Migration: Paths of Exploration
Spring 2014

NORFACE Research Programme on Migration
About NORFACE – New Opportunities for Research Funding
Co-operation in Europe – is a partnership between 15 research councils to increase co-operation in research and research policy in Europe. The partners involved are the research councils for the social sciences from Estonia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Canada and Austria participate in NORFACE as associate partners. NORFACE is an ambitious programme of communication, enquiry, sharing of experience and action. The work plan follows a logical progression from putting in place governance and good management of the NORFACE network to information exchange, analysis, research co-operation, strategic thinking and, finally, co-operation on two pilot programmes and the launch of a full-scale transnational research programme on migration. NORFACE receives core funding from the European Commission’s 6th Framework Programme under the ERA-NET scheme.

NORFACE Migration

The NORFACE research programme on migration comprises 12 research projects and is jointly funded by the national research councils and the European Commission. The total funding for the programme is approximately €29 million, including €6 million funding from the EC. Each of the 12 projects consists of research teams from at least three NORFACE countries. The programme was launched in June 2009 and will run until the end of June 2014. The scientific co-ordinator of the programme is Professor Christian Dustmann, UCL/CReAM.

The NORFACE Migration initiative emphasises three main themes:

- Migration
- Integration
- Cohesion and Conflict

The programme has the following main objectives:

- To globally advance excellent theoretical and methodological disciplinary, inter-disciplinary and comparative research on migration that builds synergistically on a pan-European basis
- To take advantage of and develop the present informal laboratory of experience, knowledge and data currently presented by migration in Europe
- To motivate and support excellence and capacity-building for research on migration on a cross-national basis throughout the NORFACE countries and beyond
- To develop understanding and promote research-based knowledge and insight into migration for issues of societal, practical and policy relevance, based on theory but worked on jointly with relevant users and experts

Details of the 12 research projects within the NORFACE Migration Programme are available on the NORFACE Migration programme web site: www.norface-migration.org/currentprojects.php

The projects and their acronyms are as follows:

- CHOICES – Understanding Migrants’ Choices
- CIJS4EU – Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries
- IMEM – Integrated Modelling of European Migration
- MIDI-REDIE – Migrant Diversity and Regional Disparity in Europe
- MI3 – Migration: Impact and Interaction
- NODES – Nordic Welfare States and the Dynamics and Effects of Ethnic Residential Segregation
- SCIP – Causes and Consequences of Early Socio-cultural Integration Processes Among New Immigrants in Europe
- SIMCUR – Social Integration of Migrant Children: Uncovering Family and School Factors Promoting Resilience
- TEMPO – Temporary Migration, Integration and the Role of Policies
- TGRA-Eu – Transnational Child-rearing Arrangements between Africa and Europe
- THEMIS – Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Studies
Letter from the Scientific Director

This final issue of the NORFACE Compact series marks the close of the NORFACE Migration Research Programme, ‘Migration in Europe – Social, Economic, Cultural and Policy Dynamics’.

This programme has been a highly successful initiative, collecting a wealth of new data on migrants and their families, producing innovative research on migration from different perspectives, and creating synergies and collaboration across countries and disciplines.

The conferences and workshops funded by NORFACE Migration have provided an ideal forum for researchers from all around the world to exchange knowledge and new ideas. The ‘Migration: Global Development, New Frontiers’ conference held in 2013 was a huge success and one of the largest gatherings on the subject of migration www.apriconference2013.norface-migration.org/. Researchers from 19 disciplines were brought together at this event, which was attended by 500 participants and featured both academic output and high profile policy events.

A large number of doctorates were completed through the programme, and the careers of young scholars were stimulated by the unique opportunity it provided them to further their research.

The programme has also led to the development of unique datasets on economic and social integration of migrants and their children that will soon be available to the scientific community. This information is the basis of much exciting new research, some already published as part of the NORFACE Discussion Paper series, which will continue to be published on the CReAM website even after the NORFACE Migration programme ends.

This last Compact is a testimony to all these great achievements. In line with previous issues, it introduces primary data collected by the NORFACE Migration projects, including a unique survey of multiple linked generations of Turkish migrants to Europe (p.7) and a study of ethnic residential segregation from the perspective of both migrant families and the receiving societies (p.10). Teams also share their fieldwork experiences when surveying families divided by national borders (p.16), dealing with a high non-response rate on the school level in school-based samples (p.5), recruiting respondents using peer-to-peer sampling methods (p.17), and gender-matching in face-to-face interviews with migrants (p.14). The second part of the issue summarises several on-going research projects that use collected data and other sources of information. Their wide range – from dynamics of migrant networks (p.20) to the immigrant aspiration paradox (p.40) – testifies to the versatility of modern migration research.

We hope that you have enjoyed following us over the last five years.

Best wishes,

Prof. Christian Dustmann
Research Director, NORFACE Programme on Migration

PART 1: DATA COLLECTION

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU): Efforts, Challenges, and Success in Primary Data Collection

By Jörg Dollmann and Konstanze Jacob

General survey design

The ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries’ (CILS4EU) aims to collect comprehensive, comparative, and longitudinal information in order to study integration processes among immigrant children in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The target population of the survey in each country encompasses young people with and without an immigrant background at around the age of 14. Because in all countries potential respondents are enrolled in school at this age, the chosen methodology was a school-based sampling approach in which schools with high immigrant proportions were oversampled to ensure inclusion of a sufficient number of youth with an immigrant background. Within the sampled schools, two classes of the grade level encompassing mainly 14-year-old youth were randomly selected, with all the students in the selected classes being part of the final student sample. The first wave respondents in 2010/2011 were followed over two additional waves of data collection in 2011/2012 and 2012/2013. The longitudinal information gathered from the youth is complemented by cross-sectional interviews with their parents and teachers conducted parallel to the first wave of data collection among the students.

Sample sizes and attrition

The research aim was to achieve a sample of at least 4,000 students in each country, of which 1,500 should have an immigrant background. To achieve enough variation on the institutional level, these students had to be located in at least 100 schools, a goal that, as Table 1 shows, was achieved in all countries. In total, 480 schools and 958 school classes participated in the survey, with 836 teachers completing the teacher questionnaire.

Table 1: Number of cases by school, class, and teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EN</th>
<th>GE</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>836</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to having fulfilled the aim of a sufficient number of schools in the sample, the target number of students with and without an immigrant background was also achieved in all countries (Figure 1). The development of the sample over the three waves is illustrated in Figure 1, which shows that over 50% of the initial wave 1 sample is still represented in the survey after 3 years in each country. The comparatively large drop between waves 2 and 3, especially in England and Sweden, occurred because the vast majority of respondents in the first two waves were contacted within the school context, while the third wave was conducted outside the school context (with the exception of the Netherlands, where students were again interviewed in schools whenever possible). The numbers of participating parents are given to the right of the bar graph for each country.

Figure 1: Number of parents and students over the three waves

Challenges and advantages of school-based integration research

Like any other primary data collection project, CILS4EU faced several challenges during survey administration. As is typical of school surveys in general rather than integration research in particular, one major problem was a decreased willingness by schools to participate in the survey because of time constraints and involvement in various other concurrent studies. For CILS4EU, the response rates of the initially sampled schools varied from 77% to a mere 10% depending on survey country. Such high non-response rates at the school level are problematic because they can engender systematic biases if, for example, specific school types or schools with a specific share of children of immigrants are less likely to participate in the survey. Such systematic biases result in the under-representation of specific types of schools or – even more serious – threaten the target case numbers of immigrant children when schools with a high predominance of immigrants are less likely to participate. To overcome these possible biases, CILS4EU followed a school-based sampling approach that is well established in many other large-scale school surveys, including PISA, PIRLS, and TIMSS. In this method, schools are sorted into different explicit strata according to their respective proportion of children with an immigrant background. Within these explicit strata are included implicit stratification criteria like school type or region. Applying these explicit and implicit stratification procedures to all eligible schools results in a specific sampling frame as the basis for school recruitment whereby schools that declined to participate are consecutively replaced by schools of the same type, from the same region, and with a very similar...
immigrant proportion, until a school agrees to participate. This approach decreases possible biases from poor response rates, at least on the explicit and implicit stratification criteria.

Another major challenge relates to concrete data collection by in-school surveys. Because all students within the selected classes are part of the sample without any a priori classification of students according to their immigrant background, the survey instruments must be designed for administration to students with and without an immigrant background. In particular, filters must be implemented that allow students without an immigrant background to skip items referring to immigrant-specific issues while not unduly increasing the complexity of the questionnaire. Following these principles of questionnaire design, extensive pre-tests are necessary to guarantee proper administration of the survey instruments.

As these challenges clearly show, school surveys constitute an ambitious field of research. Yet they offer various advantages that make them a fruitful source of information for both general and integration research. First, despite the difficulties resulting from poor cooperation at the school level, school-based surveys usually provide a good response rate at the individual level, especially if administered during regular school hours. For example, the response rate at the individual level in the first wave of CILS4EU exceeded 80% in all countries. Second, administering a survey within a school context facilitates the collection of objective performance measures such as achievement tests, thereby counterbalancing context-dependent information like grades and teacher evaluations. Such counterbalancing is an important feature in any national survey but all the more crucial in comparative research. In addition, a school survey that covers complete school classes allows collection of valid contextual information, such as the share of classmates and of students with an immigrant background or the share of peers from families with a high or low socioeconomic background. This type of information is seldom available in standard population surveys, and when present, it is gathered only on the basis of subjective statements by respondents.

Most important, surveys within the school context enable assessment of complete classroom networks. That is, using specific socio-metric network measures can capture the complete relationship patterns within one of the most important environments for youth. They can, for instance, measure very different kinds of social ties, such as who is friends with whom, who does homework together, who bullies whom, and who is bullied by whom. These aspects are contextualised as a list of variables on migration patterns from various sites in Turkey and Europe, including initial migration but also return migration and migration in later generations from Europe to Turkey and vice versa. Such contextualisation makes it possible to test hypotheses that extend to three family generations and to compare movers, stayers, returners, and various other mixed groups on migration status.

In general, migrants move because they want to enjoy a better life than their parents and their compatriots in the origin society or to offer one to their children. Yet to date, migration research in Europe has primarily taken a destination country perspective, one that assumes migrants will assimilate over time and adapt across generations to societal norms and practices. The widely used (segmented) assimilation theories, however, are too narrow to explain the complex nature of migrant settlement, especially now that migrants have immediate access to new (social) media, communication technologies, and cheap flights home to their origin societies. In other words, today’s migrants and their descendents can interact regularly with relatives and friends in their countries of origin, both in person and through cheap and pervasive technologies. This access facilitates the exchange of ideas and lifestyles. Given this reality, it is impossible to understand migration processes by studying migrants in isolation in destination countries and ignoring their links to and counterparts in the origin countries. Rather, we must consider the multifaceted migration and incorporation processes of an increasingly global world, and new perspectives must replace nation-state based approaches and ‘methodological nationalism’. These new approaches must also acknowledge, as in recent research, that migrant families organise their family processes and life arrangements not only with reference to the host country but also, sometimes more strongly, with reference to the origin country.

Turkish migration

According to the 2006 distribution of Turkish citizens in Western Europe shown in Table 1, around three million Turkish citizens live in Western European countries, primarily Germany, France, and the Netherlands. The ‘2000 Families’ study traces Turkish migrants and their descendents in all Western European countries. Turkish migration to Europe continues to centre on family reunification and formation.

Studying Turkish migrants is important for three reasons. First, these migrants are widely dispersed across Europe (Table 2). Second, Turkey provokes heated debates about the European enlargement process, prospective migration flows, and European identity. Third, the characteristics of the Turkish community in Europe, such as family-based structures, strong preservation of the native language, and the frequent creation of community organisations, make this migrant group highly relevant for understanding migration processes and integration.

Conclusions to knowledge

The data collected encompasses multiple fields of experience and intergenerational transmission, including marriage, fertility, friendship, intergenerational relationships, education, occupation, economic position, values, religion, and politics. These concepts are contextualised as a list of variables on migration patterns from various sites in Turkey.
**Table 2: Number and percentage of Turkish citizens in European countries in 2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>N Turkish citizens</th>
<th>% of total citizenry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1,738,831</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>425,471</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>364,333</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>113,636</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>52,893</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>73,861</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>54,859</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>63,580</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>39,664</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>15,356</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>14,124</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,961,607</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes dual nationality. Source: Turkish Ministry of Labour and Social Security*

**Research design**

The study’s unique design is origin oriented, multiste, and multigenerational. Data collection occurred in five high-sending regions (Akçaabat, Şarkışla, Kulu, Emirdağ, Acıpayam) spread around Turkey (Figure 3) and included a representative sample of men who migrated or could have migrated as labor migrants to Western Europe between 1960 and 1974. The control group comprises 1,580 migrants (dead or alive) and 412 non-migrant men (dead or alive) who are the progenitors (ancestors) of the almost 2,000 families of the project title.

**Figure 3: Selected regions of origin in Turkey**

**Family tree**

The families produced by the ancestors are traced using three data collection instruments:

- **Family trees.** The family tree (see Figure 4) comprises a complete inventory of all descendants (genealogy), including the ancestor’s children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, with their sex, age or year of birth, ancestor’s migration status, and family member contact details. The family tree questionnaire also collects information on the gender and migration status of the ancestor’s brothers and sisters. This inventory was the basis for sampling the family members for the personal interview. In total, the family tree information covers almost 50,000 family members in four generations.

**Figure 4: Family tree. Dark blue lines represent lineage included in the sample**

**Data collection**

Personal interviews, person-to-person interviews with family members sampled from the family tree included the following: all surviving ancestors, two randomly selected children of the ancestor, and two pairs of grandchildren, following the same lineage across generations (Figure 4).

This design allows for comparison of siblings within and between the middle and third generations. Because the interviewees were dispersed over Europe and Turkey, the majority of personal interviews were completed over the phone, although some were conducted face-to-face during the fieldwork in Turkey. These 5,992 personal interviews, however, are not the only source of information on the more subjectively defined variables, such as religiosity, family values, and political and national identification. Rather, they repeat some of the demographic information collected in the proxy interview (see below).

**Proxy survey.** We interviewed “proxy informants” (someone, or occasionally more than one, who knows the family well, most often a member of the children’s generation) about family members older than 17 years. This proxy survey made a basic inventory of demographic information: the individual migration, marital status, education, occupation (first and most recent), and religion of almost 20,000 family members. Some proxy surveys were completed in the field; others over the phone.

**Research design**

- **Five high-sending regions**
  - The families were sampled in five migration regions across Turkey known a priori to be high sending. Using the Turkish Statistics’ address register to identify 100 primary sampling units, the research team (not the fieldwork agency) systematically drew clustered probability samples with random beginnings that were proportional to the estimated population size of the local community. From the primary sampling point onwards, randomisation was achieved by random walking, starting at the specified address and knocking on every other door until 4 migrant families were identified. The interviewers then sought to locate 1 non-migrant control family. Random walking in any one area stopped when 60 contacts were made or when cooperation was obtained from 8 families.

- **Initial results**
  - **Generations**
    - According to the family tree data, at the time of initial analysis, the 1962 first-generation men were the ancestors of 10,387 children in the second generation, 26,561 grandchildren in the third generation, and 10,038 great-grandchildren in the fourth generation (see Table 3).

**Table 3: Generational frequencies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancestor (first generation)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second generation (children)</td>
<td>10387</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third generation (grandchildren)</td>
<td>6661</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth generation (great grandchildren)</td>
<td>10038</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Migration status**

Obtaining migration histories for all family members older than 17 enabled the development of various migration trajectories. Twenty-four per cent of the ancestors had moved to and stayed in Europe between the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s. 55% had been ‘guest workers’ in Europe but had returned to Turkey, and 21% had stayed in Turkey for the whole period (Table 4). Hence, of all the movers, the overwhelming majority – about 70% - returned, which contests the widespread claim that ‘guest workers’ never go home.

**Table 4: Frequencies of movers, stayers, and returners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migration Status</th>
<th>Ancestors only</th>
<th>Descendants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moved to and stayed in Europe</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return migrant</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>55.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-migrant in Turkey</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1646</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

generational design within families. Migration, built on the proxy interviews, which will be also included will be a demographic database on Turkish European Social Survey, which uses identical questions.

Occupation) and, to some extent, in characteristics that do not already uncovered. Finally, based on our knowledge of and link it to the complex migration histories we have never left Turkey. Fortunately, the unique intergenerational from either migrants who stayed in Europe or those who have left Turkey. Fortunately, the unique intergenerational perspective afforded by our data enables us to assess how return migration influences descendants. More generally, the data allow us to study the intergenerational transmission of resources and values from parents and grandparents and link it to the complex migration histories we have already uncovered. Finally, based on our knowledge of different generations, we can trace historical changes in characteristics that can be assumed not to change over the adult life cycle (e.g., first migration, education, and first occupation) and, to some extent, in characteristics that do change (e.g., attitudes).

Ultimately, the project will provide a unique database for the larger academic community, one that includes detailed personal data that can be linked to other datasets like the European Social Survey, which uses identical questions. Also included will be a comprehensive database on Turkish migration, built on the proxy interviews, which will be of unprecedented size and breadth and will include the generational design within families.

Overall, our origin-oriented and multigenerational research design offers many unique research opportunities for better understanding the impact of migration on the lives of individuals and their children and grandchildren. Even at the data collection stage, this project has led to new insights, and we are confident that our more detailed analyses will enrich empirical and theoretical knowledge considerably.

The team of the 2000 Families study comprises Dr Ayse Guveli (PI), Prof Dr Harry Gancevicius, Prof Dr Lucinda Platt, Prof Dr Bernhard Nauck, Dr Helen Baykara-Kramme, Dr Sebem Eroglu, Sahil Bayrakdar, Kfe Kerem Scozzi, Dr Niels Sjøring.

More information about the LineUp project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=4

Figure 5: Country of residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Residence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe + Turkey</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

The ‘2000 Families’ study focuses on Turks in Europe and their peers in Turkey using an original and innovative research design. Nevertheless, the data collection process does present challenges because migrants are a fluid group, spread over Europe, Turkey, and other countries. Originally, the study design involved in 500 families. However, during the pilot study, it became clear that most guest workers returned to Turkey, making a 500 family design too small. Increasing the number of families to 2,000 boosted the numbers of Turks in Europe in the data set.

Early investigation also revealed an extent of return migration (about 70% of the ancestors) that rendered the initial idea of comparing migrant Turks with those who stayed behind insufficient. Rather, another dimension was needed: those who returned to Turkey. In fact, the preliminary analyses of demographics, socioeconomic characteristics, and attitudes clearly show that those returnees are very distinct from either migrants who stayed in Europe or those who never left Turkey. Fortunately, the unique intergenerational perspective afforded by our data enables us to assess how return migration influences descendants. More generally, the data allow us to study the intergenerational transmission of resources and values from parents and grandparents and link it to the complex migration histories we have already uncovered. Finally, based on our knowledge of different generations, we can trace historical changes in characteristics that can be assumed not to change over the adult life cycle (e.g., first migration, education, and first occupation) and, to some extent, in characteristics that do change (e.g., attitudes).

Ultimately, the project will provide a unique database for the larger academic community, one that includes detailed personal data that can be linked to other datasets like the European Social Survey, which uses identical questions. Also included will be a comprehensive database on Turkish migration, built on the proxy interviews, which will be of unprecedented size and breadth and will include the generational design within families.

Data Collection Efforts of the NODES Team

By the NODES team

Introduction

During recent decades, Nordic countries, like most other nations across the world, have witnessed intensified political debate over immigration-related issues. A frequent central theme of these debates is ethnic residential segregation, whose underlying causes and mechanisms in the context of the Nordic welfare state are a major focus of the NODES research project. In fact, the main aim of this project has been to capture the links between Nordic welfare state policies and trajectories of social and spatial integration.

The research for the NODES project has been conducted through four multidisciplinary subprojects exploring the processes of ethnic residential segregation from different perspectives: those of the individual migrant families and those of the receiving society. The first subproject (SP1) functioned as a background study to contextualise the policy framework and practices, immigration flows, and settlement patterns. Subprojects 2–4, however, have collected a wide range of different primary data exploring the dynamics of immigrants’ housing choices (SP2) and housing strategies (SP3), as well as the motives and rationale behind the migration choices of native households (SP4). These data collection efforts and some examples of the related research outcomes are separately summarised below.

Data collection efforts and example research outcomes

Subproject 2: Exploring housing and neighbourhood careers of immigrants – a quantitative approach

Subproject 2 focused on analysing housing and neighbourhood careers of immigrants in order to gain deeper understanding of the impacts of housing careers on the processes of ethnic residential segregation. For this purpose, register-based data sets were ordered from the statistical authorities of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden that contain longitudinal annual information on individuals from the 1980s or 1990s to 2008. These data sets encompass both native-born and foreign-born residents. Variables in the data measure the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of individuals and households, as well as their housing conditions and contextual – especially neighbourhood – characteristics. The data for each country contain complete populations except for the omission of natives in Denmark and the inclusion only of large samples from the population in Finland.

These data sets were used to identify the extent and processes of immigrants’ spatial integration (neighbourhood careers) and the pace of their entry into homeownership, a variable often used as an indicator of immigrant integration. Differences in socioeconomic and demographic determinants of homeownership between natives and immigrants may indicate either varying preferences or immigrant-specific constraints in the housing market. For example, in their comparative study of the determinants of such entry in the Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Helsinki regions, Kauppinen, Skifter Andersen, and Hedman found that although household income and family formation are universally important determinants, there were also differences between natives and immigrants. These differences mostly suggest that immigrants need more stable employment and higher income for homeownership entry and that they are less responsive to changes in household composition. In particular, a higher proportion of non-Western residents in the neighbourhood tended to be a predictor of lesser entry into homeownership both among natives and immigrants, especially in Stockholm. Immigrants and natives living in social or public rental housing were also less inclined to move to homeownership, especially in Copenhagen and Helsinki. These results, however, although they indicate that economic factors are important determinants of entry into homeownership among immigrants, do not explain everything. For example, future expectations, neighbourhood context, and the size and allocation policies of the social housing sector may also matter.

Subproject 3: Analysing the migration motives of native households – rich survey data

In the research on ethnic segregation, emphasis has traditionally been placed on studying the residential preferences and patterns of ethnic minority groups. However, the preference for living among co-ethnics has also been found to be strong among the native majority population. Moreover, the selective migration patterns of natives – settling away from immigrant-dense areas – have been shown to contribute to the emergence of ethnic residential segregation. In the research on ethnic segregation, emphasis has traditionally been placed on studying the residential preferences and patterns of ethnic minority groups. However, the preference for living among co-ethnics has also been found to be strong among the native majority population.
Subproject 4: Exploring the dynamics of immigrants’ housing ambitions and preferences – a qualitative approach

Whereas subproject 3 explored native residents’ attitudes, mobility, and housing choices, subproject 4 focused on exploring immigrants’ housing ambitions, efforts, and preferences. To enable evaluation of the importance of specific immigrant status for housing possibilities, the sample included immigrants of three different migratory statuses across the Nordic capitals. Because the immigrant populations in the four Nordic capitals (Turks, Somalis, and Poles/Estonians) were selected that are found in all countries studied and could thus provide a broad picture of immigrant housing possibilities across the Nordic capitals. Data were collected through interviews following a common interview guide that enabled comparison between the Nordic regions. All interviewees had a stay of at least five years. In addition, the interviewees differed in reasons for immigration (work, refugee, family), household composition, socioeconomic resources, housing situation in the past, and living in the capital region. The interviewees were located through informal contacts, networks, schools, workplaces, meeting places, and the like, and few were part of the same private networks. As a result, their housing experiences cover a variety of housing conditions and neighbourhoods.

The qualitative interview data was used to identify immigrants’ neighbourhood preferences and gauge the importance of local context and cultural belonging for their perceived housing opportunities. For example, Dhalmaan, Holmqvist, Skogvaag Nielsen, and Seholt, in 56 interviews, examined Somalis of their housing possibilities across the housing markets in the four Nordic capitals: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, and Stockholm. This comparative approach offered a key opportunity to explore the intersection between cultural belonging and local housing opportunities. The interviewees differed in reasons for immigration (work, refugee, family), household composition, socioeconomic resources, housing situation in the past, and living in the capital region. The interviewees were located through informal contacts, networks, schools, workplaces, meeting places, and the like, and few were part of the same private networks. As a result, their housing experiences cover a variety of housing conditions and neighbourhoods.

Primary Data Collection Activities in the MIDI-REDIE Project

Primary data collection related to Estonian return migrants from Finland

Purpose

The micro-level analysis of Estonia to Finland migration in the MIDI-REDIE project uses both register-based data from the Finnish population registers and primary data related to Estonian return migrants collected in Estonia. One major focus of the research is to investigate how Estonian migration as they relate to the economic benefits to the individual of return migration from Finland, measured primarily by wages, occupational mobility, and well-being.

Sample design

A representative random sample of 1,000 working-age (18-64 years old) Estonian return migrants from Finland was drawn from the Estonian Andmeavara register, together with a random (comparative) sample of 1,000 working-age Estonians who have never lived abroad. The contact information for the two groups was obtained with the permission of the Estonian Ministry of the Interior.

Questionnaires

Two separate questionnaires – one for the return migrants and one for the comparison group – were designed so as to gather both quantitative and qualitative information on the research topic. The first draft of the questionnaires, the cover letter, and the reminder letter were written in English and then translated into Estonian. Both questionnaires included items related to background characteristics, labour market status, social transfers, and well-being. The questionnaire targeted at return migrants, however, included additional items related to the time before migration to Finland, time in Finland, and the time after return to Estonia, enabling the analysis of economic outcomes after return to Estonia to include a control for labour market performance in Finland. The questionnaire also contained questions related to the benefits of the stay in Finland for the post-return labour market career in Estonia, as well as the consequences of migration for well-being.

In spring 2013, both random samples were mailed the survey materials: a questionnaire with cover letter and one subsequent reminder letter (included as appendices to this report). On request, some recipients also received a version of the questionnaire that could be filled in electronically. The survey response rate was around 29%, a typical figure for e-mail or Internet surveys in Finland or Estonia. To ensure that the respondents were truly representative of the population (i.e., not selected on any particular characteristic), any selection bias can be corrected by weighting on the basis of primary data collection activities in the MIDI-REDIE project.
represented the Romanian immigrants residing in Italy in 2010 following the momentum created by visa liberalisation. The interviewed populations were randomly selected using central centre sampling and snowball sampling techniques. For the former, the sample was randomly selected from those who requested the interview, with the sample size being particularly sensitive to the sex of the interviewer. Turkish males who had been approached by female interviewers refused to participate in the survey substantially more often (33%) than Turkish men, especially when contacted by a male interviewer (33%). In this regard, several studies have demonstrated that female interviewers are more successful than males in an interview than Turkish men, especially when contacted by a female interviewer (33%).

In Germany, random samples of newly arrived migrants from Poland and Turkey were drawn from the population registers in five large cities. About 280 Polish and Turkish interviewees with an average age of 31 were hired and trained, two thirds of them female. In general, the interviewers were rather successful in motivating migrants to participate in the survey: refusal rates were about 30% for Poles and 28% for Turks. However, the rates were lower for female than for male interviewers. This finding confirms the results of several earlier studies showing that females are more successful interviewers than males. It is noteworthy, however, that this difference is more pronounced for Turks than for Polish targets. A further analysis by sex of targeted interviewees (see Figure 6) indicates that the interviewee’s sex makes a difference not only for female but also for male targets. How satisfied are the implications of such choices for employment and social delivery; and meeting places about which the interviewers had a priori information. The interviews were carried out in the selected regions during the January 2011–March 2011 period.

Questionnaire design

The survey covered the following topics:

- The migration histories and migration plans of Romanian immigrants arriving in Italy in or after May 2004, including previous migratory experiences in Italy, temporary or seasonal working plans, remigration or intentions to repatriate;
- The main push and pull factors of migration, and motives affecting choice of a particular location;
- Demographic characteristics (including age, gender, marital status, number of children, family composition, residency in the host country, area of origin, potential migration of family members);
- Labour market features, including previous and current occupation, employment status, occupational switch from country of origin to the host country, self-assessment of the match between current occupation and education/qualification level, satisfaction with the current occupation, level of earnings, and remittances (e.g., frequency, amount, share of savings or earnings, motive, recipients, means of delivery);
- Social aspects and access to the social security and health system, tax system registration, local elections, and potential effect of the benefits of such services on migration plans; and
- A self-assessment of the migration experience, including potential positive or negative outcomes and social inclusion aspects.

Primary research questions

The primary research questions guiding the survey were as follows: Does the free mobility induce Romanian migrants to choose temporary or permanent migration? What are the implications of such choices for employment and social inclusion in the destination country? How satisfy the migrants with life during migration and how does it affect their decision to stay, return, or move to another country? How satisfied are the implications of such choices for employment and social delivery; and meeting places about which the interviewers had a priori information.

Main survey results

The survey results clearly show that migrant mobility during the free visa era was initially labour supply driven, whereas more recently, what have been the implications of those that have moved migrants from their country of origin. Nevertheless, the results also indicate that almost half of Romanian migrants in Italy have indefinite migration plans. The remainder expressed a preference for permanent migration,

with long-term migration as a second choice and short-term migration as the least popular. As regards remigration or return to Romania, the survey responses reveal that it is migrants living in Rome who are more likely to return to the country of origin or move to another country, while those living in Turin would prefer to remain permanently.

In terms of labour market patterns and regional differences, four-fifths of the migrants were employed, with the highest share of the working full-time found in Rome, followed by Turin and then Milan. Unemployment among Romanian migrants seemed to be the highest in Milan and the lowest in Turin. A significant proportion of migrant women had jobs in the categories ‘Sales and services elementary job’, ‘Personal care and related workers’, and ‘Housekeeping and restaurant workers’, whereas the men were working mostly as ‘Extraction and building trades workers’, ‘Drivers and mobile plant operators’ and ‘Metal, machinery and related trades workers’. A non-negligible share of migrants were working without a fixed contract, which made their employment position more vulnerable and open to exploitation. A comparison between education and occupational skill level shows that highly skilled migrants, especially men, tend to be employed in jobs below their education level.

Finally, contrary to the often expressed belief that giving migrants access to health and social security services encourages them to enter or stay in the country, the survey results suggest that neither receiving social security benefits nor the availability of healthcare access drives migrants’ decision to enter and remain in the destination country. Health coverage, however, appears to have some potential effect on migration plans. That is, the longer migrants plan to stay in the country, the higher the percentage who have access to a general practitioner, doctor and the higher the number whose migration decision is affected by access to such services. Hence, the length of stay in the destination country does seem to matter, an observation that confirms a correlation between duration of stay and the effect on migration plans of access to social security and health services. Nevertheless, based on the findings of our survey, such cases represent less than one-fifth of migrants.

More information about the TEMPO project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=10

Does Gender-matching in Personal Interviews with Migrants Decrease Refusal Rates?

By Claudia Dähli, Anne Grasser, and Diana Schacht

Surveying immigrants is a challenging task because in many countries, sampling frames are non-existent, and even when they are available, they often contain outdated information because migrants tend to be more mobile than the general population. This latter is especially true for recently arrived migrants, who are the focus of the NORFACE funded survey project ‘Socio-Cultural Integration Processes of New Immigrants in Europe’ (SCIP). The primary data collection method of the SCIP project is a personal interview with about 7,000 recent arrivals in Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, and Ireland who were re-interviewed about 18 months later. Although the national research teams faced several challenges – including identifying and finding new migrants and then motivating the targeted individuals to participate in the survey – the data collected have provided valuable information on a very early period of immigrant integration.

To circumvent language problems in the contact stage and during the interviews, the survey instrument was translated into the migrants’ languages, and interviewers had the same ethnic roots as the targeted individuals. Notwithstanding these and similar efforts to increase response rates, contacts ‘on the doorstep’ were not always successful, simply because interviews consume the interviewers’ time but also because the interviewers necessarily enter their private living space. In this respect, several studies have demonstrated that female interviewers are more successful than males because they are more likely to be perceived as friendly and respondents often report being more wary of ‘doorstepping’ male strangers.

Hence, a ‘matching’ of interviewers and potential interviewees by sex may be effective in decreasing refusal rates. This technique may be especially important in surveys among migrants from cultures that restrict contact between unrelated males and female interviewers. In this latter case, targeted persons may be particularly hesitant to participate in the survey if they are contacted by an interviewer from the opposite sex. Such ‘gender-matching’, however, may raise additional strategic challenges. For example, in the Netherlands, the social research institute that conducted the SCIP survey was able to employ gender-matching for Turkish and Moroccan respondents. In Germany, however, limited interviewer availability made such matching impossible. The German data, therefore, can provide valuable insights on whether or not refusal rates are lower when targeted individuals are contacted by same-sex interviewers and whether Turks and Poles differ in this regard. These questions are not only interesting for practical reasons but also from a sociological viewpoint.

Figure 6: Share of refusals by interviewer sex for Polish versus Turkish males and females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female Interviewer</th>
<th>Male Interviewer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Can male interviewers approach targeted Turkish females?

In Germany, random samples of newly arrived migrants from Poland and Turkey were drawn from the population registers in five large cities. About 280 Polish and Turkish interviewees with an average age of 31 were hired and trained, two thirds of them female. In general, the interviewers were rather successful in motivating migrants to participate in the survey: refusal rates were about 30% for Poles and 28% for Turks. However, the rates were lower for female than for male interviewers. This finding confirms the results of several earlier studies showing that females are more successful interviewers than males. It is noteworthy, however, that this difference is more pronounced for Turks than for Polish targets. A further analysis by sex of targeted interviewees (see Figure 6) indicates that the interviewee’s sex makes a difference not only for female but also for male targets.
more reluctant to participate in another interview than Turkish men. Again, the results differ for Polish respondents: Polish men refused to participate in a wave 2 interview more often than Polish females (about 25% versus 15%, respectively), but for both sexes, this share was unrelated to the sex of the interviewer.

Is using a female-only interview team the best way to reduce non-response for male and female targets?

Overall, the SCIP data indicate that Turkish females are less likely than Turkish males to participate in an interview and be re-interviewed later. These data therefore imply that having female interviewers approach female targets might accomplish the important task of reducing refusals by female Turkish targets. Moreover, even though refusal was less common for Turkish males, even for this group, it may be advisable to send female interviewers given that the increase in response rates realisable using female interviewers is similarly high for both sexes. For Polish women, on the other hand, it may not make a difference whether they are approached by a male or a female interviewer, but for Polish men it does matter: they are more likely to participate in the survey when contacted by a female interviewer. In general, even though these findings need to be confirmed by other studies, the SCIP data strongly suggest that in immigrant surveys, a female-only team of interviewers is an even better strategy for reducing non-response than that of gender matching interviewers and target interviewees.

More information about the SCIP project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=8

Experiences with a Simultaneous Matched Sample Methodology

By Miranda Poeze and Ernestina Dancy

In the new global economy, as factors related to origin and destination country contexts – for example, strict migration regimes and migrants’ working and living conditions – present challenges to family migration as a unit, family life has increasingly come to be enacted across nation-state borders. As a result, parents cannot and do not always want to migrate with their children. Yet transnational family networks is studied. One way that the researchers conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the children of these migrant parents and the children’s caregivers in Ghana. This report describes some of the advantages of such long-term in-depth research in two locations and the simultaneity it captures.

Long-term in-depth research by two researchers in two countries

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork simultaneously helped counter some of the practical limitations faced by a single researcher in a multisited research design moving between different countries with limited time spent in each location. The SMS methodology, in contrast, allows researchers to continuously search for new matched samples of family networks. Nevertheless, it proved difficult to gain consent from all network members because the topic was sensitive and intimate. For the same reason, maintaining the already selected matched samples was also challenging. Having a long-term contact with the same researcher over time, however, did allow respondents to develop trust in the research and encouraged their continued participation in such a long-standing effort. This technique therefore helped reduce respondent attrition. In addition, having a researcher in each of the two locations eased the inclusion of new respondents, as researchers did not have to move between countries to establish new contacts.

Given the sensitive and intimate nature of the topic, establishing trustworthy relationships was imperative for the study. Because it took several visits for respondents to open up, the initial meetings focused on the transnational family’s background and general functioning and only after repeated visits did the conversation turn to tensions and frustrations. Again, had the research been conducted by one researcher moving between two countries, establishing this level of trust with multiple families and with different family members in two countries would have been more problematic.

Tracing the invisible

One of the main advantages of an SMS methodology manifests as researchers share and discuss field notes intensively through e-mail and exchange field visits. This access to long-term in-depth data on each side helps them identify important dynamics in transnational relationships that may not be visible to only one researcher at one site. In fact, the inconsistencies between the accounts of respondents in the two different countries proved to be one of the most important sources of data. For example, arranging for stable caregiving for a child in Ghana entails not only communication between migrant parent and child or migrant parent and the child’s caregiver (as emphasised in the transnational family literature) but also a high degree of non-communication and selective communication between migrants and those who stay in the country of origin. That is, important events and situations that could potentially lead to distrust in the transnational relationship between migrant parents and caregivers – such as child misbehaviour, caregiver’s financial difficulties, or migrant parent’s worries over the lack of child care – were often not communicated. Hence, migrant parents and caregivers attempted to maintain care relationships by not communicating the stress experienced on either side of the transnational family network. Identifying what was not being communicated

Conclusions

An SMS methodology facilitates the study of a transnational phenomenon by combining depth and breadth within one research design. Such teamwork helps overcome several practical and analytical limitations faced by a single researcher conducting either multisited research or in-depth research on one side of the transnational family network. Practically, the approach was particularly useful for recruiting matched samples; analytically, it made visible the way family life is shaped and conducted in a transnational context from the perspectives of different family members in their respective locations. Admittedly, the method does raise important ethical considerations: at times researchers may come to know information that other members of the transnational family do not know. Hence, in the interests of the privacy that respondents are promised, researchers must be extremely careful not to divulge any information purposely withheld from their family members by those on the other side.

By Rojan Ezzati, Jennifer Wu, and Cathrine Eide

All researchers involved in collecting data through surveys have faced the question of how to get individuals to participate in the research. Rojan Ezzati and Jennifer Wu examine one particular recruitment methodology, respondent-driven sampling (RDS), by contrasting its results in two similarly sized studies within the project ‘Theorizing the Evolution of Migration Systems’ (THEMIS).

The aim of THEMIS is to study the circumstances under which initial patterns of migration to a certain destination do or do not develop into migration systems. Methodologically, THEMIS has involved both qualitative and quantitative data collection in four countries of settlement (Norway, Portugal, the Netherlands, and the UK) and three countries of origin (Ukraine, Brazil, and Morocco).

**Figure 7: Recruitment rates for each case**

**Recruitment Method**

**Respondent-Driven Sampling as a Recruitment Method**

**Challenges with RDS among Brazilian and Ukrainian migrants residing in Oslo**

The two migrant populations were similar in size and gender composition: there were approximately 800 registered Brazilian-born and 600 Ukrainian-born immigrants living in Oslo at the time of data collection (Population Statistics 2012). Both groups were therefore relatively small, although not insignificant, in the Norwegian context. The target for the project was to perform 200 interviews, meaning a quarter of the Brazilian and a third of the Ukrainian population.

When RDS was initiated among Brazilians, it was originally expected to take six to eight weeks to reach the target sample size. The researchers began by selecting three members of the target population as ‘seeds’ who received a universal gift voucher worth 150 Norwegian kroner (about 19 euros) as a ‘primary incentive’ for the interview. The seeds were then provided with an information flyer and two recruitment coupons, and were promised another gift voucher (‘secondary incentive’ worth 100 NOK (about 13 euros)) for each person successfully recruited. The recruitment chain initiated by each seed was expected to grow as each interviewee recruited additional peers. Recruitment, however, turned out to be exceptionally slow, so as the weeks passed, a number of methodological changes were introduced in an effort to improve the pace. Yet despite such changes as introducing additional seeds and providing more recruitment coupons, recruitment remained too slow until ultimately, in May 2012, RDS among the Brazilians was stopped. Instead, the pace of recruitment was speeded up by using the networks of the Brazilian research assistants, by attending and hosting Brazilian events, and by advertising the project online. With this additional outreach, the researchers conducted an additional 156 interviews.

For the Ukrainian sample, lessons learnt from the Brazilian case were incorporated during RDS implementation. The seeds were provided with three recruitment coupons that could be passed along to peers by email or SMS, and were simply eager to share their stories. A few also had tough different languages), an interview for the Ukrainian study took on average 45 minutes, while the interviews with Brazilians averaged 72 minutes, primarily because some respondents were simply eager to share their stories. A few also had tough stories to tell, which made it difficult for the interviewers to interrupt. These respondents, while they may have felt it natural to provide such background during the interview, may in retrospect have felt it not worthwhile once they realised how long the interview had taken. If they then explained such time investment to potential recruits, it may have made recruitment difficult.

The third explanation, the social pressure aspect of RDS recruitment, tends to be supported by the sensitivities identified with regard to the respondent/potential recruit relationship. In one particular case, for example, a Brazilian respondent explained that she felt pressured into participating in the research by what she referred to as a ‘desperate’ colleague who needed the money. She did not, however, want to pass the same burden on to others, especially since she herself ‘did not need the money’. It would therefore seem that the combination of monetary incentive and peer pressure can produce both positive (in the Ukrainian case) and negative (in the Brazilian case) results.

**Key findings**

There are several possible explanations for why RDS succeeded in one case but not the other: (i) the monetary incentives were insufficient, (ii) the respondents did not have a good interview experience, and/or (iii) the peer pressure inherent in RDS negatively affected recruitment.

The first, monetary incentives, is a common method for inducing a potential respondent’s willingness to participate in research, but determining the right level of incentives can be complicated by the diversity of the population under study. For example, recently arrived migrants may find a smaller incentive acceptable, while migrants more integrated into the formal labour market may require higher participation incentives. The successful recruitment of Ukrainians in Oslo lends support to this conjecture: 60% of the Ukrainians surveyed had arrived in Norway within the past five years, and 60% had temporary permits or no permit at all, indicative of groups that might be more in need of the monetary incentive offered by the study.

Among the Brazilians recruited through RDS, a significant number had also arrived within the past five years (40%); however, the majority (57%) had a Norwegian residence permit based on family reunification. That is, they satisfied the permit requirement that the migrant have a family member in Norway who can show sufficient income and housing to act as a sponsor. This legal status and economic situation, therefore, may have made the monetary incentive less attractive than to the majority of respondents in the Ukrainian study.

A second possible explanation could be the respondent’s experience of research participation. Although both groups were interviewed using the exact same questionnaire (albeit in different languages), an interview for the Ukrainian study took on average 45 minutes, while the interviews with Brazilians averaged 72 minutes, primarily because some respondents were simply eager to share their stories. A few also had tough stories to tell, which made it difficult for the interviewers to interrupt. These respondents, while they may have felt it natural to provide such background during the interview, may in retrospect have felt it not worthwhile once they realised how long the interview had taken. If they then explained such time investment to potential recruits, it may have made recruitment difficult.

The third explanation, the social pressure aspect of RDS recruitment, tends to be supported by the sensitivities identified with regard to the respondent/potential recruit relationship. In one particular case, for example, a Brazilian respondent explained that she felt pressured into participating in the research by what she referred to as a ‘desperate’ colleague who needed the money. She did not, however, want to pass the same burden on to others, especially since she herself ‘did not need the money’. It would therefore seem that the combination of monetary incentive and peer pressure can produce both positive (in the Ukrainian case) and negative (in the Brazilian case) results.
PART 2: A Selection of On-going Research Projects

From Bridgeheads to Gateclosers: How Migrant Networks Contribute to Declining Migration from Morocco to the Netherlands
By Erik Smal, Marjke Faber, and Goedfried Engbersen

The role of social networks and pioneers in migration
A key finding of contemporary migration research relates to the crucial role of social networks and informal support within migrant networks in the initiation and particularly the continuation of migration, as well as the sending and receiving countries. Whereas pioneers must find their own way to and in the destination country, by easing the way for their successors – for example, providing information about the destination country and how to get there; providing cheap housing and employment for newcomers – they can make migration cheaper and therefore more attractive for potential new migrants. The result is then a continuous ‘chain migration’ or a self-perpetuating ‘migration system’ between sending and receiving countries. The underlying assumption of this line of reasoning, however, is that migration flows, once they start and reach a certain level, have an inherent tendency to increase ad infinitum. Contemporary migration research offers few insights into how and why migration may also decline. To help fill this gap, our research examines a specific example of declining migration – that from Morocco to the Netherlands – as part of exploring the role of social networks in such processes.

The evolution of migration from Morocco to Netherlands
Migration from Morocco to the Netherlands has a long history beginning with the recruitment of ‘guest workers’ in the 1960s and early 1970s. This formal recruitment stopped in the mid-1970s, migration from Morocco to the Netherlands continued and even increased, partly in the form of informal migration and, to a larger extent, partly as family-related migration (‘family reunion’). This latter trend continued in the 1990s because many children of guest worker families found their spouses in their country of origin (‘family formation’). However, since the late 1980s migration from Morocco to the Netherlands has decreased steadily from about 5,000 Moroccan-born per annum in the late 1980s to less than half this numbers in recent years (2009-2011).

The reasons for this declining migration are partly to be found in the change in various macro-level determinants of migration: limited labour market chances for often low-skilled Moroccan labour migrants (due partly to the current economic crisis but also to the large inflow of labour migrants from Central and Eastern European countries), stricter Dutch migration policies (particularly those related to family migration), and finally, the rather hostile reaction to immigrants, particularly those from Muslim countries, in Dutch public opinion and political debate. These changes in macro factors may affect immigration both directly and indirectly. One direct and intended effect of restrictive migration policies is that fewer migrants can satisfy the enhanced migration requirements, so fewer arrive. These changes may indirectly affect migration in that fewer potential migrants in Morocco aspire to go to the Netherlands, choosing other destination countries instead. Our research, however, focuses on an indirect consequence of the changed macro-level factors: the reduced willingness of settled Dutch-Moroccan migrants to support newcomers.

THEMIS research into the support provided to and by Moroccan migrants settled in the Netherlands
As part of the THEMIS project, we interviewed 420 Dutch-Moroccan migrants in the city of Rotterdam about all facets of migration: not only about their own experiences on coming to the Netherlands and the support they received but also their willingness to support potential newcomers from Morocco to the Netherlands. The older generations of guest workers and their spouses were well represented in our survey; over half our respondents were between 41 and 60 years old, with 60% having lived in the Netherlands for 20 years or longer with a mean stay of no less than 23 years. When asked about their own migration experiences, almost all respondents had received at least some kind of informal support from family or friends in obtaining visa/documents (81%), paying travel expenses (79%), finding employment (56%), or finding housing (19%). Almost half (40%) had received assistance in two or more of these domains. These figures on assistance received contrast sharply with our respondents’ willingness to support potential newcomers from Morocco. Only 8% reported a willingness to help with travel expenses, 11% with visa, 23% with finding employment, and 21% with finding housing. Hence, despite the support they had received during their own migration, the majority of respondents (89%) were unwilling to support potential newcomers in any of these domains. Even more respondents (79%) said they would not advise potential newcomers to come to the Netherlands. We therefore also explored possible reasons for this unwillingness to support newcomers and who is less willing to support. Our survey results suggest that men show less willingness to support newcomers than women, respondents with a longer duration of stay in the Netherlands show less than more recent immigrants and respondents with little or no contact with people ‘back home’ show less than those with more contact. We also asked respondents about their perceptions of the migration policies and, if amended earlier. We found less willingness to support newcomers from respondents who think that the Netherlands has strict migration policies or that Dutch public opinion is hostile towards Moroccans. These respondents were less willing to support newcomers than respondents who think more positively about the Netherlands. Remarkably, respondents’ perceptions of the economic chances for migrants do not seem to affect their willingness to support newcomers.

Conclusions
Although macro-level factors may have undoubtedly had a negative influence on migration from Morocco to the Netherlands, social networks still matter for migration. Nevertheless, as migration theory generally stresses the positive effects of social networks on the rise and continuation of migration flows, we found that social networks can also have negative effects. In fact, the refusal of settled migrants to support newcomers amplifies the direct negative effects of the macro-developments in the three contexts of ‘reception’ on migration.

Out-migration, Wealth, Migration, and the Quality of Local Amenities
By Christian Dustmann and Anna Okatenko

The link between individual income and migration propensity is by no means clear cut. Nevertheless, evidence at the country level suggests that the relation between country wealth and emigration is inversely U-shaped: the emigration rate from poor countries is lower than those from countries with middle incomes, and emigration tends to first increase and then decrease with the level of economic prosperity. A similar pattern is identified in studies of internal migration that examine aggregate population flows between regions within countries. Studies using individual-level data, however, are less unanimous: whereas some provide evidence that the rich are most likely to migrate, others identify the poor as those with the largest migration propensities, while yet others show that those with middle incomes are the most mobile.

The role of budget constraints
Christian Dustmann and Anna Okatenko from the M3 team have developed a simple theoretical model of migration decisions to illustrate that the relation between individual wealth and migration decision can take any form: monotonically decreasing, increasing, or inverse U-shaped – depending on the level of migration costs relative to wealth. If migration costs are low, the poor are more likely to migrate. If migration costs are high, rich people are more likely to move. If costs are at some medium level, the relation between wealth and migration is an inverse U-shape, with the majority of moves happening in the middle of the wealth distribution. These results stem from the dual role of wealth in the decision to migrate: on the one hand, it alleviates budget constraints; on the other, the richer the individual, the fewer the gains received from migration.

Accounting for local amenities
Dustmann and Okatenko also account for non-economic factors that influence migration decisions, such as individuals’ contentment with local amenities like public services, security, or governance. Specifically, they note that those from Marjin are not accounting for such measures might bias the estimated relation between wealth and migrations.

Cross-national data on migration intentions
To investigate the relation between migration and income, the researchers use rare individual-level data from the first wave of the Gallup World Poll 2005-2006, which covers a large number of countries. Aggregating these nations into three geographic regions—sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and Latin America—they show that migration intentions do indeed respond to individual wealth but that the nature of that relationship depends on the economic prosperity of the region in a manner compatible with their model’s predictions. More specifically, migration propensity increases steeply with wealth in sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest region, increases more gradually in Asia, and decreases with individual wealth in Latin America, the richest of the three regions.

In particular, their empirical analysis focuses on a variable that measures migration movements both across and within national borders, originating from the following question: “in the next 12 months, are you likely or unlikely to move away from the city or area where you live?” Compared to official migration statistics, which usually undercount short-distance and temporary migrations, this measure captures any migration, be it internal, international, or short term. Given that internal flows are much larger than international ones, the majority of migration plans reported to Gallup should refer to internal moves. The Gallup World Poll also provides a wealth of information about individuals’ assessments of different aspects of their current situation, together with data on household possessions and assets. This information enables the researchers to construct an index of individual wealth and socioeconomic status, as well as measures of contentment with various local amenities.

Budget constraints: impediment to migration in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia but not Latin America

On average, one in four individuals intends to move away from the current area of residence within the next 12 months in Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, and one in five in Latin America. Cross-country differences are considerable, ranging from 9.73% intending to migrate in Madagascar to 39.5% in Togo. These figures are high compared to existing statistics on actual migration, which are usually inferred from census data. Two factors explain this difference: (i) census statistics do not capture all population movements and (ii) the Gallup World Poll estimates the number of migrants because not all respondents intending to migrate will actually move.

More information about the THEMIS project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=11
local amenities as shapers of migration decisions

Various measures of contentment with local amenities – specifically, satisfaction with personal standard of living, local public services, and security – have a strong and significant association with migration intentions in all three regions. Overall, the magnitude of the impact of a one standard deviation increase in each of these measures is nearly as large as (and sometimes even larger than) the magnitude of the impact of a one standard deviation increase in wealth for Asia and sub-Saharan Africa and far larger for Latin America, where the wealth constraint seems not to be binding. The most striking case is sub-Saharan Africa, where individuals located at the extreme edge of the contentment with local public services distribution show a 40 percentage point difference in their likelihood to move within the next 12 months. In the Asian and Latin American samples, this difference, although smaller, is still substantial at 11 and 17 percentage points, respectively.

Dustmann and Okatenko assess the relative importance of wealth and contentment with local amenities in migration decisions by decomposing their contribution to the overall explained variation of the estimated regression models. They find that wealth makes a sizeable contribution to the explained variance in migration intention only for a Latin American sample (27% of the total gain). In Latin America and in sub-Saharan Africa especially, respondents’ satisfaction with their current area of residence is the most important determinant in explaining variation in the desire to move, accounting for 56% and 71%, respectively, of the total explained variance in migration intention. In Asia, contentment with the area of residence has about the same weight in the migration decision as household wealth-related factors.

Improving local amenities as a policy instrument

Taken together, the research results indicate that relaxing wealth constraints through economic development in the poorest countries, such as many nations in sub-Saharan Africa, would have more individually to lower migration costs, which might lead to more migration. On the other hand, improving local amenities, such as local infrastructure, public services, and safety conditions, could be a powerful tool to prevent people from moving away from their local area. Thus, to relieve migration pressure on developed nations, developing countries’ policies should not only target the poorest but also at providing local infrastructures, public services, and security.

References


Cross-border Labour Flows from Estonia to Neighbouring Countries

By Tiit Paas

Motivation to study cross-border labour mobility in Estonia

With the 2004 enlargement of the EU and the gradual opening of labour markets to foreign workers, types of labour movement other than permanent migration have received increasing attention. Not only have these events made cross-border labour mobility increasingly common, but non-permanent, temporary, repeated, circular, and contract migration, as well as long-distance commuting. Yet research on such mobility, including commuting, at the EU level level of analysis, is scarce, with previous studies focusing mainly on intraregional (e.g., rural-urban commuting) movements and/or labour mobility between countries within the EU. In fact, over the last decade, geographical labour mobility, especially labour outflows, has been a ‘hot topic’ for Estonia, a small EU Member State with a population of around 1.3 million. Since Estonia joined the EU, its opening of labour markets to foreign workers, types of labour movement other than permanent migration have increased significantly in all age groups with the exception of those aged 60 and over, meaning that the country is losing (at least temporarily) individuals of prime working age.

Besides these increasing migration numbers, Estonia also has a higher propensity to migrate in wealth for Asia and sub-Saharan Africa and far larger for Latin America, where the wealth constraint seems not to be binding. The most striking case is sub-Saharan Africa, where individuals located at the extreme edge of the contentment with local public services distribution show a 40 percentage point difference in their likelihood to move within the next 12 months. In the Asian and Latin American samples, this difference, although smaller, is still substantial at 11 and 17 percentage points, respectively.

However, once job categories are controlled for, East-East and East-West flows were more evenly distributed by significantly shorter job duration: more than 60% of the highly educated migrant workers in Sweden and Finland after Estonia joined the EU. At the same time, the share of highly educated migrant workers in Sweden increased somewhat (although it decreased slightly in Finland), which generates some concern about a possible brain drain. Labour flows to wealthier neighbouring countries (Finland and Sweden) are, however, characterised by significantly shorter job duration; more than 60% of the migrant workers observed worked in these countries for less than a year. East-East flows were more evenly distributed between professions generally characterised as higher skilled occupations. Moreover, the duration of jobs in the Eastern neighbour countries were longer compared to that in Finland and Sweden. The study results also indicate that younger people have been more mobile in both the East-East and East-West flows, but that there are no statistically significant differences in the distribution across age groups between the two groups of neighbouring countries. The results further show that, once job categories are controlled for, East-East and East-West flows do not differ on the basis of gender.
Conclusions and policy implications

The study focused on outlining differences in the socio-demographic and employment characteristics of Estonians who have worked in the neighbouring country of Finland, Sweden, Latvia, or Russia. The empirical analysis relied on data from the CV Centre (CV Keskus), an online employment portal that unites jobseekers with vacant posts. The study results clearly demonstrate that different destination regions – the wealthier countries of Finland and Sweden (East-West flow) and the economically weaker post-Soviet nations of Latvia and Russia (East-East flow) – attract workers with different personal and job-related characteristics.

Two important determinants in explaining the differences between East-West and East-East labour flows are ethnicity and higher education. Ethnic minorities and individuals with a higher education are less likely to move to Finland or Sweden because even the well-educated are having to take lower skilled jobs in these countries. This possible waste of brain power is raising concern in the host countries. All these issues deserve attention by policy-makers, particularly the case of short-term labour flows unaccompanied by any change in primary residence. The policy aim should be to reduce possible skill mismatches in the host country labour market, especially in the case of those with higher education. Doing so would have the additional benefit that returning migrants could use the skills and experience acquired abroad once they continue their careers in Estonia.

References


Diversity in Polish Migration in Europe

By Lucinda Platt

Recent research by Renee Luthra, Lucinda Platt, and Justyna Salansomska explores the characteristics of Polish migrants to four European countries. As part of the SCIP project on the ‘SocioCultural Integration of New Immigrants’ their research investigates the experience profile of recent Polish immigrants – those who had migrated no more than 18 months prior to the date of interview to Germany, the Netherlands, Dublin, or London. SCIP collected information not only on these migrants’ circumstances in the four destination countries but also on their pre-migration characteristics, connections with the destination country, and reasons for migration.

Immigrants arrive in a new country with particular resources and preferences, face group- and country-specific opportunities and constraints, and achieve differentiated levels of sociocultural and structural integration which interact with each other. This research sets out to ascertain how types of Polish immigration flows were ‘selected’ in different ways; that is, what were the distinctive types of migrant? To where did they go, and how did settlement in particular destination countries shape their post-migration experiences? Specifically, it explored the following issues:

• the different characteristics of a particularly fluid ‘new’ migration flow to Western Europe (that of Poles since enlargement);
• the way that migration varies by country context;
• the features of the different migrant ‘types’; and, given differential country selection,
• the way those types are associated with three specific structural and ‘softer’ outcomes.

The research thereby aimed to contribute to discussions of migrant ‘selectivity’ and develop empirically derived theoretical understanding that takes into account such new migration forms.

Background

The causes of migration and selectivity of migrants are well-theorised – and empirically demonstrated – for traditional South-North migration flows. These theories and supporting evidence stress the role of economic incentives and chain migration, and the influence of push factors deriving from pressures in the sending country and pull factors relating to factors attracting migrants in the receiving country.

With the expansion of East-West migration within Europe, there has been a corresponding expansion of interest in how to describe and theorise these relatively new, and substantial, flows, given that they do not necessarily have the same structure as ‘traditional’ migration patterns from South to North. Specifically, even though the financial incentives in terms of wage gains remain substantial, the costs of migration are much lower from the A8 countries to Western Europe, facilitating more frequent return or circular or ‘experimental’ migration.

As a result, new migration typologies have been developed together along with fresh theorisation of non-economic motivations relating to A8 migration to Western Europe. Nevertheless, much of this literature has been qualitative rather than quantitative and, even when quantitative, has focused on migrant stocks in the country of destination (i.e., those who have settled there) rather than flows to the country of destination. Moreover, much of the literature focuses on only one country of destination, a narrowingness that tends to emphasise the features of migrants in that particular country without being able to identify the extent to which these patterns are specific or more general across Western European countries.

From the existing literature, it is clear that particular country contexts are likely to be more or less attractive to different sorts of migrants, depending on their migration motivations, including non-economic motivations (e.g., whether they are joining family, wanting to improve their foreign language skills, investigating the possibilities for temporary seasonal work, seeking to settle in a new country, or just seeing the world). Nevertheless, we expect a range of different motivations in each of the four country contexts considered in this study. In fact, our research design, by bringing together information on Polish migrants moving to all four countries, enhances the possibility of establishing different ‘types’ of Polish migrants while still recognising that certain types will be more common in certain countries. The first contribution of the research, therefore, is that it covers four distinctive migration contexts in relation to one sending country and captures these migrants only a short time after their migration.

The second contribution is the empirical description of the types themselves, which, using a latent class analysis clustering technique, exploits a large sample of around 3,500 migrant Poles to investigate how a range of characteristics tend to combine. In addition to enabling an empirically well-founded description of key types of migrant, this technique also pinpoints which types are more strongly associated with which countries and which types are associated more or less strongly with particular integration outcomes. These latter include both ‘hard’ outcomes like unemployment and ‘softer’ outcomes like life satisfaction.

Figure 9: Patterns of migration motivation among Poles migrating to Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, and Ireland

Results

On average, in our sample, the flows of migrants to each of the four countries were distinctive along particular dimensions. For example, those migrating to Ireland tended to be more highly educated, those migrating to Germany had strong pre-migration connections, those migrating to the Netherlands were more likely to be married and have families, and those migrating to the UK were typically younger and male and more likely to have been unemployed prior to migration. Figure 9 illustrates the variation in reasons for migration across the countries.

This analysis brought together the following valuable information on the Polish migrants: sex; family status (single/ married and/or children); whether they migrated from a city, town or village; pre-migration connections with the country; pre-migration employment status; and reasons for migration. Clustering divided these characteristics into three broad migrant types with the following distributions across the data:

1 (25%): Older, male, work oriented, more traditional, work seekers;
2 (46%): Young, educated, looking for experience of life; and
3 (29%): Family oriented, rural well-connected, mid-life.

Source: SCIP data
Conclusions
Previous discussions of migration to Europe have tended to focus on economic motivations or family motivations, with less focus on other reasons for migration. Given the major changes in movement across Europe following the accession of the A8 countries to the EU, there has been increasing interest in understanding in more detail the different configurations of migration and their implications.

By using a large scale study covering four countries and identifying migration types very soon after migration from Poland, this research has not only shed light on how and why people move but has provided valuable insights into certain countervailing trends, such as migration during periods of high unemployment in the destination country. It has also increased understanding of how migrants themselves experience their migration and evaluate their migration experience.

These findings are equally important for both sending and destination countries. On the one hand, they assist the former in ascertaining whether they should be concerned about movements out of the country and identifying who is leaving and why. On the other hand, they help the latter better identify the starting point of migration careers, evaluate how these vary, and assess what the likely consequences will be. These insights will also soon be complemented by follow-up data from re-interviews with the same participants, which will help to shed further light on which of these types is most likely to settle for longer in destination countries and how their own evaluations of their migration experiences develop over time.

References

Table 5: Migrant types and association with country of destination and outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Traditional, male</th>
<th>Young, educated</th>
<th>Family, mid-life</th>
<th>Full sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction</td>
<td>Unsatisfied or neither satisfied nor unsatisfied</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree people can get on if work hard</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Migrant types and association with country of destination and outcomes

Note: This figure is based on independent sample t-tests (means displayed); significant results are presented as solid-filled bars.

Figure 10: Differences in subjective well-being of transnational and non-transnational Angolan and Nigerian migrant parents

The importance of legal and socioeconomic status
When controlling for the individual characteristics of migrant parents, the primary factors explaining the differences between transnational and non-transnational parents are their legal status, socioeconomic status, and the quality of the parent-child relationship. Once the parents’ individual characteristics are controlled for, however, some differences emerge between the migrant groups and the measures used. Figure 11 shows which differences remain in transnational versus non-transnational parents’ well-being once controls are in place. For Angolans, the differences in physical health, mental health, and happiness remain, but the differences in life satisfaction disappear when the quality of the parent-child relationship is controlled for. This change suggests that Angolan transnational parents are less satisfied with life because their relationship with their children is poorer than that of non-transnational parents.

Transnational Child Raising Arrangements: Subjective Well-being of Angolan and Nigerian Migrant Parents in the Netherlands
By Karlijn Haagsman
Transnational families, those in which nuclear family members are located in various countries, are a common feature of contemporary migration. However, although the migration of family members can have several benefits for the family (e.g., financial returns, access to education), several studies point to the emotional costs that come with family separation. In particular, this research has indicated that migrant parents separated from their children feel guilty for leaving their children behind, are lonely, and long to be with their children, which can lead to depression.

Nevertheless, little is known about the exact psychological and physical impact of family separation on migrant parents, especially as previous analyses fail to include comparison groups, which makes it difficult to determine whether the poor well-being ascribed to separation is indeed related to transnational family life or to other factors. The ‘Transnational Child Raising Arrangements between Africa and Europe’ (TCRAf-Eu) project aims to fill this gap by comparing the subjective well-being of migrant parents whose children live in the country of origin (transnational parents) with that of migrant parents whose children live in the destination country (non-transnational parents). Karlijn Haagsman from the TCRAf-Eu team compares these two groups in two migrant populations: Angolans and Nigerians in the Netherlands.

Specifically, it explores whether the relation between transnational parent-child separation and parental well-being is similar across both groups or whether contexts of sending or receiving country matter.

Figure 11 shows which differences remain in transnational versus non-transnational parents’ well-being once controls are in place. For Angolans, the differences in physical health, mental health, and happiness remain, but the differences in life satisfaction disappear when the quality of the parent-child relationship is controlled for. This change suggests that Angolan transnational parents are less satisfied with life because their relationship with their children is poorer than that of non-transnational parents.

Lower levels of subjective well-being in transnational parents
The subjective well-being of transnational parents is assessed using four distinct measures: self-assessed health, happiness, life satisfaction, and mental health. The first three measures are each rated on a 5-point scale, while mental health is measured using the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), which consists of 12 questions on anxiety and psychological distress. Figure 10 graphs the differences in subjective well-being for transnational versus non-transnational migrant parents.

Here, higher scores indicate lower mental health as measured by the GHQ but higher well-being for the other measures. These descriptive results indicate that transnational parents report significantly lower mental health, happiness, and life satisfaction than non-transnational parents. Angolan transnational parents also report lower physical health. Although these observations seem to confirm former studies on the emotional well-being of transnational parents, without any controls for individual characteristics such as socioeconomic status or legal status, it remains unclear whether the differences can be attributed to the separation or to other factors.
The relation between socioeconomic status and happiness is also stronger for transnational parents. For Nigerians, in contrast, the differences in mental health disappear once socioeconomic and legal status are taken into account. These results indicate that separation itself is not associated with distress; rather, it is the fact that these parents are often undocumented and of low socioeconomic status that makes them more prone to poor mental health. For Nigerians, the relation between a poor parent-child relationship and low physical health is also stronger for transnational parents.  

Figure 1: Differences in subjective well-being once individual characteristics are controlled for

Source: TCRAf-Eu Angolan and Nigerian Parent Survey, the Netherlands 2010-11

Measuring the Effects of Housing and Urban Policies on Ethnic Spatial Segregation in Four Countries

By the NODES team

Purpose of the study

The literature on segregation and housing market positions of ethnic minorities in Western European countries suggests that such housing markets are unevenly distributed among ethnic minority groups: Angolans most probably display lower levels of happiness and life satisfaction. These results indicate that separation itself is not associated with distress among migrant parents. Likewise, if a parent-child relationship cannot be well maintained, however, it is typically the case that higher spatial segregation of housing tenures will lead to higher ethnic segregation. Thus, if immigrants are concentrated in a certain housing tenure form (e.g., social/public housing) and with this tenure form is located on large isolated housing estates, we expect more pronounced ethnic residential segregation. The study was carried out in two parts. The first made a comparative analysis of housing policies in the four Nordic countries and examined the effects of these policies on the ethnic segmentation of housing, as well as the housing situation of ethnic minorities. The second focused on the segregation of tenures and ethnic minorities in the four Nordic capital cities: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, and Stockholm.  

Data and methods

The data used come from four databases, one for each country, containing register data on neighbourhoods of the four capitals, their population and their housing situation. Data are also available on ethnic composition of the four Nordic countries and in limited parts of cities, often in social/public housing. In this way, some of the databases include data on the spatial distribution of ethnic minorities in Western European cities has shown that segregation is connected to housing markets; that is, the extent to which immigrants were unevenly distributed across housing tenures. The overall aim of the empirical analyses was to examine the connection between immigrants’ positions in the housing market, the spatial structure of the housing market, and ethnic residential segregation. The databases include data on immigrants’ distribution on housing tenures in the cities, based on which were calculated indices measuring the extent of spatial and ethnic segregation of the housing market; that is, the extent to which immigrants were unevenly distributed across housing tenures. Similarly, using data on neighborhood tenure composition, an index was calculated for each tenure indicating the extent of its uneven distribution across neighborhoods. The index used for segregation, defined as spatial separation of immigrants and in native-born majority population has become a minority. Such spatial segregation is connected to housing markets; that is, segregation affects housing markets because the market reacts to the spatial distribution of housing demand by different social and ethnic groups. In most countries, however, the location of different housing types is not simply a product of market forces; rather, housing markets are a result of historic development and can be highly regulated by national housing policy; it is sometimes the case that local authorities have the power to influence land use, so housing developments correspond to political objectives. The main goal of the NODES project is to assess the extent to which different welfare state models affect ethnic spatial segregation in the cities of four Nordic countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. This phase of the research project is thus guided by the following research questions: Can a comparison of four countries tell us something about the connection between housing markets, housing policies, and the spatial distribution of immigrants? Housing markets themselves can be more or less segregated, meaning that different social and ethnic groups can be more or less separated between different housing tenures. Housing policy, however, is an area that differs greatly between European countries, meaning that housing policies create different tenure conditions in each nation, resulting in major disparities between housing markets. Nevertheless, it is typically in highly segmented markets that high-income groups have major advantages from homeownership while public rental housing with lower rents is strictly reserved for low-income minorities. However, the distribution of public housing policy creates even or uneven opportunities and economic incentives in different tenures. In the comparative literature on housing policy, the housing market is usually divided between ‘unitary’, more egalitarian, housing systems and ‘dual’ housing systems in which the housing market is highly socially segmented between rented housing and homeownership and specific social groups dominate certain tenure types while other groups have difficulty accessing them. Rental systems may be likewise divided between those in which publicly supported housing is competing on even terms with private renting (unitary) and those in which it is a restricted sector reserved for low-income groups (dual). It must be assumed that dual housing markets with high income segmentation will also have a higher degree of ethnic segregation, which in turn will increase the risk of ethnic segregation. The study does not find, however, any systematic connection between income segmentation and ethnic segregation in the housing markets in these four countries. Rather, ethnic segregation is lowest in Norway in spite of high income segmentation. One possible explanation is that Norway has a small rental market, in which discrimination has been documented, which has made owner-occupied housing the only choice for many immigrants. Ethnic segregation is strongest in Finland, where it is associated to a more dual rental market.

Country differences in housing policy

The housing situation of ethnic minorities can partly be explained by their lack of resources: that is, ethnic segmentation of the housing market (i.e., a concentration of immigrants in certain tenure types) depends greatly on the degree of income segmentation in the market and immigrants’ incomes are generally lower. This segmentation also depends on the extent to which housing policy creates even or uneven opportunities and economic incentives in different tenures. In the comparative literature on housing policy, the housing market is usually divided between ‘unitary’, more egalitarian, housing systems and ‘dual’ housing systems in which the housing market is highly socially segmented between rented housing and homeownership and specific social groups dominate certain tenure types while other groups have difficulty accessing them. Rental systems may be likewise divided between those in which publicly supported housing is competing on even terms with private renting (unitary) and those in which it is a restricted sector reserved for low-income groups (dual). It must be assumed that dual housing markets with high income segmentation will also have a higher degree of ethnic segregation, which in turn will increase the risk of ethnic segregation. The study does not find, however, any systematic connection between income segmentation and ethnic segregation in the housing markets in these four countries. Rather, ethnic segregation is lowest in Norway in spite of high income segmentation. One possible explanation is that Norway has a small rental market, in which discrimination has been documented, which has made owner-occupied housing the only choice for many immigrants. Ethnic segregation is strongest in Finland, where it is associated to a more dual rental market.
The importance of housing provision and planning systems in the cities for segregation of tenures

The way in which housing policy and housing market segmentation affect segregation depends on how different kinds of housing are distributed in urban space. This distribution is not a simple result of segregating market forces but is also dependent on the politics, institutions, and markets that shape and change the urban structure. Particularly important is the extent to which public actors own the land used for urban development, although physical planning and other types of urban policy instruments that regulate land use also matter. Also significant is who provides and finally owns the housing produced; for instance, whether the market is dominated by large builders and developers or by small-scale builders. Large firms and developers tend to build larger and more uniform housing areas, especially if they are operating in cities whose local authorities do not own the land and do not much regulate land use.

Although all four cities studied have had much public ownership of land and strong planning systems, they differ somewhat in terms of planning objectives. The most important difference is that in Helsinki, mixed tenures spatially has been a conscious strategy on the part of the local authorities, which has not so much been the case in the other cities, especially not before 1980 when large suburban areas were developed with large uniform housing areas. There are also differences in types of housing promotion and production. For example, in Helsinki, Copenhagen, and Stockholm large social housing companies have developed large-scale housing, whereas in Oslo, the municipality has developed social housing on smaller-scale estates. Nevertheless, large cooperative companies do also exist in Oslo that have developed large housing estates.

Results

The computed indices of ethnic segregation, ethnic tenure segregation, housing tenure segregation, and tenure effect on segregation for the four capital regions, as well as very different patterns for the two indicators. Ethnic segregation of the housing market is somewhat higher in Helsinki than in the other cities, while the most equal distribution of immigrants across tenures occurs in Stockholm and Copenhagen. Although this comparison might suggest that Helsinki would have the highest rate of ethnic segregation and Stockholm and Copenhagen the lowest, in fact, housing tenures are most spatially separated in Copenhagen and Stockholm and most equally distributed across neighborhoods in Helsinki. This more equal distribution relates directly to the social mix policy pursued in Helsinki from the 1970s onwards.

All else being equal, these differences should produce a higher rate of segregation in Stockholm and Copenhagen and a lower one in Helsinki, and in fact, the actual rate of segregation is highest in Stockholm and lowest in Helsinki. This observation is partly explainable by differences in immigration level, but not totally. Rather, the more even distribution of tenures across neighborhoods in Helsinki, the result of a determined urban policy, seems to more than counteract the highly segmented housing market, while the opposite is true in Stockholm.

The differences in segregation, on the other hand, can be explained by either the combined effect of the spatial structure and segmentation of the housing market or variation in the strength of other different segregation processes in the cities. The effect of the housing market can be best assessed by looking at the estimated tenure-dependent uneven distribution of immigrants.

According to the regression analyses of the connection between tenure segregation and the spatial distribution of immigrants, the two are highly correlated; the calculated index for the expected spatial distribution of immigrants, determined by tenure segregation, accounts for 60% to 80% of the actual uneven distribution (see Figure 12, right-hand side). It can thus be concluded that although the housing market is a major explanatory factor for the differences between cities, these locations also differ in terms of other causes and segregation processes, like white flight and avoidance. In Helsinki, for example, the housing market has the highest effect on segregation, which can be ascribed to the high ethnic segmentation of the housing market. In Copenhagen, however, factors other than the housing market seem most important.

The low ethnic segregation of the housing market in Oslo and the relatively low rate of tenure segregation would also seem to imply a lower segregation rate in Oslo than in Copenhagen and Stockholm. In actuality, however, the socially divided and ownership-dominated housing market in Oslo has resulted in the same segregation and uneven spatial distribution of immigrants as in Copenhagen and one nearly as pronounced as that in Stockholm. This similarity is partly due to the fact that many immigrants have been excluded from the rental sector and are more or less forced to share owner-occupied housing with other families. In addition, owner-occupied housing is more spatially dispersed than in the other cities. Thus, the most important factor underlying tenure segregation seems to be the concentration of ethnic minorities in cooperatives built on larger estates in the suburbs, particularly in the north-east of Oslo.

In sum, despite assumptions in the literature that much ethnic segregation in European countries can be ascribed to the existence of large spatial concentrations of social/public housing that are home to many immigrants – what might be dubbed ‘the social housing hypothesis’ – this assumption does not in fact apply to one of the cities studied. That is, in Oslo, where the social housing sector is very small, ethnic segregation is highly pronounced.

More information about the NODES project is available at http://www.norface-migration.org/current/project/detail.php?proj=7

Turkish Immigrant Families: Positive Relation between Fathers’ Involvement in Parenting and Children’s Well-being

By Birgit Leyendecker and Alexandru Aghache

The goal of the SIMCUR study is to uncover the processes that underlie developmental resilience in children from Turkish immigrant families in Europe. In particular, SIMCUR researchers strive to understand how families, school, peers, and communities promote the adaptation of Turkish immigrant children. In this brief report, we focus on our youngest cohort: children before and after the transition to school. Specifically, we examine paternal involvement in parenting, the association between parents’ perception of mutual support, and the relation between others’ involvement and their children’s well-being. We also explore whether the paternal involvement of fathers who grew up in Turkey (45%) differs from that of fathers who grew up in Germany.

Neglect of immigrant fathers in the research

Traditionally, research on the role of parents in their children’s development has focused on the mother-child dyad, with fathers seldom involved in these studies. Instead, data on fathers were often either provided by mothers or not collected at all. This omission coincided with the tendency of research papers and books to overgeneralise the term ‘parents’ and to use ‘parenting’ even when data were collected exclusively or primarily from mothers. In recent years, however, the roles fathers play in family well-being and children’s development have been receiving increasing attention. Research has also shown that engaged fathers foster their partners’ and their children’s well-being, as well as their children’s developmental outcomes.

Research on immigrant fathers, however, is still rare, although in the case of fatherhood in the immigration context, a differentiation has emerged between the deficit perspective and a resilience perspective. The former approach focuses on the demands of the adaptation process (e.g., learning a new culture and language), the loss of social support, and the potential loss of social status that can influence fathers’ self-esteem and well-being. It also recognises that immigration may undermine fathers’ capacities to fulfil their roles as breadwinner and head of the household. That is, although immigrant families come from all social strata, they are more likely to have a lower SES and to experience economic hardship than the social majority. Socioeconomic status, however, has been associated with the quality of the marital relationship. Specifically, lower SES parents are more likely to report lower levels of marital satisfaction, and conflicts between parents have a strong negative impact on fathers’ involvement. Studies have also found a direct link between SES and parental involvement: lower SES parents tend to have less access to resources than higher SES parents and are therefore less likely to be involved in parenting.

The resilience perspective, in contrast, is more focused on factors that contribute to parental strengths and family cohesion and thereby support children’s developmental competencies. Research oriented to this approach has shown that culture-specific adaptive parenting strategies, mutual support between parents, and increased parent-child communication foster family cohesion, which in turn fosters children’s social-problem-solving skills and social self-efficacy.

Immigrant families in Germany

In Germany, one third of all children have at least one immigrant parent, and one quarter of these immigrant families have origins in Turkey. Compared to non-immigrant families in Germany, immigrant families face higher unemployment rates, have fewer dual-earner families, and have more children per family. Moreover, even though immigrant families come from all social strata, the percentage of parents with little education is significantly higher. Taken together, these features point to potentially higher risk factors for immigrant families. Nevertheless, potential protective factors do exist. For example, children growing up in immigrant families in Germany are more likely to live with both biological parents.
Our sample: Families and their children before and after the transition to first grade

At the German site of the SIMCUR study, based on our first two waves of data collection, we analysed data from 189 children (143 Turkish and 46 German) in the youngest cohort, all living with both parents. Within the Turkish sample, 45% of the fathers and 41% of the mothers were first-generation immigrants. In this report, the term 'Turkish' and 'German' refer to the parents’ or grandparents’ country of origin and not to their nationality. Almost all the children had a German passport, often in addition to a Turkish passport.

We met with the children and their families twice: once shortly before the transition to first grade and again at the end of first grade. To assess marital support, we asked both mothers and fathers to rate two aspects: (a) the support received from their partner and (b) the parental task division (e.g., who is responsible for preparing breakfast, picking the children up from pre-school, reading to the children or putting them to bed). We interviewed the children about their emotional well-being (e.g., I had fun and laughed a lot, I felt alone). A latent class analysis of the parental task division scale filled out by both parents revealed three clusters of paternal engagement: low, medium, and high.

Task division among parents

The percentage of highly engaged fathers was higher in the German sample (52%) than the Turkish sample (36%), but we found no influence of parents’ education, household income, or parental employment status on engagement. Moreover, both boys and girls were equally likely to receive parental attention. In the Turkish sample, we found no relation between mothers’ generational status and their partners’ involvement in parenting, but we did identify a relation between fathers’ generational status and their parental involvement inasmuch as 58% of the highly engaged fathers were first-generation immigrants (see Figure 13).

Mutual support

Across both samples, mothers who were married to fathers in the low engagement cluster were more likely to report low marital support. From the perspective of fathers, however, a different picture emerged in each sample. In the German sample, fathers who reported low support from their partners were also more likely to be less engaged, whereas fathers from the medium and high engagement cluster reported more marital support. This finding mirrors data from the mothers and indicates an association between mutual support and paternal involvement. Within the Turkish sample, a different pattern emerged. Here, fathers who showed little involvement in paternal task division were more likely to be quite satisfied with the support received from their spouses, whereas those who fell into the cluster of highly and moderately engaged fathers were more likely to report lower support from the mothers.

Figure 13: Fathers’ generational status and their involvement in parenting

Children’s well-being and paternal engagement in everyday tasks

Our results clearly show that high paternal engagement pays off for children. In the Turkish sample, children with highly engaged fathers were most likely to report emotional well-being both before and after the transition to first grade. This relation was not evident in the German sample.

In sum, our findings indicate that first-generation Turkish immigrant fathers are more likely to be engaged in parenting than second-generation fathers. We found no indications, however, that either SES or the child’s gender influences parental involvement. In both samples, mothers living with partners who were less involved in everyday parenting reported lower marital satisfaction. In the German sample, paternal engagement was positively associated with fathers’ satisfaction and marital support but not with children’s well-being. In contrast, highly and moderately engaged fathers in the Turkish sample were more likely to feel less supported by their partners, even though their children were more likely to report emotional well-being.

Overall, researchers agree that fathers can be just as nurturing, capable, and supportive as mothers. Yet within the family system, the contributions of mothers and fathers to their children’s development and well-being are likely to follow slightly different pathways. Given that fatherhood can be viewed as a social and cultural construction, these pathways are likely to differ across different social and cultural contexts. In line with this expectation, the findings of our study suggest that, to some extent, these pathways may differ for German and Turkish immigrant families.

References


More information about the SIMCUR project is available at http://www.noface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?prj=9

Testing the Family Stress Model

The bivariate correlations showed that maternal stress was related only to adolescent-reported parenting and not to observed parenting, whereas maternal stress and adolescent-reported parenting were related only to positive adolescent behaviour and not to adolescent frustration and school attainment. We therefore tested the FSM only with adolescent-reported parenting and mother-reported positive adolescent behaviour using structural equation modelling (SEM). The model is illustrated in Figure 14. According to the SEM analysis, lower SES was related to more maternal stress, which was in turn related to less positive (adolescent-reported) parenting. Less positive parenting was in turn related to less positive adolescent behaviour. The direct paths from SES and maternal stress to positive adolescent behaviour, however, were not significant. Moreover, when one or two of the non-significant direct paths were removed from the model, the model showed a poorer fit to the data.

Testing the Family Investment Model

The bivariate correlations revealed that SES was directly related only to observed parenting and not to child-reported parenting, whereas observed positive parenting was related only to adolescent frustration inhibition and school attainment and not to positive adolescent behaviour. We therefore tested the Family Investment Model only with observed positive parenting as an outcome and SES, frustration inhibition and school attainment as outcome measures. Specifically, using SEM, we tested whether there was an indirect effect of SES on adolescent frustration inhibition through observed positive parenting. Again, the model (see Figure 15) fitted the data well. As the figure shows, lower SES was related to less positive (observed) parenting, which in turn was related to less frustration inhibition in the adolescent. We also tested whether the indirect effect of SES on frustration inhibition through positive parenting was specific to the domain of parenting but found only an indirect effect of SES on an adolescent’s frustration inhibition via maternal structuring.

Figure 14: Testing the Family Stress Model

Family SES

Maternal stress

Maternal positive parenting (A-reported)

Adolescent positive behaviour

Figure 15: Testing the Family Investment Model

Family SES

Maternal stress

FIM in ethnic minority families with pre-adolescents using both observed and adolescent-reported positive parenting in relation to cognitive and behavioural adolescent outcomes. The sample consisted of 72 Turkish minority mothers and their 9- to 11-year-old children in the Netherlands. Positive parenting was assessed through adolescent reports and observations. Adolescent-reported positive parenting is defined as the presence of warmth and the absence of rejection. Observed positive parenting refers to mothers who show positive affect towards their children, respond to their needs, give them space to explore, and provide clear instructions when needed. The mothers surveyed also reported on their own stress levels, on adolescent behaviour problems, and on school attainment in terms of the track advice provided by the primary school that their children received for secondary school level. Finally, adolescent frustration inhibition was measured using a ‘delay frustration task’ in which the computer programme was deliberately set up to show delays in responding to key pressing by the adolescent. During the delay periods, the number of presses on any of the four response buttons was recorded as an index of the adolescent’s frustration. This measure is based on the notion that the ability to refrain from constantly pressing the response key during a delay is indicative of delay tolerance and inhibitory control. Scores were reversed so that a high score indicated more frustration inhibition.

The Family Stress and Family Investment Models in Ethnic Minority Pre-adolescents

By Judi Mesman

The Family Stress Model (FIM) and Family Investment Model (FIM) provide explanations for the relation between socioeconomic status (SES) and child development. According to the FIM, stressors such as socioeconomic strains lead to family stress (e.g., maternal depression and family dysfunction), which in turn leads to non-optimal parenting (e.g., lack of warmth and support) and negative child development. The FIM proposes that SES is related to the investments parents make in their children’s development – for example, parental stimulation of learning through support and tutoring – all of which include several domains. These parental investments are in turn related to positive child development. In general, family stress processes are mostly related to behavioural outcomes, whereas family investment processes are mostly related to cognitive outcomes. However, these processes have rarely been tested in ethnic minority samples and often rely only on questionnaire data.

The primary goal of this present study was to test the FISM and FIM in ethnic minority families with pre-adolescents using both observed and adolescent-reported positive parenting in relation to cognitive and behavioural adolescent outcomes. The sample consisted of 72 Turkish minority mothers and their 9- to 11-year-old children in the Netherlands. Positive parenting was assessed through adolescent reports and observations. Adolescent-reported positive parenting is defined as the presence of warmth and the absence of rejection. Observed positive parenting refers to mothers who show positive affect towards their children, respond to their needs, give them space to explore, and provide clear instructions when needed. The mothers surveyed also reported on their own stress levels, on adolescent behaviour problems, and on school attainment in terms of the track advice provided by the primary school that their children received for secondary school level. Finally, adolescent frustration inhibition was measured using a ‘delay frustration task’ in which the computer programme was deliberately set up to show delays in responding to key pressing by the adolescent. During the delay periods, the number of presses on any of the four response buttons was recorded as an index of the adolescent’s frustration. This measure is based on the notion that the ability to refrain from constantly pressing the response key during a delay is indicative of delay tolerance and inhibitory control. Scores were reversed so that a high score indicated more frustration inhibition.
The greatly increased share of foreign-born residents in the Netherlands, with Eurostat 2010 reporting 1.8 million foreign-born residents, corresponding to 11.1% of the total Dutch population. Of these, 1.4 million (8.5%) were born outside the EU, and 0.4 million (2.6%) were born in another EU Member State.

In this research, we focus on highly educated migrants who have completed their studies alongside natives in the same year and then entered the labour market. In other words, these migrants have the same educational qualifications as their native peers, which reduces the likelihood of skill bias in our analysis. Theoretically (based on the human-capital model), different individuals with identical labour supply characteristics should have the same wage and employment opportunities. If not, possible explanations include imperfect mobility, limited information in the job search, and the presence of discrimination. The length of stay in the host country may also matter. We therefore divide the migrants who have undergone Dutch higher professional education into first and second-generation groups. We expect that the second-generation migrants will on average earn wages equal to those of natives who have received exactly the same education and have the same post-education experience. According to the literature, however, social background matters in any individual’s performance in the labour market, so we also test for conventional discrimination by analysing the first and second-generation migrants’ labour market outcomes in relation to their parents’ roots.

Fostering positive parenting in the context of socioeconomic disadvantage

In conclusion, the findings provide support for both the FSM and FIM in ethnic minority pre-adolescents and suggest that the negative effects of low SES on child adjustment are in large part attributable to the detrimental effects of socioeconomic strains on parenting quality. Hence, although the generally lower SES of ethnic minority families is a societal issue that is not easy to change, interventions aimed at promoting positive parenting may foster a supportive family environment for socioeconomically disadvantaged ethnic minority adolescents, which may in turn enhance their behavioural and self-regulatory competence.

More information about the SIMCUR project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=9

Wage Gaps between Native and Migrant Graduates of Higher Education Institutions in the Netherlands

By Masood Gheasi, Peter Nijkamp, and Piet Rietveld

Introduction

The greatly increased share of foreign-born residents in the population over recent years in most developed countries has prompted much research on the social and economic impacts of immigrants on the host society. Such impacts may refer to job creation (or loss), wage changes, welfare and growth effects, trade and tourism flows, or new business formation. In the Netherlands, the share of immigrants in the total population has also risen substantially during recent decades, with Eurostat 2010 reporting 1.8 million foreign-born residents, corresponding to 11.1% of the total Dutch population. Of these, 1.4 million (8.5%) were born outside the EU, and 0.4 million (2.6%) were born in another EU Member State.

In this research, we focus on highly educated migrants who have completed their studies alongside natives in the same year and then entered the labour market. In other words, these migrants have the same educational qualifications as their native peers, which reduces the likelihood of skill bias in our analysis. Theoretically (based on the human-capital model), different individuals with identical labour supply characteristics should have the same wage and employment opportunities. If not, possible explanations include imperfect mobility, limited information in the job search, and the presence of discrimination. The length of stay in the host country may also matter. We therefore divide the migrants who have undergone Dutch higher professional education into first and second-generation groups. We expect that the second-generation migrants will on average earn wages equal to those of natives who have received exactly the same education and have the same post-education experience. According to the literature, however, social background matters in any individual’s performance in the labour market, so we also test for conventional discrimination by analysing the first and second-generation migrants’ labour market outcomes in relation to their parents’ roots.

Data source

Our data come from the Research Centre for Education and the Labour Market (ROA) at Maastricht University in cooperation with DESAN Research Solutions. The survey is based on the cohort of students (in higher professional education) who graduated during the 2006/2007 to 2009/2010 periods.

Graduates were surveyed approximately 18 months after completing their studies, and information was collected not only on their discipline of study and other background aspects but also on their current job. Spatial information was also gathered. The average response rate was 37% for each year; however, in order to focus on graduate students who had obtained a degree and have a full-time job, we dropped from our analysis those graduates who had part-time jobs, were self-employed, were still students, or whose answer sheets had missing information.

For the students who have graduated from higher education, data are available on a series of variables including personal characteristics (e.g., gender, age, and ethnicity), subject of study; employment mode (full-time vs. part-time); degree results at the time of graduation; and whether the individual is employed in a small (1-8 employees), medium-sized (10-99 employees), or large firm (>=100 employees). Graduates were also asked to give information about their place of residence; for instance, where they lived when they were 16 years old, where they lived during their course of study, and where they were now. By analysing the responses to these questions, we were able to generate four migration dummy variables: those who lived in Noord Holland (NH), Zuid Holland (ZH), or Utrecht (U) and had not moved; those who had moved to NH, ZH, or U; those who had left NH, ZH, or U; and those who had moved in between NH, ZH, and U. Each of these three provinces hosts one or two of the major cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague, and Utrecht, respectively) called the Randstad in Dutch.

Figure 16 shows the immigrant to native ratio for the number of graduates with a higher professional education and their average gross wage per month in different age categories. The reason for using this ratio is that according to the data, native graduates, with a mean graduation age of 27, are younger than first-generation migrants, with a mean graduation age of 24. As expected, the ratio of first-generation migrants over natives is low in the younger age group (20-24), indicating that the first-generation migrants are more likely to be mature students. Moving further along the age line, the supply ratio of first-generation migrants to natives increases up to the 30-39 age group while the wage ratio drops below 1, indicating that older migrants are not paid as much in the labour market as natives of the same age and education. For the second-generation immigrants, however, there is no wage difference: in fact, at ages above 40, the second-generation migrants receive slightly higher wages than natives.

This finding indicates that the first-generation immigrants who earn less than comparable natives, particularly at older ages. This finding indicates that the first-generation immigrants who are investing in their human capital at an older age receive a lower return to their education compared to natives and second-generation immigrants at the same age.
Immigrant Integration in Norwegian Education Policies over 50 Years

By Kristian Garthus-Niegis, Brit Oppedal and Halvard Vike

In the 1973–2013 period, the Norwegian immigrant population increased from around 1% to approximately 14% of the total population, generating tremendous diversification in Norway’s traditionally culturally homogenous population. Such settlement and growth of non-Western immigrant populations has made social integrity and internal cultural border regulation a national political concern. This study is an analysis of how Norwegian immigrant education policies have developed throughout the period, framed by the anthropological theory of semantic extensionism.

Aims

The main aims of the study are (i) to identify core semantic structures throughout the immigrant education policy’s history and (ii) to explain why certain structures achieved such core status in particular periods and what caused them to change.

Methods

The study investigates a large corpus of historical Norwegian education policy documents – predominantly governmental white papers but also other documents from broader parliamentary policy and legislative processes – which are supplemented with texts from the administration and management sectors. An initial skimming of the selected documents identified key policy terms that were then validated via second-hand sources. The terms were used as search words to extract sections referring directly to immigrant education. Extracted segments were subjected to extensive qualitative readings and re-readings, informed by semantic extensionist analytic tools. Socio-historical data were gathered from within the empirical documents, as well as from a broad range of second-hand sources.

Theory

Semantic extensionism (SE) is a theoretical framework for analysing semantic stability and variation in natural communication. One key concern is to identify core semantic inclusion and contrast relations within discursive events. In this present study, SE is applied to the meanings associated with integration in education policies, with integration defined as ‘discursive conceptualisations of host-immigrant relations’. In SE, structures and changes in discursive meanings are explained in direct conjunction with the material, social, and cultural contexts within which they occur. Core structures are inferred by tracking three elements: (i) semantic contrast relations (i.e., assimilation vs. integration), (ii) semantic inclusion relations – sequences substantiating such contrast by way of inclusion so as to form larger contrast sets (i.e., assimilation + submersion = injustice), and (iii) relevant contextual properties outside the particular discourse (i.e., the demographic development of the immigrant population).

More information about the MIDTI-REDIE project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=5
Demographic and sociocultural contexts

Nordic education policies: a systemic baseline

During the post-WWII era, social policy-making in Scandinavian welfare states has been driven by an aspiration to foster equal opportunities for all, regardless of social background. This crucial value of equality is not restricted to the region’s economic systems; in fact, equity-oriented policies permeate its broader cultural fabric, with education considered the main policy vehicle of equalisation. To this end, the social democrats who dominated Scandinavia after the Second World War developed strongly centralised and comprehensive education systems. The most common equalisation strategy was positive discrimination measures, designed to compensate for the social disadvantages of particular groups. In Norway, teachers’ unions have also traditionally had a considerable role in school policy-making over naturalistic aspirations. The first Norwegian immigrant education policy appeared in 1973, when progressive pedagogues held a strong position in the national education discourse. The underlying conceptions of equal education were strongly associated with ideas of child-centred education and the familiarisation process. Policies in this period generally advocated tolerance towards multiculturalism and national identity. Host-immigrant relations were thus framed by a relativistic perspective on immigrants’ opportunities to maintain their culture. Host-immigrant relations were thus framed by a relativistic perspective on immigrants’ opportunities to maintain their cultural identity. The concept of ‘equal status’, imported from feminist activism, came to characterise this new integration model. The post-WWII state was ascribed wide-ranging responsibilities of protecting the regions’ modern political history; in fact, equality-notions were strongly associated with ideas of child-centred pedagogy and of protecting children against the capitalist mode of production.

Period 1 (1973-75): Familiarisation – civic introduction to promote equal social opportunity

Norway was a latecomer to the European labour immigration scene. immigrants were newcomers. When attempts to halt it were well underway in other countries. Most of the early immigrants came from Pakistan, India, Turkey, and Morocco, and they settled in the capital of Oslo. In the initial national immigrant education policy, the core semantic structure was constructed as a contrast between an immigrant who was an accomplished person and an unaccomplished person. The former was associated with an assimilative education system; the latter with an incorporated one. ‘Language’ and ‘cultural’ (as opposed to, e.g., ‘race’, ‘class’, or ‘migration type’) were the core features marking bilingualism, and integration was conceptualised as a symmetric bi-directional process of cultural familiarisation. 

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

In this period many policies generally advocated tolerance towards the immigrant populations. The state was thus seen as a hospitable and non-partisan actor in the familiarisation process, offering social support according to individually expressed adaptation aspirations. Specifically, it was expected to provide immigrants with the opportunities they needed to integrate into Norwegian society. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneously with the 1976-reform, however, political sentiments were changing. The number of asylum seekers had more than quadrupled from the year before, making immigration a key issue in the parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations.

Result: Period 1 (1973-75): Familiarisation – civic introduction to promote equal social opportunity

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneously with the 1976-reform, however, political sentiments were changing. The number of asylum seekers had more than quadrupled from the year before, making immigration a key issue in the parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations.

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneously with the 1976-reform, however, political sentiments were changing. The number of asylum seekers had more than quadrupled from the year before, making immigration a key issue in the parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations.

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneously with the 1976-reform, however, political sentiments were changing. The number of asylum seekers had more than quadrupled from the year before, making immigration a key issue in the parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations.

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneously with the 1976-reform, however, political sentiments were changing. The number of asylum seekers had more than quadrupled from the year before, making immigration a key issue in the parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations.

...the question of the adaptation of the immigrant workforces to the Norwegian society (...) involves (on the one hand) each individual foreigner’s familiarisation with the Norwegian context; on the other hand, it also involves Norwegians getting familiar with and accepting foreign minorities in the country. 

...positive discrimination measures towards immigrant pupils flourished: subsidiary systems, specialised bureaucratic functions, and Nordic partnerships were established and teacher colleges initiated courses in bilingual teaching methods. In 1976, “functional bilingualism” was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of a wider curricular and educational national curriculum for mother tongue learning, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.
comprehensive school shall provide the pupils with individually adapted education programs and give everyone equal opportunities to succeed.

As this excerpt illustrates, socioeconomic participation remains the core connotation of inclusion and the main measure of quality. So does the instrumental and universal ambition of the comprehensive education system with respect to integration of immigrant pupils. As a result, the semantic core of educational policy has largely become conflated with that of general education policies whose core ideal is to equip all pupils with the necessary instrumental capabilities to become functional in the workforce, with minimal regard to background differences. There is thus little willingness to accept any public responsibility to accommodate socioeconomic differences. Social integration thus involves the origin country to the optimal functioning and well-being of immigrant students. Rather, at the pedagogical level, the inclusion model has dramatically strengthened the position of mainstreaming methods.

Conclusion: macro-discursive trends from 1973 to 2013

At the macro level, two significant discursive trajectories are evident. First, social equalization has remained a core guiding principle throughout the whole period in spite of the semantic turbulence surrounding integration conceptualisations. Second, the shift between the second and third period marks a disjuncture in the discourse, one representing a move from an expansive to a more restrictive type of policy development. Broadly, this shift is a reflection of the post-industrial turn from a more progressive to a more conditioned welfare policy ethos, as well as a pragmatic result of the comprehensive demographic diversification of the immigrant population, which in the long run made the generous positive discriminatory policies too costly and complicated to administer.

By succinctly outlining the semantic structures of various Norwegian immigration policies, as well as the continuities and discontinuities within them, the above discussion has shown them to be outcomes of a synergetic interaction between three types of factors: (i) language-internal semantic inclusion and contrast dynamics, (ii) pragmatic circumstances in policy implementation processes, and (iii) macro-trajectories in the history of the Norwegian welfare state.

The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU): New Perspectives for Integration Research

By the CILS4EU research team

The ‘Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries’ (CILS4EU) aims to study the integration processes of immigrant children in England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The project’s goal is to collect comprehensive information along several integration dimensions, including the cognitive-cultural (e.g., language skills and use, cultural practices), structural (e.g., educational attainment, labour market inclusion), social (e.g., friendship patterns, romantic relationships), and emotional-cultural (e.g., sense of belonging, attitudes, and norms). Because the integration of immigrants is a two-way street that cannot be considered without taking into account the perspectives of host society members, the survey was administered not only to youth with an immigrant background but also to their native counterparts in the respective countries. These respondents were followed over three consecutive years. These longitudinal data are complemented by cross-sectional information on the immigrant structure of current generations, attitudes, and beliefs of the youths’ parents and information from their teachers. In general, the comprehensive data collection during the NORFACE funding period pursued two major aims. First, it provided information for the project team members’ own substantive research questions, expanding the effects of the integration process. Second, in line with CILS4EU’s original self-concept, it led to the establishment of an enduring data infrastructure on the integration of immigrant children in Europe, one now available to the scientific community. These two aspects ensure that the NORFACE Compact Series offers unique insights into the topographical support of further research. The project team illustrates the strength of both aspects—the types of research strands within the project and the wide range of research opportunities for prospective data users—by presenting brief summaries of completed and cur rent CILS4EU doctoral projects on different aspects of integration research.

The Immigrants’ Aspiration Paradox: explanations for the educational aspiration gap between immigrants and natives in Germany

Because CILS4EU is a school-based survey (cf. the CILS4EU contribution to the data collection section in this issue), the project’s semantic achievements are closely related to the aspiration paradox with the aim of providing explanations for the educational aspiration gap between the children of immigrants and their native counterparts. Based on recent observations that in some immigrant groups, these children, despite a rather poor socioeconomic background and worse school performance, verbally show better educational aspirations than do natives, the major aim of Zerrin’s PhD thesis is to draw on various theoretical approaches to disentangle this aspiration-achievement discrepancy. The PhD candidate addresses how and to what extent the aspirations of minority groups can be explained. The CILS4EU data deliver numerous indicators and measurements needed to answer these questions; for instance, those on the value of education, the perceived future prospects on the labour market, and the influence of significant others on an individual’s educational aspirations. The data also enable the research to focus on how different minority groups diverge on the dimensions relevant for perceiving opportunity structures and future perspectives.

The initial results of Zerrin’s project suggest that in all countries except Germany, students’ school outcomes are no better than do native students even before academic performance or socioeconomic background is taken into account. In fact, adding these controls only increases this gap for many groups. Interestingly, however, students in England, Sweden, and the Netherlands, and Sweden have the highest educational aims, while in England, Bangladeshis students are at the top of the aspirational distribution. Despite the high variation of the aspiration paradox does not apply to all minority groups, a general positive tendency can be found for almost all.

Social explanations for ethnic differences in education

A school-based survey also offers the opportunity to study the students’ school performance taking into account for young people’s everyday lives. The focus on school and classroom composition, particularly, has important implications for both policy and future research because of the presence of highly socially and ethnically segregated schools in all four countries. Thus in her PhD thesis, Meenakshi Parameswaran (Chalmers University, Gothenburg) investigates how variations in individual social contexts account for the existence of ethnic differences in educational outcomes. Specifically, in her doctoral thesis, she examines the effects of various classroom characteristics and school composition on a range of children’s educational outcomes. Her first chapter, building on previous research from Norway and the UK, focuses on the differences in poverty and poverty compositions in schools in England using data from the National Pupil Database. In contrast to the findings for other European countries, she finds that variations in poverty concentrations in schools are associated with improved educational progress. Concentrations of economically disadvantaged students have the most negative impact on each child’s progress. Her second, third, and fourth chapters try to explain the positive effects of ethnic minority status and ethnic minority concentration in England on both the individual and contextual levels.

Using English data from the first wave of CILS4EU, she finds that university aspirations are positively associated with individual religiosity but have no association with cohort religiosity. Hence, religiosity helps explain individual ethnic minorities’ educational advantage, but concentrations of religious students do not explain the positive effects of ethnic minority concentration. Likewise, positive parenting behaviours are associated with higher educational aspirations towards schooling for both students, whereas parental (intergenerational) social closure has positive effects at the individual level but not at the cohort level. Thus again, being ‘well-parented’ contributes positively to an individual ethnic minority educational advantage but does not explain the positive effects of ethnic minority concentration. On the other hand, an individual’s duration of residence in England is a positive predictor of English language proficiency, and the average duration of residence of the school cohort also has a positive effect on all students’ language test scores. This observation does contribute to the explanation of ethnic minority concentration effects by suggesting that students who have had the time and resources to integrate into the educational cultural dimension may be better able to integrate along the structural dimension. Nevertheless, the puzzle of the positive effect of ethnic minority concentration in schools in England has yet to be fully solved.

Adolescents’ peer networks and their school outcomes

Delving deeper into the issue of school and classroom context, Sara Geven (Utrecht University), in her doctoral thesis, uses the CILS4EU data in the project to examine how and to what extent adolescents’ school outcomes are affected by their concrete peer networks. Her work assumes that students’ school outcomes are influenced by peer networks in two different ways: by affecting the extent to which they are (or feel) related to school peers and/or by encouraging them to adjust their school outcomes to those of their peers. As regards the first, she investigates how and to what extent adolescents’ school outcomes can be moderated by the adolescent’s own social network. In her first chapter, she first establishes that the association between ethnic residential concentration and friendship segregation does vary for adolescents of different social backgrounds and then explores potential explanations for the observed patterns.

Adolescents’ school outcomes can be moderated by the adolescent’s own social network. Therefore, as part of her PhD project, Sara examines these peer influence processes and the conditions under which peer influence on school outcomes is strongest. In particular, she argues that peer influence on adolescents’ school outcomes can be moderated by the adolescent’s own social network. Using CILS4EU data on the extent of the residential concentration of adolescents’ friendship networks, she first establishes that the association between ethnic residential concentration and friendship segregation does vary for adolescents of different social backgrounds and then explores potential explanations for the observed patterns.

The ethnic composition of individuals’ living environments can affect their friendship relationships in different ways, her research assumes that the impact of each ethnic concentration is strongest at the contextual level of constraints. Accordingly, she specifies these side constraints based on a general model of friendship formation and then empirically assesses the relative importance of each causal pathway. By doing so, she provides an explanation for the observed differences among adolescents of different social backgrounds. Moreover, her work further aims for a better overall understanding of how residential choices might have a causal impact on adolescents’ social integration processes.

A cross-national study of adolescent interethnic friendships

Sanne Smith (Utrecht University) follows a similar research strand in her doctoral project by investigating the conditions for interethnic friendships based on the premise that they influence socio-economic attainment and feelings of belonging and are thus an important indicator of these groups’ social integration. Her results, however, indicate that both immigrant and native adolescents have many friends in their own ethnic group.

From spatial to social boundaries: ethnic residential segregation and friendship formation among adolescents in Germany

Although the school context is an important factor in an individual’s school performance and attainment, an adolescent’s neighbourhood also plays a major role in his or her everyday life. In his PhD project, therefore, Hanns Kruse (Max Planck Institute for Human Development) investigates how ethnic residential segregation may induce intergroup spatial boundary. Results from residential segregation processes to translate into social boundary constructions, the project investigates the influence of ethnic residential concentration on friendship segregation among adolescents. Using German CILS4EU data on the extent of the residential concentration of adolescents’ friendship networks, he first establishes that the association between ethnic residential concentration and friendship segregation does vary for adolescents of different social backgrounds and then explores potential explanations for the observed patterns.

Although the school context is an important factor in an individual’s school performance and attainment, an adolescent’s neighbourhood also plays a major role in his or her everyday life. In his PhD project, therefore, Hanns Kruse (Max Planck Institute for Human Development) investigates how ethnic residential segregation may induce intergroup spatial boundary. Results from residential segregation processes to translate into social boundary constructions, the project investigates the influence of ethnic residential concentration on friendship segregation among adolescents. Using German CILS4EU data on the extent of the residential concentration of adolescents’ friendship networks, he first establishes that the association between ethnic residential concentration and friendship segregation does vary for adolescents of different social backgrounds and then explores potential explanations for the observed patterns.
Hence, to identify how these in-group friendship preferences are established, she seeks to explore ethnic boundaries in adolescent friendship patterns. Her analysis, although it relies heavily on homophily theory, also draws from revised contact theory, social balance theory, and status exchange theory.

In the first of several papers co-authored with Frank van Tubergen and Ineke Maas, she investigates how to what extent ethnic in-group preferences are a by-product of cultural and socioeconomic in-group preferences but finds that the latter cannot explain the former. A second paper on parental influence demonstrates that parental attitudes and parental socioeconomic status affect the extent to which children have interethnic friends, which is largely explainable by the intergenerational transmission of interethnic attitudes. A third paper focused on the effects of the school's ethnic composition indicates that although ethnic diversity strengthens native in-group preferences, it weakens immigrant in-group preferences. Moreover, it is the share of natives in a class that drives this ethnic diversity-in-group preference relationship. A fourth paper on neighborhood ethnic composition, co-authored with Hannes Kruse, suggests that the neighborhood functions mostly as a sorting mechanism – children with few out-group neighbors have few out-group peers in class – but offers little evidence that a more ethnically diverse neighborhood reduces in-group preferences. A fifth paper is planned that will examine the stability of interethnic friendships compared to same-ethnicity friendships.

Partner choice among immigrants

Compared to mere friendships, serious romantic relations are an even more important indicator of social integration. As the target population of CILS4EU is of an age at which such relationships are increasingly becoming an issue, it seems important to focus on this aspect. Thus, Pascale van Zantvliet (Tilburg University) is using CILS4EU data to study the dating behaviour of adolescents, and more specifically, their choice of a dating partner. Because partner choice observed in adulthood may (partly) be the result of choices and preferences already present in adolescence, it is important to study these aspects also. Accordingly, in the first of a series of research articles on third-party influence on immigrant partner choice (co-authored with Matthijs Kalmijn and Ellen Verbaak), she examines immigrant adolescent dating and shows that about half the immigrant adolescents had chosen a native partner. A dominant factor in explaining these partner choices is the proximity to the origin country. Children with few native neighbors have few native peers in class – but offers little evidence that a more ethnically diverse neighborhood reduces in-group preferences. A fifth paper is planned that will examine the stability of interethnic friendships compared to same-ethnicity friendships.

Estimation of social and ethnic gradients in adolescent outcomes: does the choice of indicators and information sources matter?

In addition to the research on different integration dimensions, a large-scale data project like CILS4EU also leaves room for numerous methodological questions. For example, Per Engzell’s (Stockholm University) work has so far concentrated on methodological issues pertaining to the estimation of ethnic and social differentials in educational achievement. Together with Jan O. Jonsson, he has found that well-known problems in using child reports of parents’ socioeconomic status apply equally for children with and without immigrant parents. This observation indicates that multivariate estimates of ethnic gaps in education are relatively unaffected by (mis)measurement of socioeconomic variables. In addition, together with Meenakshi Parameshwaran, he has investigated the performance of different indicators of ethnicity and shown that children report both their country of origin and ‘subjective’ ethnicity with a high degree of precision. The implication is that estimates of ethnic inequalities are little affected by measurement issues or by the indicator used. His thesis will deal more generally with issues of educational stratification and intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status.

This listing of ongoing research by the CILS4EU project team, even though it can only give a selective picture, clearly demonstrates the strengths of the data, including its great range and broad focus (e.g., from parent-child dyads to socioeconomic measures), which captures myriad aspects of integration and offers fruitful perspectives for future research. We hope this contribution encourages potential data users to consider CILS4EU as an important data resource for their own research.