framework indicated a sample of around 10,000 respondents overall. Although the Turkish community was (and is) large in Germany, the case-numbers for this group are relatively low especially concerning the loss during panel mortality for the second wave. Highly differentiated analyses would have been limited. Second, the migrant population had to be able to understand a German (and not always uncomplicated) interview, what leads to some degree of selectivity (one could assume a higher degree of integration).

In order to have more knowledge about this important group in Germany from a population research perspective, it was decided to create a solid disproportional sample to complement the core GGS. Respondents of the supplemental survey, however, could use translation assistance during the interview because fluency in the German language was not a criterion of eligibility. About 33% of the Turkish speaking respondents were supported fully or partly with translation assistance. In accordance with the core GGS, respondents of the migrant survey were recruited via a random sample of adults between 18 and 79 years who live in Germany and hold Turkish citizenship. The topics of the supplemental migrant survey are in line with the first GGS main survey and revolve around themes such as family relations, social networks, partnership biographies, children and attitudes towards partnership, family, fertility decisions or society. Data from more than 4,000 interviews with Turkish migrants are available for analysis, whereas data of over 10,000 German respondents is available from the main survey in 2005. Both surveys have been repeated one time each after three years. Two waves longitudinal studies are therewith available.

Especially for research questions related to family and for comparisons between native Germans and individuals of Turkish origin, the GGS dataset is advantageous over other surveys. For instance, due to the richness of the questions about family situation (Ette et al., 2007). Hence, the additional migrant survey of the German GGS is a unique asset to the Generations and Gender Programme in general and for the international scientific community as a whole.

In the following, we will present several empirical studies that take advantage of the data collected in the supplemental survey of Turkish migrants in the German GGS. From a comparative perspective, these studies provide important insights by identifying relevant factors which affect private living arrangements, fertility decisions and wellbeing in old age. Only precise empirical evidence of living conditions of Turkish migrants in Germany enables a solid view on similarities and differences between these groups. Moreover, the studies disentangle the dynamics of cultural norms and values within the macro context of a shared living environment in the same country. Finally, it offers valuable policy recommendations in

the area of participation of Turkish migrants in social (and economic) life in Germany.

Findings from selected publications

— *Partnerships and family formation*

Naderi (2008) is a comparative analysis of marital and non-marital cohabitation biographies of Germans without migration experience and Turkish citizens living in Germany. This piece of work identified fundamental differences between the two population groups, particularly for younger individuals. Among Turks, having more than one cohabitation relationship was less common than among Germans. They also had shorter periods of cohabitation before marriage and chose non-marital cohabitation less often as an alternative to marriage. Cohabitation without being married for a long period before marriage was found to be a common phenomenon among young German cohorts, but rare among young Turkish migrants.

Several factors may explain the observed lifestyle differences: Education, religiousness and attitudes towards extra-marital cohabitation. If those factors are considered as equal, the results revealed similarities rather than differences. Both German natives and Turkish citizens in Germany who have higher levels of education, acceptance towards non-marital cohabitation and who are less religious were more likely to have lived with a partner without being married. This study shows that subjective preferences and internal norms play a major role in how people choose their private living forms.

A comparative study by Valdes, Wagner and Naderi (2013) examined the following questions: How and why does the interrelation between marriage and fertility of German natives and the population of Turkish origin in Germany differ? Can religious or educational factors explain the differences? A key finding was that Germans often marry between becoming pregnant and the birth of the first child, whereas Turks predominantly become pregnant during an existing marriage.

Fertility and marriage behaviour were shown to be independent from the level of education and religiosity in both groups. The level of religiosity was measured via the importance of religious ceremonies to the respondent. However, it is assumed that religion should not be neglected as an underlying mechanism. The observed differences in family formation between Germans and Turkish adults may be rooted in general, internalised paradigms of Christianity and Islam and not in the attitude towards religious ceremonies. It seems that women with Turkish migration background are more likely to bear children within marriage, because sexuality outside marriage is not conform with religious norms, especially in this group.

— *Fertility and individual circumstances*

Kohls, Naderi and Schmid (2013) analysed the reproductive behaviour of female migrants of Turkish origin in Germany. The authors examined retrospective data on family formation and migration behaviour of Turkish women over age 40 who participated in the supplemental migrant survey of the GGS. In the time of the first wave of GGS the number of births by biological mother's aged 40 and older was relatively low. So in this article it was assumed that fertility can be seen as almost completed.

The descriptive findings using the retrospective data showed that nearly 30 per cent of the Turkish women had already arrived in Germany as married mothers. A share of 13 per cent had an almost parallel timing of migrating to Germany, their first marriage and the birth of their first child. With respect to the age at first birth, it was found that Turkish women who had migrated childless were on average older than the women whose first child was born in Turkey before their migration to Germany.

The study showed that, on the one hand, fertility behaviour of Turkish migrants is influenced by the experiences of socialisation and norms of their country of origin. On the other hand, they are also under the influence of the norms and values of the host country. Whereas Turkish women in Germany preferred to marry before the birth of their first child, they seem to have fewer children than it would be the norm in their home country. Turkish females seem to adapt

to the low fertility levels which are prevalent in Germany.

Naderi (2013) examined the conditions for parents getting more children between two waves of GGS. The study focused on the impacts of a couple's financial situation and possibilities to receive support by grandparents. The sample was restricted to respondents between the age of 18 and 45 with at least one child living in the household at the time of the first wave. Three groups were under study: 1) Germans without migration background, 2) Turkish nationals who had migrated to Germany after the age of 11, and 3) Turkish citizens who were born in Germany or immigrated at an age below 12.

The outcome was the realisation of the birth of additional children among individuals who already had at least one child within the timeframe of the first and second wave of German GGS. Neither the economic situation nor intergenerational relations appeared to have an association with childbearing behaviours of the three population groups. Instead, the age of the woman, the number and age of the children who were already present, and the marital status seemed to play a central role if an additional child was born within the timeframe of approximately three years.

The study by Lux and Lück (2017) was also motivated by the different fertility levels of Germans and Turkish migrants in Germany: The population of Turkish origin in the country shows higher levels of fertility and a younger age at first birth compared to the majority of the population of German natives. A central aim of the study was to clarify which factors could explain the persistence of these differences in fertility patterns: Do Turkish couples in Germany have more potential intra-family support structures for childcare and could this explain their earlier timing and higher frequency of child birth?

To answer this question, data was only available from GGS Wave 1, and restricted to respondents aged between 18 and 50 living in West Germany. The authors expected the pattern of fertility to be culture-dependent and to be identified by place of birth rather than nationality. To solve these issues, the analysis sample of Turkish migrants was based on one of the respondent's parents or grandparents

being born in Turkey.

The results showed that availability of childcare by grandparents was indeed more favourable among the group of respondents with Turkish roots, in contrast to the Germans. The Turkish grandparents live either very far or very close. The proportion of grandparents living very close is significantly higher than that of Germans without a migration background. The Turkish respondents showed higher levels of intergenerational relationship quality. However, the analyses did not confirm that the differences in support were the explanatory mechanism behind the different fertility behaviour of people of Turkish origin and Germans in Germany. The authors assumed that it is rather cultural socialisation that can explain the differences between those two groups. Different ideas of the value of children, influences of religion and composition effects with respect to educational background may be at work.

— *Elderly Turkish migrants*

A study by Micheel and Naderi (2009) was motivated by the fact that the objective income situation (net equivalent income) of older Turkish migrants in Germany has been found to be low compared to older Germans. One question was whether this is also true for the subjective satisfaction with the financial situation within the two population groups. The authors presented an analysis of the perceived income situation of older Turkish migrants living in Germany in contrast to their native German peers. For this, the GGS sample was restricted to older respondents between the age of 55 and 79. The results showed that a relatively high share of older Turkish migrants perceived their financial situation as satisfying or even good - despite objectively low levels of income.

To further examine the inconsistency between objective household income and perceived financial situation among older Turkish adults living in Germany, the authors identified the following possible explaining factors: Embeddedness in family networks, emotional expression of social embedding and general trust. The theoretical deliberations behind this strategy refer to the theory of social capital. Social capital – here defined in terms of social embeddedness/networks – is assumed to have a compensatory function with respect to deficits in monetary capital.

The analyses revealed that the subjective assessment of one's own social embedding is significantly related to the subjective assessment of one's income situation. However, social networks were more important for the group of older Turks than for older Germans in terms of compensating for economic disadvantages.

The study offers valuable empirical evidence on older Turkish migrants in Germany, of whom a majority will spend their retirement years in Germany and not in Turkey. To date, there is a lack of empirical evidence about this group of people. A comparison between older Turkish migrants and their German counterparts provides the opportunity to identify the extent of inequality between those population groups.

A study by Fokkema and Naderi (2013) sought out to answer the question whether there are differences in feelings of loneliness in later life between Turkish and native-born adults in Germany. The sample for this study was drawn from the first wave of the German GGS survey and the corresponding supplemental survey among Turkish migrants in Germany. In that case it was restricted to individuals between the age of 50 and 79. Loneliness was measured via six self-assessments on the quantity and quality of social networks (the so called Loneliness-Index, reduced to a 6-scale for GGS by DeJong Gierfeld), which the respondents had to evaluate (e.g. 'There are plenty of people that I can lean on in case of trouble', 'There are enough people that I feel close to', 'I miss having people around' or 'I often feel rejected'). Analysis results showed that feelings of loneliness were more prevalent among older adults with Turkish roots than among older German natives.

The authors investigated the importance of different potential risk and protective factors of loneliness in later life. It was found that the higher level of perceived loneliness among the Turkish migrants was related to their lower socio-economic status and poorer health status. Other important factors which may prevent feelings of loneliness, such as living with a partner or children, frequent contact with children, emotional support and looking after grandchildren, showed no or only little effect in reducing loneliness among the elderly of Turkish origin. Indeed, the difference in loneliness between the two population groups is lower when differences in health

and socio-economic status were taken into account. Therewith the authors assume: '(...) if Turkish older adults in Germany were as healthy and wealthy as their native-born age peers, no differences in loneliness between these two groups would exist' (page 297). The conclusion shows that public interventions against loneliness should be pursued. However, the promotion of participation in social life should take into account that those with poorer health and lower socioeconomic conditions should also have a chance to participate.

Conclusions

The GGS is an important survey for population and family related comparative studies in general. Its cross-national structure allows comparisons between countries and enables researchers to compare the population from different origins within the countries. A problem is the relatively low share of foreign-born individuals caused by random-based selection of respondents. In Germany for example, this was solved by drawing the supplemental survey of Turkish migrants.

Retrospective data on partnership and childbearing history can be used to analyse biographic events over the life course. The aforementioned studies gave important insights into how personal decisions about family formation and fertility differ between German natives and Turkish adults living in Germany. They also show how soft factors such as attitudes interact/drive such decisions, despite living under the same political framework. All in all, the results show differences and similarities between people with Turkish roots (including migrants) and people without migration background in Germany in different relevant fields of population and family research. The studies also proved that differentiated analyses are necessary and possible with the GGS. This is facilitated at least by its high number of variables and relatively high number of cases. ■

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Families of Poles in the Netherlands: New Data to Study Migrants' Family Dynamics and Social Networks in a Comparative Setting

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- **The Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey provides a unique opportunity to study migrants' lives in a context of their relationships in their country of origin and in the country of destination. It also allows researchers to observe change in the migrants' relationships, economic or social status, values or attitudes over time.**
- **This data reveals that migration can considerably affect family ties and interfere with the existing support from one family member to another.**
- **Comparisons using this data in combination with other surveys to explore behaviour among different migrant groups is currently barely possible due to the size of migrant samples.**
- **This issue will be soon sorted thanks to the update of the core Generations & Gender Survey questionnaire. It will include questions on migration experience, integration in the host country, internal migration and intention to move in the future. Such enrichment of the data across countries will not only enable scientists to gain further insight into the lives and experiences of Polish migrants across countries, but also provide a greater comparison with other groups of migrants. It will constitute a great advancement for new studies.**

Introduction

The 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU) triggered new migration flows in Europe. Estimates suggest that between 2004 and 2007 at least one million people emigrated from Poland to other EU Member States (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2013). Among the most popular destinations are Great Britain, Germany and the Netherlands (Fihel et al., 2012). In the Netherlands, the number of Poles increased from 35,500 to 173,000 between 2004 and 2018 (Statistics Netherlands, 2018a). Currently, the annual number of Polish immigrants exceed the number of tra-

ditional migrants to the Netherlands, such as Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese, combined (Statistics Netherlands, 2018b).

The increase in less traditional immigration flows from countries like Poland encouraged scientific interest in these migrant groups. In the Netherlands, the initial research efforts focused predominantly on the Polish migrants' integration and provided some of the first insights into their background, employment histories and ties with native populations (e.g. Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2013, 2015). However, the surveys that emerged largely overlooked the complexity of family arrangements and family ties of the

Polish migrants. Migration can considerably affect ties between family members and interfere with the existing support from one family member to another, such as financial, practical or emotional support. The Families of Poles in the Netherlands (FPN) survey was designed to provide detailed information about the migrants' family histories and to map the effect of migration on family ties. The FPN was initiated by Prof. Pearl Dykstra at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and was part of her project Families in Context (<http://www.familiesincontext.eu/>) funded by the European Research Council Advanced Grant. In this chapter, we introduce the data and discuss the opportunity for research it offers.

The Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey and its scientific potential

The FPN survey collects data on Polish migrants and various aspects of their family lives. The respondents were selected from population registers that consisted of Polish migrants who were registered in the municipality where they reside. The respondents had to be born in Poland and have at least one Polish parent. They also had to be registered for the first time in the Netherlands after 1 January 2004 and be between 18- to 49-years-old at the time of their registration.

The survey has several unique features. First, it provides unprecedented detailed information on family ties and social networks of the Polish migrants. Using these data, issues such as migrants' relationships with their partner, children, parents and their support patterns, attitudes and norms regarding family life can be studied. For example, the social network approach allows to understand Polish migrants' relationships outside the family, that is relationships with friends, neighbours and colleagues, and their impact on loneliness and wellbeing. However, the survey is not limited to issues related to migrants' relations; it also offers an opportunity to study migrants' social participation and performance in the labour market.

Second, it is a panel survey, which means that it follows the same respondents at different points in time. This allows researchers to observe a change

over time in respondents' personal situations, their living arrangements and family relationships. The FPN survey contains two waves (i.e. two points of data collections). The first data collection (Wave 1) was conducted in late 2014 and the beginning of 2015. The second data collection (Wave 2) was completed in 2018. In Wave 1, 1,131 individuals responded to the survey questionnaire. This represents 51% of the total of Polish migrants that were approached and asked to complete the survey questionnaire. In Wave 2, 566 respondents who participated in Wave 1 provided answers to the questionnaire. That represents 65% of the respondents that participated in Wave 1. The achieved number of responses is among the highest for studies of Polish migrants in the Netherlands based on population registers and makes this survey one of the most successful of its kind.

Following the respondents over time offers an opportunity to study the determinants of various aspects of migrants' lives. Research questions that can be answered include, for example: (1) How stable are migrants' partnerships?, and (2) Do relationships to parents left behind suffer from prolonged separation or remain equally strong, and how does this vary within the group of Polish migrants? Advancement of migrant's structural and cultural integration to the Netherlands can also be examined, including research questions such as: (1) Do Polish migrants increase their language proficiency and what is the impact of this change on the composition of their social networks?; (2) Do migrants adjust to the normative climate of the host society as time since migration elapses and what are the consequences of this adaptation on migrants' family and social life?; and, (3) Do they find better jobs and does this pattern have a connection with their housing situation?

The third feature that makes the FPN survey unique is the quality and comparability of the questionnaire. The FPN questionnaire closely follows the questionnaire of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS). The GGS is conducted in several countries, including the Netherlands and Poland, which allows researchers to compare Polish migrants not only with the Dutch population in the Netherlands, but also with their counterparts in Poland. The ability to compare populations in the countries of origin and destination is unique because most existing surveys and research provide an opportunity for comparison only with the

country of origin or only with the country of destination. Moreover, the FPN data can be also compared with other data on migrants available in GGS, such as Turks in Germany or Russians living in Estonia. The data and documentation are publicly available via DANS (Data Archiving and Networking Services, <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zep-et7y> for Wave 1 and <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-xze-q5bh> for Wave 2) and via the Generations and Gender Programme website (<https://www.ggp-i.org/>). We will now present several studies that have been recently conducted using the FPN data.

Examples of studies using FPN

— *Family ties across borders*

Kasia Karpinska and Pearl Dykstra (2018) explore ties between Polish migrants in the Netherlands and their parents who stayed in Poland. This study is amongst the first to explore family relations in a truly transnational context. The authors aimed to find out whether migration breaks family ties or whether they are maintained despite the distance. The richness of the FPN data on intergenerational relations allowed them to study the intergenerational family ties from multiple dimensions: The frequency of contact between adult children in the Netherlands and their parents in Poland (face-to-face, via communication technologies), emotional support (e.g. discussing personal matters), financial and practical support, and commitment to responsibility towards family members. Based on those dimensions, the authors distinguished three types of transnational child-parent relationships.

First, a harmonious relationship characterised by a high degree of mutual support and high commitment to responsibility towards parents. Second, a detached relationship characterised by a low likelihood of support, weak commitment to responsibility to family members and a moderate frequency of contact. Third, an obligatory relationship characterised by high frequency of contact, but a moderate to low likelihood of emotional and practical support. The authors found that the most common transnational relationship is the obligatory relationship that was identified among 41% of the respondents. The

detached relationship is the second most common type of transnational relationship representing 34% of the respondents. The harmonious relationship is the least common, but still substantial with 25% of the respondents being identified as having this type of relationship with their parents in Poland.

The study found that the duration of the stay in the Netherlands does not influence the type of relationship the migrant children have with their parents. Instead, the type of relationship is influenced by children's and parents' characteristics such as gender, family composition and education. For instance, the harmonious relationships are most common between daughters and mothers and between highly educated migrants and their parents. However, if a respondent has a larger number of sisters, they are also more likely to maintain a detached relationship with their parents.

— *Personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands*

Nina Conkova, Tineke Fokkema and Pearl Dykstra examined the personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands. Personal networks represent a web of people and confidants, with whom one discusses important matters, such as problems, concerns and daily experiences (McPherson et al., 2006). Personal networks can vary by size and by a similarity of ties and composition (Marsden, 1987). In their study, the authors created a personal network typology based on the FPN data. The typology specifies (1) the composition of the migrants' personal networks – to what extent these networks consist of relatives and non-relatives, and (2) the country of residence of the people within the personal network. As a second step, the authors linked the network types with migrants' engagement in the country of origin and destination.

Their analysis revealed four types of personal networks of migrants. The most common personal network is bi-national: Kin-focused network where the main confidants are romantic partners, parents and siblings of the migrants. The authors found this type of network among 48% of respondents. The second most common type of personal network is Destination: Partner-focused network (31%), which consists primarily of migrants' romantic partners who live

with them in the Netherlands. The third type of personal network is Bi-national: Non-kin-focused network (15%) where the main confidants are non-relatives who live both in the Netherlands and Poland. The final type of personal network is Restricted: No confidants (7%) that represent migrants who reported not discussing important personal matters with other people.

The authors also showed that belonging to any type other than 'Bi-national: Non-kin focused' is linked with the degree to which migrants send money and visit Poland, as well as with the nationality of their partner, but not with opportunity structures (i.e. employment in the Netherlands and proficiency of Dutch language). For example, those who send money to Poland are more likely to have confidants among their family relations in both the origin and the destination country as are those having a Dutch partner. Moreover, with an increasing number of visits to Poland, Polish migrants are less likely to have their Polish partner in the Netherlands as a single confidant. Non-relative ties seem to serve as confidants primarily amongst women, with high education and no children.

Since employment and language proficiency, which are important amongst other migrant groups (e.g. Argentinian migrants in Spain; Lubbers et al., 2010), seem to not be linked with Polish migrants' belonging to any of the types of personal networks, Conkova and her colleagues concluded that other factors, i.e. cultural factors, play an important role in understanding Poles' web of confidants.

— *Loneliness amongst Polish migrants: A comparison with Dutch nationals*

Thijs van den Broek and Emily Grundy (2017) looked at the determinants and degree of loneliness among Polish migrants in the Netherlands. To gain insight into the degree of loneliness, they compared the mean loneliness score among Polish migrants from the FPN data with the mean scores in the Dutch population, based on the Dutch GGS data and reported in a study by De Jong Gierveld and Van Tilburg (2010). In both samples, loneliness was measured in both samples with the shortened 6-item version of the De Jong Gierveld scale (De Jong Gierveld and Van Tilburg, 2006). With regard to the determinants

of loneliness, the authors were interested to see whether the protective effects of a partner and children against loneliness are weaker when the partner and children do not accompany the migrant to the Netherlands. Other potential determinants that were included in the study are: Age, employment status, level of education, health status, perceived financial difficulty, religiosity, length of residence and proficiency in the Dutch language. In addition to separate models for men and women, a pooled model with gender interaction terms was estimated to determine if gender differences exist in the effect of the determinants.

Their findings show that Polish migrants in the Netherlands are, on average, lonelier than the general Dutch population, while no gender differences were observed within the Polish migrant sample. However, it remains premature to conclude that migration leads to increased loneliness; it is also likely that the Polish migrants' situation reflects the relatively high prevalence of loneliness in Poland (Fokkema, De Jong Gierveld and Dykstra, 2012) or that lonely Poles are overrepresented in the migrant population. Consistent with previous research, both female and male Polish migrants who reported their health as (very) good and those having no difficulties in making ends meet were found to be less lonely than their counterparts with poorer health and precarious financial position. In addition, among men, the more recently arrived migrants were less lonely than those who resided in the Netherlands for more than three years. Having children who all live in the Netherlands does not seem to protect Polish migrants against loneliness: Rather, women with children both in the Netherlands and abroad were less lonely than women with children only living in the Netherlands. The key finding of the study, however, is that having a partner seems to serve as a buffer against the feeling of loneliness for male Polish migrants. Yet, this is true only when the partner also lives in the Netherlands. For female Polish migrants, the authors found no association between the presence or location of a partner.

Alzbeta Bartova and Kasia Karpinska investigated how Polish migrant families combine work and childcare responsibilities for children younger than 4-years-old. This question is particularly pressing as migrant families often cannot rely on the extensive support network that is more readily available to parents who did not leave their country. However, in the Netherlands, the Polish migrants are presented with a greater opportunity for childcare services, however, these services do not need to comply with their care preferences. Consequently, migrants can face greater difficulties with integration to the labour market. To analyse the childcare strategy of Polish migrant families in greater detail, the authors compared the migrant parents from the FPN data with Dutch parents in the Netherlands using the Dutch GGS and Polish parents in Poland using the Polish GGS.

The childcare system and practices are very different in Poland and in the Netherlands. In Poland, both public and private childcare facilities are scarce with limited space, and parents, especially mothers, are often the only carers for their children until they reach the age of three. In contrast, in the Netherlands parents tend to return to work when their child is less than one-year-old and are provided with a wide array of state-supported childcare services, such as nurseries, registered nannies and playgroups. The authors were particularly interested whether Polish migrant parents use the childcare opportunities available in the Netherlands and whether their childcare strategies resemble those of Dutch parents or whether they are more like the childcare strategies of the Polish parents in Poland. In their study, they found that Polish parents who live in the Netherlands combine both of the childcare strategies. They tend to be the only carers for longer than the Dutch parents, but they also start using formal childcare services earlier than Polish parents in Poland. These findings suggest that Polish migrants use the childcare services that are offered in the country of destination. At the same time, they are also influenced by their specific situation of being a migrant by following similar childcare practices to parents in Poland when their children are very young.

Conclusions

The FPN survey provides a unique opportunity to study migrants' lives in a context of their relationships in their country of origin and in the country of destination. This is a rather unique feature as most of the existing surveys and research on migrant populations focus only on the country of origin or the country of destination. The comparability of the FPN data with the GGS data from Poland and the Netherlands can, therefore, provide us with valuable insights into the lives of migrants. Another unique feature of the FPN survey is that it collected information about migrants at two points in time. Although other migrant surveys also applied a longitudinal approach, they tend to focus on the advancement of migrants' integration into the country of destination. The FPN data allows researchers to observe change in the migrants' relationships, economic or social status, values or attitudes over time. This enables researchers to observe the migrants' integration strategies and their success or failures, or how they respond to various internal (e.g. the birth of a child, illness or death in the family) and external shocks (e.g. job loss). With such knowledge, scientists will be better equipped to provide advice to policymakers and organisations working with migrants to improve their living conditions and the life chances of their children.

Another advantage of the survey is that the Polish migrants in the Netherlands can be compared with other migrant groups in the Netherlands. This is possible through a link between the FPN data and migrant data collected by the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS). This would allow for a comparison between EU migrants and migrants from third countries. However, the size of the migrant sample is small and therefore, the range of issues that could be investigated is limited. A new opportunity, however, arises from the current work of the GGP team on an update of the core GGS questionnaire. The new questionnaire should include questions on migration experience, integration in the host country, internal migration and intention to move in the future. Such enrichment of the GGS data across countries will not only enable scientists to gain further insight into the lives and experiences of Polish migrants across countries, but also provide a greater comparison with other groups of migrants. ■

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Childbearing and Family Formation of Russian-Origin Migrants in Estonia

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- **Modern family patterns like low fertility and non-marital cohabitation are spreading among both the native and the migrant populations in Estonia. Yet, family outcomes of Russian-origin migrants resemble more the patterns prevalent in their country of origin.**
- **In case of Estonia, a divided school system and high levels of residential segregation of sizable migrant population are key factors that have hindered the integration of migrants and their descendants into the host society.**
- **The interpretation of the shift towards modern family patterns among migrants runs a risk of overestimating the impact of population trends prevalent in the host country unless the demographic behaviour in the country of origin is considered.**
- **The Generations & Gender Programme (GGP) contains data allowing for the study of family change among native Estonians, migrants from Russia living in Estonia, and Russians in Russia.**
- **The systematic comparison of migrants with native populations at the countries of origin and destination is possible because the dataset includes both countries, and enables to consider migration histories of individuals and families in Estonia.**

Introduction

Within half a century, people in Europe have witnessed profound changes in family life. Declining family size, increasing tolerance towards non-marital cohabitation and a general tendency to postpone family events towards later ages have become part of everyday reality in both Nordic countries known for their liberal family context, as well as in countries like Italy or Poland with more conservative family pattern (Lesthaeghe, 2010). At the same time, increasing shares of migrants, either from other European countries or from outside the continent, have turned receiving countries demographically heterogeneous (Sobotka, 2008). For this reason, it has become increasingly important to pose the ques-

tion: To what extent do fertility and family changes that occur among native populations emerge within migrant populations?

The comparative research on fertility and family patterns among migrant populations rarely draws on evidence from the former eastern bloc of Europe (Kulu and González-Ferrer, 2014). However, a closer look at people who moved between various parts of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union enhances our understanding of migrant communities given the large-scale population moves in the region (Van Mol and de Valk, 2016).

This chapter introduces insights from a series of studies that follow family change among native Estonians, migrants from Russia living in Estonia and

Russians in Russia. All studies derived data from the first wave of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) carried out both in Estonia and Russia during the years 2004–2005 (Vikat et al., 2007). As the surveys covered generations born between 1924–1983 it is possible to follow family change of individuals from the life course perspective throughout the extended time period. The common goal of the studies is to shed light on the process of demographic integration of the migrant population.

Why is the migration context in Estonia relevant?

Close to half of the migrants in the 28 European Union (EU) countries originate from the European continent. Out of those migrants, Russians are the largest group reaching 1.8 million during the last census round in 2010, with around one-fifth of them living in Estonia (Eurostat, 2018). Demographically, intra-European migrants tend to be more similar to the majority population than migrants from outside the continent. However, considering the fact that within Europe, long-term variations in family and childbearing patterns exist, migrants from other European countries may also remain demographically visible in receiving countries. This is particularly relevant when the share of migrants is high.

In Estonia, approximately one-third of the working-age population is born outside the country or is a descendant of a foreign-born parent. According to the EU Labour Force Survey, this is one of the highest shares in Europe after Luxembourg and Switzerland. Due to the early onset of large-scale immigration that persisted for several decades from the 1950s until the 1990s, Estonia also stands out for its high share of second generation migrants. Thus, the Estonian case provides insights about contextual and individual factors that may facilitate or hinder the integration process of the migrant-origin population across generations.

In addition to above-mentioned high share of migrants, the Estonian case highlights several other structural factors that may contribute to the tendency that the migrant-origin minority evolves into a parallel society instead of gradually integrating

into the native majority in the host country. One of these factors is the composition of the migrant-origin population that in Estonia is remarkably homogeneous, Russians being the overwhelmingly biggest group (83%). No other country in the EU has such a high proportion of migrants originating from a single country (Eurostat, 2018). It is also important that migrants and their descendants tend to be spatially concentrated. In the industrial towns of north-eastern Estonia, migrants and their descendants form over 80% of the population. In the capital city of Tallinn, their share is as high as 45%. In addition, as a legacy from the period when Estonia was under Soviet rule, the school system is linguistically divided into separate schools with either Estonian or Russian as the language of instruction.

However, the migration context of Estonia also includes factors that potentially foster similarities between migrants and the native population. First of all, the geographic proximity between Estonia and Russia is manifested in numerous historical links between the countries. The incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union during the Second World War brought along similar institutional, economical and ideological contexts that persisted for nearly half a century. In addition, both countries experienced social upheavals in the 1990s and the transition from the state socialist regime to a market economy that followed. Thus, during the decades when the above-mentioned family change evolved within the European continent, Estonians and Russians lived in relatively similar conditions. From this perspective one could expect no major differences in family and fertility patterns among Russian migrants in Estonia and native Estonians.

Are migrants from Russia demographically more similar to country of origin or destination?

We seek to answer this question using empirical evidence pertaining to childbearing and partnership behaviour. First, we introduce a behavioural aspect where native populations in Estonia and Russia appear to be different. Then, we proceed to Russian migrants in Estonia and ask whether their behavioural outcome is more similar to the native population in

Estonia or in Russia.

— Childbearing

The path towards demographic modernisation in Estonia and Russia has not been identical (Katus, 2000; Zakharov, 2008). Until the early post-war decades, Russia had higher fertility levels than Estonia reflecting the later onset of historical fertility decline in Russia compared to Estonia. Later, the fertility levels in the two countries converged and even reversed. Thus, from the 1970s onwards, the fertility levels in Russia have stayed slightly lower than in Estonia. In a global comparison, however, both Estonia and Russia belong to the group of low fertility countries with fertility rates currently well below replacement.

In a parity-specific analysis of childbearing patterns, we investigated the likelihood of first, second and third birth, respectively in both countries during the second half of the 20th century (Puur et al., 2017). Our study revealed no major differences in the proportion of women who eventually reach motherhood, although women in Russia tended to be slightly younger at the birth of their first child (Figure 1). Overall, this pattern of universal and early childbearing is typical for countries from eastern Europe where the postponement of childbearing to older ages started later than in countries from northern and western parts of Europe. However, regarding the transition to the second and third birth, the childbearing pattern in Estonia and Russia appears systematically different.

Estonian women progressed faster and more often to a second and third child than Russians in Russia did.

The comparison of Russian migrants and their descendants residing in Estonia to their native counterparts in Russia and Estonians in Estonia (Figure 1) revealed that childbearing patterns among Russian migrants tended to be more similar to Russians in Russia than to Estonians (Puur et al., 2017). This result draws attention to the fact that migrants moving between two low fertility settings might bring along smaller family size and contribute to the further decline of aggregate fertility levels in the host country.

— Non-marital cohabitation

As in other countries in Europe, current young generations in Estonia and Russia share many similarities in the ways of forming partnerships and starting a family life. For instance, living in a partnership without being married, as well as bearing and raising children in such unions, is a widely accepted practice today. It was also common for such behaviour to be strongly marginalised and disapproved by society in all countries in the past. Thus, new generations in different European countries have clearly adapted alternative ways of forming a family and changed our understanding of what is accepted. However, there exists relatively large variation in exact timing when the new behaviour becomes prevalent in a particular country. For instance, the time distance between Nordic countries where non-marital cohabitation spread

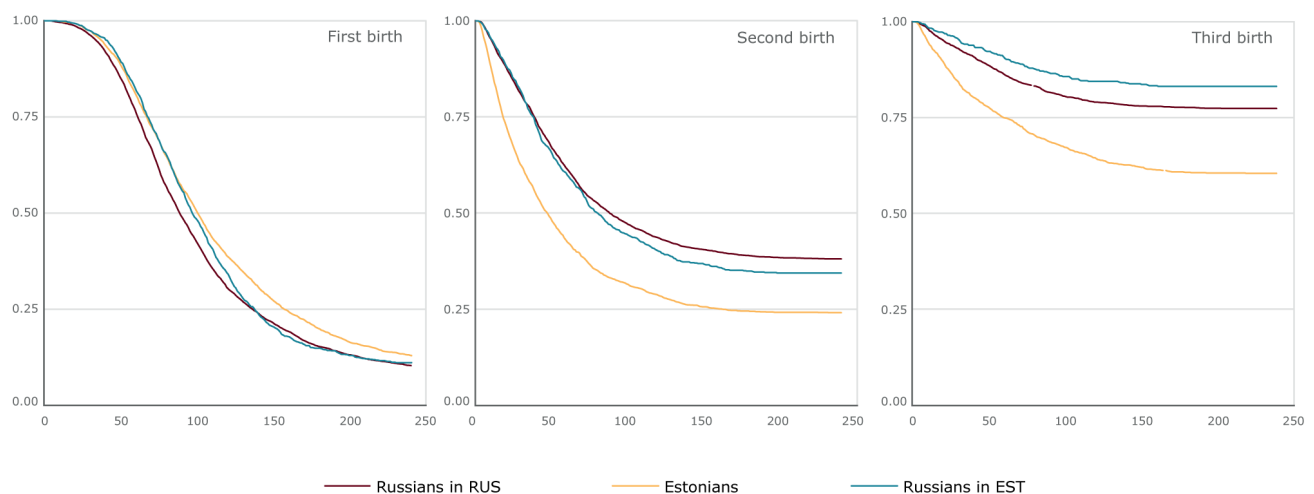


Figure 1. Kaplan-Meier estimates for transition to first, second and third birth. Russians in Estonia, sending and host populations, female birth cohorts 1924–1987.

Source: GGS data, author's calculation.

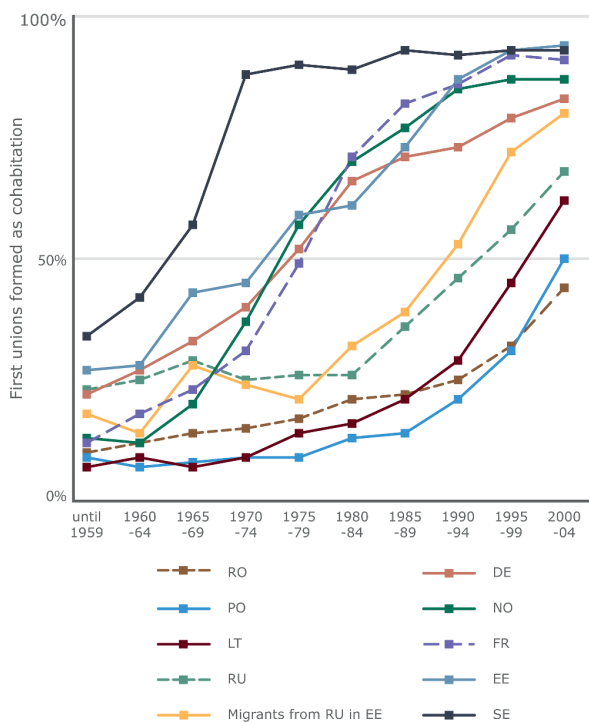


Figure 2. Proportion of first unions formed as cohabitation, Russian migrants in Estonia and selected European countries, 1960-2004.

Source: GGS data, author's calculation.

already in the 1970s and some eastern European countries where it was not yet a dominant practice in the 2000s reaches up to four decades (Figure 2).

In Estonia, non-marital cohabitation replaced direct marriage as a dominant pathway to the first partnership in the 1970s (Figure 2), which is two decades earlier than in Russia (Puur et al., 2012). Also the fact that in Estonia close to 60% of births occur outside of wedlock demonstrates a higher tolerance towards non-marital cohabitation. In Russia, this proportion remained close to 30% in the late 2000s.

The comparison of Russian migrants in Estonia with native Estonians reveals that overall migrants and their descendants tend to prefer marriage as a pathway to partnership formation, whereas those migrants who do cohabit without being officially married proceed to marry faster than Estonians (Rahnu et al., 2015). This suggests that the way in which modern family patterns spread among Russian migrants is more similar to their counterparts in Russia than to native Estonians. In general, Figure 2 confirms this assumption. We see that until the 1990s the mode of entering into first partnership is very similar among

Russians in Estonia and in Russia. Only in the late 1990s and early 2000s do Russians in Estonia tend to prefer non-marital cohabitation more often than Russians in Russia and their behavioural similarity with native Estonians starts to increase.

The observation that partnership outcomes of Russian migrants in Estonia tend to resemble the patterns in Russia rather than the pattern in Estonia draws attention to the ways how the signs of demographic modernisation among migrant populations are interpreted. Unless we compare migrants' behaviours with their counterparts in the country of origin, we would easily interpret the spread of non-marital cohabitation among migrants entirely as an indication of integration into the host country's family pattern. The systematic comparison of population groups showed, however, that the country of origin has driven family change among migrants for decades after the mass migration started.

Which factors are associated with convergence with host country pattern?

The fact that compared to Estonians, Russians in Russia and in Estonia experienced a transformation of family patterns with a time lag and maintained different childbearing outcomes is interesting because the institutional, political and macroeconomic context in both countries was relatively similar. Thus, the observed differences in demographic outcomes might be shaped by cultural factors that influence social relationships (Puur et al., 2011; Rahnu, 2016). In our empirical examples, we asked whether social exchange with the host population enforces the similarity with native Estonians among Russian migrants.

— The descendants of migrants

A comparison of migrants and their descendants provides insight into the long-term effect of international migration. While migrants who move as adults acquire cultural norms and preferences related to family and childbearing in their country of origin, the children of migrants grow up in a different context and are potentially exposed to cultural influences prevalent among the host population. From this per-

spective, it is expected that the descendants of migrants exhibit childbearing and family outcomes that are more similar to the host population. Our case studies highlight, however, that this is not always the case.

In our parity-specific study where we compared transition rates to first, second and third birth, the difference between migrants and their descendants remained insignificant even after taking into account socio-economic variation between the groups (Puur et al., 2017). Likewise, the comparison of partnership patterns did not reveal any remarkable difference in the patterns of non-marital cohabitation between migrants and their descendants, whereas native Estonians remained distinctly different (Rahnu et al., 2015).

These results indicate that sizable and sufficiently homogenous migrant communities are capable of maintaining the behavioural influences from their country of origin and remain demographically visible over an extended period of time, despite the fact that successive generations are born and raised already in the host country.

— *Contacts with the host population*

While our empirical findings indicate that the Russian-origin population in Estonia adapted modern childbearing and family behaviour at the same pace as Russians in Russia and remained distinct from the host population even if already born in Estonia, we nevertheless observed an impact of the Estonian host society on the demographic behaviour of Russian migrants. Being raised in a mixed Russian-Estonian family, being enrolled in an Estonian-language school and living in areas where Estonians constitute a large majority of the population, were all associated with increased similarity with the host population. This association was applicable both in the case of the second and third births (Puur et al., 2017), as well as in the case of cohabitation (Rahnu et al., 2015). However, since these characteristics were not widely shared among migrants or their descendants, the overall impact of the contacts with the host population on childbearing and family outcomes remains limited.

Finally, from the point of view of migrants' integra-

tion, the choice of a partner deserves special attention since forming a partnership with a native Estonian is in itself an indicator for successful integration into the host population. In a study about minority-majority partnerships in Estonia, we investigated the extent in which the contact with the majority population increases the likelihood of forming a family with a partner from the majority among minority adults. The results were not surprising as, indeed, mixed family background, exposure to Estonian language at home or at school and living in a majority-dominated area all significantly increased the likelihood of choosing a majority partner among minority women and men alike (Puur et al., 2018). Interestingly, however, among minority men, the descendants of immigrants had lower chances of forming a partnership with Estonian women than their first generation predecessors. Among minority women, the same was true after we took into account integration related factors mentioned above.

These results draw attention to the importance of early acquisition of the host country language. In the case of Estonia, a divided school system and high levels of residential segregation of sizable migrant population are key factors that have hindered the integration of migrants and their descendants into the host society.

Conclusions

On the one hand, it is evident that modern family patterns, like low fertility and non-marital cohabitation have spread not only among native populations, but also among migrants and their descendants. On the other hand, family outcomes of Russian-origin migrants in Estonia resembled more the patterns prevalent in their country of origin. This was only to some extent mitigated by contacts with the host population, which increased their similarity with Estonians.

These results are relevant from a policy perspective as they demonstrate that linguistically, spatially or functionally segregated migrant populations might evolve in parallel to mainstream society – particularly if the social or cultural exchange with the host population is limited. Although, in our research we

compared populations whose demographic distance was relatively small, the integration still appeared a lengthy process that extended over generations. ■

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Conclusions

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European societies include an increasing share of people with immigrant background. A thorough knowledge of this growing segment of the population is, therefore, crucial for a proper understanding of Europe's demographic, social and cultural developments. While there is a large body of literature on various aspects of immigrant lives in the European context, particularly in the domains of work, income, education and health, the focus on migrants' family dynamics and relationships has only recently been brought to the forefront of the research agenda (Kulu and González-Ferrer, 2014). This focus has helped to frame international migrants not merely as labour suppliers, but also as social actors with distinct family-life trajectories. Furthermore, in demographic and sociological studies, immigrants' family-related attitudes and behaviours are generally regarded as relevant indicators of social integration into the host society.

The growing interest in studying the family lives of immigrants and their offspring is justified on policy grounds, since such studies may reveal inequality of opportunities that can be redressed by public policies, but it has also emerged a fruitful arena to advance theoretical debates. A central question that underpins most studies is the relative impact of normative values, economic conditions, and position in the social stratification system on migrants' family lives and trajectories. Although the debate on the role of socio-economic resources versus cultural norms in shaping life course trajectories is pervasive in the social sciences, its presence is even more pronounced when the focus of study are migrant families.

The objective of this Discussion Paper is to provide an overview of recent studies on migrants' family dynamics and relationships based on data from the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) and related surveys. Although this overview is far from comprehensive, it presents a valuable compilation of empir-

ical research contributing to enhance our knowledge of migrant families. The four chapters address different aspects of the family lives of migrants and their descendants at different stages of the life course, such as the timing and pathways of transition to adulthood, partnership and childbearing patterns, childcare strategies, strength of family ties and intergenerational relationships across borders, composition of migrants' family and personal networks, or wellbeing at older ages.

A common approach in demographic studies is to examine family behaviour in different migrant groups and across successive migrant generations and to compare it to that of the majority population, in order to identify similarities and divergences. This approach can provide valuable insights on the cultural and social distance between groups. In this regard, the study of second generations is particularly interesting because migrants' children are raised in the same institutional context as the majority population but are often exposed to a dual cultural influence (de Valk and Milewski, 2011).

The study by Impicciatore and Pailhé focuses precisely on the transition to adulthood of second generations of migrant origin. They find that while the timing of the transition to adulthood for the second generation from European countries is similar to that of native French, the second generation from Maghreb leaves the parental home and enters a first union later. The authors note that two alternative explanations for the observed differentials are possible, although difficult to disentangle with the data at hand. The delayed pattern of transition to adulthood among Maghreb second generations could be due to the cultural maintenance of preferences for longer coresidence with parents, linked to strong family ties, but it could also be due to constraints faced in the labour market and in the housing market, which hinder their economic and residential autonomy. This

discussion on the underlying causes of persistent differences in family-related behaviours can be seen as part of the wider social science debate on the role of individual preferences vs. structural constraints in shaping life course trajectories.

The contribution by Schütz and Naderi, which reviews several studies on family dynamics of migrants of Turkish origin in Germany, also touches on this debate. Some of the findings described suggest the persistence of cultural and normative values from the societies of origin. For instance, Turkish migrants are less likely to have long-term cohabiting relationships or to have children within cohabitation than Germans, reflecting the dissimilar centrality of marriage for bearing children among the two population groups. However, family and fertility norms are not static and the macro context of the host society also matters. This is clearly reflected in the relatively rapid adaptation of Turkish migrants to the low fertility levels that are prevalent in Germany. Again, whether this adaptation process stems from a change in values or from adjustments to the social, economic and labour market conditions of the host society remains open to debate.

Research on the interplay of cultural and socio-economic drivers of family change gets enriched when we broaden our lens to incorporate both the perspective of the society of destination and the society of origin. The chapter by Bartova, Karpinska, Conkova and Fokkema provides an illustrative case of this multiple lens approach. They review several studies that compare family-related practices, such as childcare strategies, among Polish migrants in the Netherlands, the Dutch population and the population in Poland. Bringing in the perspective of the sending country is crucial for understanding to what extent family change over time and across generations reflects an adaptation process to the host society or it mirrors a trend that is taking place in the country of origin.

The contribution by Rahnu also combines the perspective of the sending and the host society. She compares family patterns of Russian-origin migrants in Estonia with native Estonians and Russians in Russia. The results suggest that the family behaviour of Russian-origin migrants, although it has moved in the same direction than that of the Estonian popula-

tion, it resembles more the patterns prevailing in the country of origin than in the country of destination. This finding cautions against interpreting trends of family change exclusively as a sign of social adaptation without taking into account how attitudes and behaviour have evolved in the society of origin.

One of the ultimate aims of research on migrants' family lives is to gain a better understanding of the factors that foster or hinder their successful integration into their host society as well as to provide evidence-based policy recommendations to support equality of opportunities, in order to build inclusive social cohesion in European societies and 'leave no one behind', the motto of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This Discussion Paper has drawn attention to some issues that have important policy implications. For instance, the contribution by Rahnu suggests that spatial segregation, limited proficiency in the host country language, and limited social exchange with the majority population hinder the integration of migrants and their descendants even in the long-term. The contribution by Bartova et al. also calls for better welfare support for migrant families to access childcare services and to break social isolation at older ages.

Migrants' family life trajectories differ by society of origin and are also shaped by the institutional, policy and welfare context of the society of destination. Hence, the generalizability and transferability of the conclusions drawn from the studies here reviewed is limited. For this reason, we need to continue undertaking comparative research across different groups of migrants and across different host countries over time, over the life course and across generations. Continuing the lines of research here presented is crucial for advancing our understanding of migrants' attitudes and behaviours in the realm of family life and for providing informed advice to policymakers and organizations aiming to improve migrants' living conditions and the life chances of their children.

The GGS are excellently positioned to promote comparative studies of migrants' family life trajectories. Their cross-national structure allows not only to compare populations from different origins within countries and to compare the same migrant group across different destination countries, but also to compare the migrant minority in the host country with their

non-migrant co-nationals in the country of origin. Although the size of the migrant samples are typically limited, this Discussion Paper has shown that several European countries have fielded additional migrant surveys, like the supplemental survey of Turkish migrants in Germany or the Family of Poles survey in the Netherlands (FPN), which are highly comparable with the GGS and can generate valuable knowledge on migrants' family experiences.

In sum, family decisions, trajectories and relationships are an important dimension in migrants' lives and experiences. Their family-related patterns and those of their descendants can be viewed as an indicator of their wider social, economic and cultural integration in the host society. The GGS and supplemental migrant surveys can provide valuable insights on the cultural and socioeconomic factors that shape migrants' family life trajectories, on the individual and contextual factors that facilitate or hinder migrants' social integration process, and on the policies that support family diversity while preventing fragmented and unequal societies. ■

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