



2000 Families: identifying the research potential of an origins-of migration study

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Abstract (143 words)

Despite extensive recent advances in the empirical and theoretical study of migration, certain critical areas in the analysis of European migration remain relatively underdeveloped both theoretically and empirically. Specifically, we lack studies that both incorporate an origin comparison and trace processes of intergenerational transmission across migrants over multiple generations and incorporating family migration trajectories. This paper outlines the development, data and design of such a study, the 2000 Families study, framed within a theoretical perspective of ‘dissimilation’ from origins and over generations. We term the study an origins-of-migration study, in that it captures the country of origin, the family origins and potentially the originating causes of migration processes and outcomes. The resulting data comprised nearly 2,000 migrant and non-migrant Turkish families with members across three or more generations, covering 50,000 individuals. We reflect on the potential of this study for migration research.

Keywords: Migration, Europe, Turkey, dissimilation, intergenerational transmission, origins-of-migration study

Introduction

There have been dramatic advances in the empirical and theoretical study of migration in the past few decades. Nevertheless, certain critical areas in the analysis of migration remain relatively underdeveloped both theoretically and empirically. While there is a plethora of studies comparing the experience of both migrants and the second generation with majority populations across a range of countries and domains, we have a much weaker understanding of how migrants and their descendants fare relative to those ‘left behind’ in the country of origin. A number of studies have explicitly covered sending areas (Massey et al. 1987); but such origin comparisons and the linked acknowledgement of cross-border movements and ties emerged quite recently and are still rarely represented in large-scale quantitative data sources. Moreover, despite increasing interest in the transmission of not only socio-economic position of migration (Platt 2007) but also cultural attitudes and behaviours within families across generations (Phalet and Schonpflug 2001), we have much less insight either into the persistence of this transmission to the third or subsequent generations, nor how it operates among families split across national borders.

In this article, we describe a recent study, the 2000 Families study, which specifically addresses these research lacunae. We term the study an *origins-of-migration* study, in that it captures the country of origin, the family origins and the originating causes of migration processes and outcomes. The study comprises three distinct data sets covering in greater or lesser detail the direct families and descendants of nearly 2000 men who were living in ‘sending regions’ in Turkey during the peak labour migration period of the 1960s and early 1970s. The data record the characteristics and experiences of 1,583 migrants and their children and grandchildren in both Europe and Turkey, with a comparison sample of families of 409 non-migrants. These non-migrants were contemporaries of the migrants who did not

migrate (even if their children or grandchildren may have done). One dataset provides basic demographic information on all 50,000 family members of both migrants and non-migrants. A second provides additional information on the education, employment, marriage and fertility of all adults in these families, covering around 20,000 adults; while a third provides detailed socio-economic, cultural and attitudinal information from interviews with a sample of randomly selected 5,980 adult family members across three generations.

In the remainder of this paper, we expand on the potential of the 2000 Families study for enhancing our understanding of migration patterns and processes, developing empirical research on the impacts of migration, and informing new theoretical perspectives. In the next section, we discuss current research in relation to the origin-oriented perspectives and multi-generational studies and review the theoretical stance which informed the study. We then briefly explore the implications for study design, before providing a detailed description of the 2000 Families study design, data collection and resulting resources. We review the research potential stemming from the data, which become available to the research community in late 2015. We conclude with some reflections on future extensions.

New developments in migration research

The role of origin perspectives

There have been recent challenges to the national-level focus of the majority of migration studies. A series of critical publications across the social sciences has called for new theoretical and methodological perspectives in international migration studies to supplement existing research and thereby better capture the complex nature of the phenomenon. These have emphasised the importance of transnational perspectives (Levitt, DeWind and Vertovec 2003), discussed the limitations of the assimilation theories (Schneider and Crul 2010) and

critiqued methodological nationalism (Amelina and Faist 2012; Wimmer and Schiller 2003).
(See also the other papers in these three special issues.)

More specifically, this literature advances a call for multi-site and cross-border approaches, for example, those that include both origin and destination sites (FitzGerald 2012; Zirh 2012), undocumented international migrants (FitzGerald 2012) and longer time spans (Telles and Ortiz 2009) to unravel the complexities of international and internal migration. Amelina and Faist (2012: 1708) invite ‘new and unexpected data’ to contribute to cross-border theorizing and avoid the methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Schiller 2003) that primarily explains migration processes using terminologies and categories of destination nations and is driven by policy concern of these nations. They propose a greater focus on the understanding of causal mechanisms of migration processes. This literature makes it clear that the relationship between those in and moving between origin societies and destination locations is not yet sufficiently incorporated in research.

Cross-border connections and transnational activities are clearly longstanding features of migration experience, albeit they vary substantially across migrant groups (Portes 2003; Waldinger 2013). There are intensive links to origin societies, representing economic, social and cultural remittances and exchange, which have implications for both migrants and origin societies and their temporal transformation. Nevertheless, often for practical reasons, the prevalence of return migration, the transnational character of today’s migration, the complexities of migration chains, and the implications for origin as well as destination societies are often studied as separate – rather than interconnected – fields of interest (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014; Harzig and Hoerder 2009; Koser 2007).

Decisions to move, stay, and return, and tied and chain migration have been analysed in the US (Massey 1987; Massey et al. 1987), and there is increasing interest in studying migrants returning from Europe (Dustmann 2008; Heering, van der Erf and van Wissen 2004). Return migrants are missed in surveys of destination societies and, except for some notable studies, they are rarely studied in origin countries (Abadan-Unat et al. 1975). Hence, clarification of the sociological mechanisms behind the individual, household, and family networks on migration and remigration processes has been scarce (Schoorl et al. 2000). An origin-oriented perspective can explore the characteristics of return migrants, who form the majority of labour migrants (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014), and it can illuminate the role of migration networks across family and generations, and their influence on subsequent migration and remigration.

An interconnected perspective that explicitly links origin and destination countries also requires an expanded theoretical framework to complement the dominant paradigm of assimilation in its revived formulation (Alba and Nee 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Furthermore, as Schneider and Crul (2010) correctly state, the assimilation and segmented assimilation theories were developed in the USA and have chiefly been useful in explaining the economic and cultural dynamics of migrants to North America and their offspring. However, Europe comprises multiple destination countries with a range of institutional features and other contextual diversity that is consequential for migrant integration (Koopmans, Michalowski and Waibel 2012). For these reasons, Crul and Schneider (2010) developed a new theory to analyse the second-generation incorporation in the European countries, one that explicitly takes destination variation into account.

At the same time, FitzGerald (2012) from an ethnographic perspective, offers the concept of “*dissimilation*” as providing understanding of a migrant’s position in the economic, social, and cultural domains relative to those in their origin country. Unlike “assimilation” where the reference population is the country of destination, dissimilation is its counterpart, which highlights how migrants become different from people who stayed in the origin country (FitzGerald 2012). Utilising this framework facilitates interrogation of the mechanisms behind key features of particular migrations and migrant populations and enables an alternative evaluation of the ‘gains’ and ‘losses’ of migration for migrants and their descendants.

Finally, a focus on the country of origin allows a greater sensitivity to the historical circumstances of migration (Vermeulen 2010) and enables the more appropriate embedding of migrants in their pre-migration experience or that of their parents and grandparents, and the consequent implications for their post-migration trajectories. This historical sensitivity is itself facilitated by an intergenerational approach that allows identification of the ways in which migration experience evolves over time, as origin characteristics are perpetuated, reproduced or transformed. It also reveals the longitudinal interaction between migrant origins and the (differing) contexts of destinations.

Multi-generational families

A key sociological interest is mapping and interpreting change over time at both the individual and societal levels – and their intersection, through the identification of age, period and cohort effects. Hence, dynamic rather than cross-sectional perspectives, which can enable research on individual development and societal change, as well as transmission within families, are often preferred.

Families are usually considered the primary agents of socialisation, ensuring some perpetuation of both their socio-economic position and their values over generations (Hitlin 2006); but most research has so far focused on parent-child relations. However, multiple-generation transmission, transmission at different points in the life-course and in both directions and the role of 'grandparents' is now becoming a strong strand of both social-psychological and sociological investigation as well as among gerontologists and life-course research (Chan and Boliver 2013; Glass, Bengtson and Dunham 1986; Hagestad 2006). Grandparents may be directly involved in childrearing when they live nearby, or indirectly through support to the parents (Hagestad 2006). Whether near or far, they may exhibit a certain cultural-normative power and be the 'cultural window' into the family's history (Bengtson et al. 2009, 328). Legal regulations and social institutions facilitate the transmission of mobility-relevant resources such as financial wealth through multiple generations.

Key moments in one generation's life course can have long-term consequences not only for future generations but also for preceding ones (Hagan, MacMillan and Wheaton 1996). One such major event or 'interruption' that constitutes a breakpoint in the individual and family life course is migration. Formerly existing cultural, economic or social capital of (grand)parents may be devalued or lost; and intergenerational transmission processes of (grand)parental resources to children may be hampered or at least challenged (Nauck 2001). Siblings and cousins are also of interest for both substantive and methodological reasons in family research generally and in migration research specifically. Sibling influences are important not so much for "transmission" but rather "spill-over" mechanisms. There is some research on spill-over effects of peers from outside the family (e.g. on fertility decisions), but

little from within the family (Lyngstad and Prskawetz 2010). Sibling models can, moreover, provide unbiased estimates of transmission, since they can identify unobserved family effects (Huijnk and Liefbroer 2012; Kalmijn et al. 2006). Nevertheless, in migration research, both sibling, cousin, and grandparent effects have rarely been studied.

In existing analysis, the focus has primarily been on the transmission between two migrant generations, following migration. In accordance with (testing) the expectations of assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 1997), studies have extensively explored divergence between migrants and the ‘second-generation’ (see, e.g. Borjas 1992; Guveli and Platt 2011; Maliepaard and Lubbers 2013; Phalet and Schonpflug 2001; Platt 2007). Note that in such analysis migrant generation and family generation are equivalent, with the first (migrant) generation representing the first (family) generation, even if there is no direct family link between the two migrant generations. As Telles and Ortiz (2009) have pointed out, however, the conclusions derived from comparisons across unrelated migrant generations and those derived from family transmission can differ.

Data constraints typically mean that a multiple-generational approach is rarely applied, even if it is implicit in the theoretical expectations for patterns of assimilation (Alba et al. 2002), since over time and for subsequent generations, the context of origin is expected to become less relevant as a point of reference (Zhou 1997). For example, segmented assimilation theory is mainly developed for and overwhelmingly tested on the second relative to the first generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Some early papers address the “three-generations hypothesis” (Lazerwitz and Rowitz 1964); but in contemporary analysis, the third generation is only rarely investigated (see e.g. Alba et al. 2002; Montero 1981). A significant exception for our purposes is Telles and Ortiz (2009)’s study, which reveals the limits to assimilation

theory when considered over four decades and multiple generations, and the historical-institutional factors implicit in the process.

Clearly, there are likely to be distinct analytical pay-offs to adopting a multigenerational approach. For example, different generations of a lineage may have different migration patterns and the ‘impact’ of migration may (or may not) extend to those who return to the country of origin. Taken together, both a dissimulation / country of origin and a life course / intergenerational perspective offer particular advantages: they also have particular implications for the design of migration studies, and have thus rarely been combined.

Towards an origins-of-migration study

Over an extended period, scholars have debated the challenges in developing research designs to accommodate key questions for migration research. Back in the 1980s, there was substantial discussion of the difficulties in measuring international migration; arguments tended to favouring combining surveys and ethnographic analysis including the context of origin over analysis of administrative and census data (Fawcett and Arnold 1987; Massey 1987; Zlotnick 1987). Although Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) were among the first to take an origin country perspective, Massey’s (1987) pioneering study combined qualitative and quantitative data collection methods – the *ethnosurvey* – to collect household and individual-level data from four sending regions in Mexico and from a destination area (California) in the USA, employing representative sampling techniques to capture documented and undocumented migrants. Nevertheless, the study compared the features of migrants with non-migrants to only a limited extent.

In recent decades, origin, destination country and context variations have been taken jointly into account in migration studies. For example, Van Tubergen (2006) disentangles the impact of origins and destinations on the integration of migrants in destination societies. However, despite the impressive scale of the study, it focuses only on first generation migrants, and its very scale (18 destination countries, 187 origin countries and 984 combination) limits its potential for specificity. A number of other dedicated migrant and migrant-origin studies have been developed explicitly to capture institutional and destination-country-specific variation, such as *The Integration of the European Second generation* (TIES) study (Crul and Schneider 2010). However, only rarely, such as with the *Migration between Africa and Europe* (MAFE) project (Obucina 2013), do they aim to also incorporate an origin country perspective and link the migration experience in destination with the context of origin.

At the same time, the collection of lineage data in migration studies, represents a real advance on previous approaches using aggregate data with cohort comparisons. Yet, typically, even transmission studies, or those exploiting immigrant boost samples in national surveys, have comprised two generations. However, there are examples of innovative surveys which have included three-generational data on migrants, such as the Longitudinal Study of Generations (Bengtson et al. 2009), the cross-cultural Value-of-Children Study (Trommsdorff and Nauck 2005), or the Three-Generations Study of Mexican Americans (Markides 1986); and register data has occasionally also been used to link (migrant) family members across generations (Andersson and Hammarstedt 2010; Hammarstedt 2009).

Nevertheless, the opportunity to study multiple generations of contemporary migrant-origin families incorporating an origin-country perspective, and multiple destination contexts is currently wanting. Specifically, we lack what we term an origins-of-migration study, which

combines a country of origin-oriented perspective with a detailed understanding of how families' migration behaviour – and its consequences – is or is not linked to their family origins and trajectories.

Developing an origins-of-migration study: the 2000 Families study

In response, during 2008, an international team of migration scholars developed a research design able to integrate origin effects, destination variation, and multi-generational perspectives, and hence likely to offer rich rewards for empirical analysis and further theoretical development.

The key features of the design were threefold. First, a *comparative origin-based design*: covering multiple sending sites in a single country of origin (Turkey) with sampling of both “migrant” and “non-migrant” comparator families deriving from a labour migrant ancestor, or his non-migrant comparator, from a period of peak migration. If we want to account for who came, who stayed and who returned, and to map out the consequences of the migration decision on both the migrants and those left behind, we need to start from the population of origin. Most migrants move to improve their life chances and the life chances of their families compared to what they would have been without migrating. This calls for a causal analysis of migration in a counterfactual framework.

Second, a *family and generation* based design, covering three or more generations, enabling comparison between both proximate (parent-child) and more distant (e.g. grandparent-grandchild) generations within families of origin and between siblings and cousins within generations. This also enabled the complex patterns of migration, staying and returning among the descendants of both migrant and non-migrant ancestors to be tracked. Third, a

multiple-destination country based design that follows migrants from their multiple sites of origin into different local and institutional contexts.

In addition, the design planned to utilise *multiple instruments* to capture not only detailed demographic and family migration histories and trajectories, but to provide extensive information on key areas of respondents' lives central to current concerns in migration literature including: education, employment, cultural and value orientations, religion, family support networks, friends and social networks, health and wellbeing, and identities.

The study framed these questions within the dissimilation perspective that positioned migrant outcomes and trajectories relative to those of non-migrants in the country of origin, estimating divergence from the counterfactual of never having migrated / had migration experience. It also extended this to dissimilation perspective to intergenerational trajectories ('dissimilation from family origins'), with guiding hypotheses that (1) family generations differ due to processes of social change, and (2) due to specifically large context differences and related acculturation processes in migration, the intergenerational gap is larger in migrant as compared to stayer families.

Why Turkish Migration?

The significance of Turkish migration for new theoretical directions in migration research is related to four key features. First, theoretical and empirical research shows that the size of a migrant group and the numbers of co-ethnics matter as a factor for migrant incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), and Turkish migrants constitute the largest migrant population in Europe. Following active recruitment by Western European countries in the face of major labour shortages, it is estimated that between 1961 (when the first labour agreement was

concluded between Germany and Turkey) and 1974 (when the official recruitment ended), almost one million people had migrated to Western Europe (Akgunduz 2008). These migrants were expected to be temporary (Castles, De Haas and Miller 2014), and substantial numbers returned; but many stayed in Europe. After 1974, migrants were often motivated by family reunion, but employment, education and political protection became the most important reasons to move. Hence, including dual citizens and the naturalized, an estimated five million people of Turkish *descent* live in Western Europe: of these, around 3.5 million were in Germany, close to half a million in the Netherlands, France and Austria each, smaller but significant groups in Sweden, Denmark and Belgium, and small numbers in Norway and the UK.¹

Second, the original, ‘pioneer’ Turkish migration occurred at a time when mass migration to Europe was a relatively new phenomenon. Hence, tracing these original migrant flows, provides insight into migrant processes when migrant integration policies were nascent, and when migrant restrictions were much lower than those faced by subsequent first generation migrants. Third, Turkish migrants and their descendants are spread over various Western European countries, which enables research to shed light on the importance of different contexts, policies and societal structures, in their immediate and longer term, intergenerational outcomes (Crul and Schneider 2010).

Fourth, together with other migrant groups to Europe in this period, Turkish migrants introduced Islam to the European Christian destination countries. Religion has been considered an important building block for migrant communities (Guveli 2014); but our scientific knowledge so far relates almost exclusively to the earlier migration movements

from Europe to America (Herberg 1955), comprising Catholic, Protestant and Jewish migrants.

Together these features mean that the Turkish case provides not only a *particular* study of interest and value but also gives the potential to offer *general* propositions on migration processes and trajectories that complement and advance those informed by the recent growth in European migration studies and the long-standing influence of North American migration theories.

Implementing the 2000 Families study

The 2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe study is the first survey that addresses three-generational migrant family data at a large scale in Europe. Funded by the NORFACE (New Opportunities for Research Funding Agency Co-operation in Europe) migration programme, the 2000 Families study was put into the field in 2010/12, and data documentation are currently being finalized for deposit for the research community (Authors, 2015) while a volume outlining findings in a selection of areas of interest will be published in 2015 (Authors, 2015).

The starting point for the origin-oriented, multi-generational and multi-site research design, was the identification of a sample of male labour migrants (“migrant ancestor”) who migrated from a set of high sending regions in Turkey during the peak migration period of 1961-1974, alongside a comparative sample of equivalent non-migrants (“non-migrant ancestor”).

Geographical origins

Five districts (*ilçe*) within five Turkish provinces were selected as the origin points for the identification of the migrant and non-migrant families, namely *Akçaabat* (in Trabzon province), *Şarkışla* (in Sivas province), *Emirdağ* (in Afyon province), *Kulu* (in Konya province) and *Acıpayam* (in Denizli province) (see Figure 1). The choice of region was based on a number of criteria. First, they were all rural and semi-rural in character with a low to medium level of development, and had been high-sending regions during the targeted period of migration to Europe. This enabled the identification of the ‘typical’ labour migrant, even though the sample did not set out to be representative of all migrants from Turkey during this period.

Second, they incorporated diversity in destinations. While overall migrants from these regions predominantly migrated to Germany, most emigrants from Kulu went to Sweden and those from Emirdağ went to Belgium and the Netherlands (Akgunduz 2008). Third, religious diversity was incorporated through the selection of Şarkışla, which had a relatively high proportion of Alevis, who were intentionally oversampled. Fourth, ethnic diversity was incorporated by including Kurds, who were prevalent in Kulu.

[Figure 1 Regions about here]

The aim of starting from high-sending areas was that extended family members of the original labour migrants were likely to be living in these areas and hence able to provide contact details of the migrant family members. We would therefore be able to identify migrant ancestors and their families – whether or not the pioneers were still alive – and track their subsequent trajectories and family histories. This would address the bias in destination-based samples that focus only on those who have stayed in the destination country – and

primarily those who have survived, especially in intergenerational studies, and which are unable to factor in the complexity of own and family migration pathways in the experience of those of migrant descent.

Identifying migrant and non-migrant families

The selection of sample families involved a two-stage screening process involving screening a random sample of addresses for a target migrant or non-migrant ‘ancestor’. First, a clustered probability sample was drawn for each region, using the Turkish Statistical Institute’s (TÜİK) address register to identify 100 primary sampling points. From the primary sampling point onwards, the sample was selected through random walk.

At each address, a screening question was initially asked to identify the key migrant / non-migrant ancestor for our target families. This question took the form: *Amongst your, or your partner’s close or distant relatives, is there a man who is alive or dead, is (would have been) between 65 and 90 years old, grew up in [REGION] (i.e. lived here until he was at least 16), who migrated to Europe between the years 1960 and 1974 and stayed in Europe for at least five years?* In order to construct a sample that comprised 80 per cent migrant ancestor families and a 20 per cent comparison group of non-migrant ancestors, interviewers had to identify four migrant households before they could ask about non-migrants. The screening question was the same for identifying the non-migrant ancestor except it asked *who did not migrate to Europe between the years 1960 and 1974* in the last part of the question. The random walk within a sampling point was stopped when 60 households were screened, or when eight families were recruited, whichever occurred first.

Fieldwork took place in the Summers of 2010 (in Şarkışla, as a pilot area) and 2011 (all four other areas). Overall, nearly 21,000 addresses were screened in order to reach our target sample of 400 families in each area (300 in Şarkışla), with a strike rate of around one in every 12 households providing an eligible family. The final sample comprised nearly 2,000 (1992) participating families. Following screening, data collection was carried out during the Summer-Autumn of 2010/11 and Spring 2012 using three main questionnaire instruments. Data collection took place face-to-face where eligible respondents could be identified in the locality during screening, and otherwise by phone follow-up, using the information provided in the initial interview.

Survey Instruments

The first instrument was the *family questionnaire*, which was designed to obtain a complete genealogy of all the male ancestor's children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. It recorded their names, sexes and ages / years of birth, and included questions about the destination country of the male ancestor and the duration of his stay, along with the gender and migration status of his siblings. The family questionnaires were administered following screening of the family, with a well-informed member or relative of the family as a respondent, but partial information was on occasion supplemented through telephone interviews. In addition to the demographic information, the family questionnaire required the contact details of at least two family members to be collected, to enable the remaining instruments to be completed. In total, 1992 family questionnaires (1,580 families of migrants and 412 families of non-migrants) containing information about 48,978 individual family members spread over four generations were completed. These data thus offer the potential for analysis of migration destinations, fertility and spill-over effects (Glick 2010; Lyngstad and Prskawetz 2010), with basic information for a very large number of individuals. It also

provides family context information for the other instruments as well as enabling the random sampling of respondents for the personal questionnaire, discussed below.

Second, the *proxy questionnaire* was developed to generate basic demographic and socio-economic information about all adult lineage members, including the migration history of the person, his/her marital status, religion and educational and occupational background. The proxy interviews were carried out with a nominated ‘expert informant’ from the family, typically one of the ancestor’s children. Fifty four per cent of these interviews were carried out face-to-face, with the remainder being carried out over the phone, and questionnaires were completed for 1,544 of the 1992 families, providing information about 19,666 adults. These data can be used to extend analysis of migrant selection (Stark 1991) intergenerational educational and occupational mobility (Platt 2007) – across three generations or between grandparents and grandchildren (Chan and Boliver 2013). Analysis can take account of the different migration status of the families; and the data can be used to analyse within-family migration trajectories, and the relative timing of marriage (Baykara-Krumme and Fuß 2009), migration and fertility (Milewski 2009).

Finally, the *personal questionnaire* was a more detailed, individual level questionnaire. The sample for this full interview comprised all living migrant / non-migrant ancestors and randomly selected adult members of their family lineages (see Figure 2). Specifically, those selected for interview from the second and third family generations included two of the ancestor’s children and two each of their children who were 18 or above. They were selected using randomisation based on the A-Z rule, that is, selecting those siblings who had the initials of their names closest to A and Z respectively. The questionnaires were translated into the relevant European languages (Germany, Netherlands, France, Denmark, Sweden), though

the vast majority were nevertheless conducted in Turkish. The interview lasted for around an hour and covered demographic, socio-economic and family characteristics of the respondents along with their social networks, values, religiosity and national and political identity. Of 9,787 eligible family members, an interview was achieved with 61 per cent, yielding a total of 5,980 personal interviews across the three generations. Eighty-one per cent of the personal interviews were performed over the telephone as the respondents were widely dispersed across Turkey and Europe.

[Figure 2 Structure of Family Tree about here]

This personal questionnaire renders possible research developing knowledge relating to individual migration biographies and reasons for migration; family processes such as marriage, divorce and remarriage, fertility, age at first birth, family and intergenerational relations (Baykara-Krumme 2008; Milewski 2009; Nauck 1997 ; Parrado and Morgan 2008); socio-economic incorporation (Dustmann, Frattini and Lanzara 2012; Hammarstedt 2009), including educational attainment, first and last occupation, employment status, self-employment, personal and household income and social benefit receipt (Hammarstedt 2000); social incorporation, covering social contacts, network composition (Boyd 1989; Nauck 2001); cultural and religious involvement, including religious practices (Guveli 2014); and values, norms and behaviours (Phalet and Schonpflug 2001; Spierings 2014); and political involvement, including voting behaviour and left-right political orientation (Heath et al. 2013). For the vast majority of these topics, the analysis can extend the existing literature through comparison between migrants and non-migrants and across different forms of family migration trajectory. It can thereby illuminate the nature and degree of dissimilation from origins, and the patterns of intergenerational dissimilation and how these vary according to

migration context and history. It can identify the ‘gains’ and ‘losses’ of migration to those with different forms of family migration experience.

Overall, 759 families had ‘complete’ information across all instruments. That is, they provided a fully constructed family tree, proxy interview and personal interviews with all the eligible adult members. Key to the success of the study was a committed fieldforce, which was not only trained by but also closely monitored and supported by the research team in the regions and in the telephone follow-up phase.

Strengths of the design

The strengths of the chosen design are several. First, it is *origin-country* based. This means that all migrant groups, including returnees, could be covered unless they left the region without a trace. Second, the design is *region* based, thereby, allowing investigation of local factors stimulating migration as well as the migration effects on the region of origin. Third, the design is *family* and *generation* based, covering three and in some cases four and five generations.² This enables comparison between generations within families and between siblings within generations.

Further advantages of the design stem from the adoption of multiple data collection instruments. The use of a family tree provided a sample frame for random selection of family members. The proxy questionnaire resulted in a demographic database on Turkish migration of unprecedented size and with multiple generations within families. The personal interviews generated rich and varied information on the respondent’s behaviours, resources, values and beliefs.

Limitations

The chosen design is, however, not without some limitations. As mentioned, the sample of regions was not intended to be representative of all migrant Turks from the particular period, and hence it cannot speak to all of the existing Turkish population in Europe. Moreover, sampling from origins meant families who completely broke links with the region could not be sampled; and there will be a bias towards the inclusion of those from larger families. Finally, by restricting the scope of the study to labour migration in the 1961-74, the survey only partially covered those from non-migrant family backgrounds who subsequently moved to Europe.

In relation to the achieved sample, while the fieldwork was largely successful, there was, in some areas, a reluctance to share information at the screening stage, sometimes in the face of ‘scares’ about investigations by European national social security offices. In other areas there were some difficulties in finding respondents at home, even with repeat visits. Nevertheless, since the doorstep respondent was primarily providing information about the family rather than about themselves, this should not have biased the sample towards the economically inactive. Other challenges of fieldwork were the relatively inaccessible nature of some villages; and obtaining contact information for those family members who were less well integrated into family networks. For this reason, an additional tracing procedure was put in place in 2012 to establish contact and perform interviews with hard-to-reach family members to maximise coverage and representativeness of the sample: this succeeded in delivering 500 personal interviews.

Conclusions and discussion

This article has sought to demonstrate the potentially significant contributions an origins-of-migration study such as the 2000 Families study can make to wider migration research.

Social, economic and cultural integration of first generation migrants and their children has been the focus of extensive studies in Europe and elsewhere. However, much remains unknown about the multi-generational transmission of family processes, social, cultural and economic resources, values and behaviours. Furthermore, migrants are mainly compared to other migrants and/or natives, whereas studies comparing migrants to those left behind or those re-emigrated to the same origin country are an exception. Transnational studies on intra- and international migration processes have been established in the US (Massey et al. 1987) but they are scarce in Europe. The 2000 Families study set out to fill these gaps and extend existing theory and findings on international migration and family processes and intergenerational mobility.

The 2000 Families is one of the largest surveys on Turkish diaspora in Europe but the merits of the survey extend far beyond this. By drawing parallel samples of migrant and non-migrant families from their starting points in Turkey, it fosters analysis from a ‘dissimilation’ perspective to determine the extent to which the migrants socially, economically and politically distance themselves from their origins. It also identifies the counterfactual, that is, what would have happened if they had made the decision not to migrate?

By tracing the family lineages of both migrants and non-migrants, the survey broadens the scope of research to include multi-generational transmission and the influence of grandparents on grandchildren (and vice versa). In addition, by covering early labour migrants and their descendants spread across eight host societies, it allows an exploration of the likely cross-country differences in the economic, social, cultural and/or political

integration of a sizeable migrant group in Europe. Last but not least, the survey captures return migrants; thereby providing a rare opportunity to throw light on an understudied area.

These contributions can be extended to other countries and other migration flows, further expanding generalizability of the findings from the study and its theoretical arguments. Being able to implement a comparable origins-of-migration design will provide greater robustness to claims about the ‘gains and losses’ of migration stemming from analysis of the socio-economic, social and cultural spheres in the innovative 2000 Families study. In addition, the contributions themselves prompt further developments: the ability to incorporate both origin (dissimilation) and destination (assimilation) perspectives into research will benefit from future studies that can incorporate reference populations *both* at origin *and* destination. While European migration studies typically, though not always, have a country majority sample as the reference population, the 2000 Families study has an origin but no destination comparator population.

We have argued that the 2000 Families study proffers a unique resource for addressing some of the underdeveloped issues in migration research – a resource that will become available to researchers through GESIS in late 2015 (Authors, forthcoming 2016). Future analysis of this significant study will illustrate further the strengths and insights that an origins-of-migration study can offer. But such analysis should also be expected to reveal the issues that it cannot address, and its limits for fully testing the propositions of the dissimilation theoretical perspective, and will hence suggest an important agenda for subsequent primary migration research in Europe.

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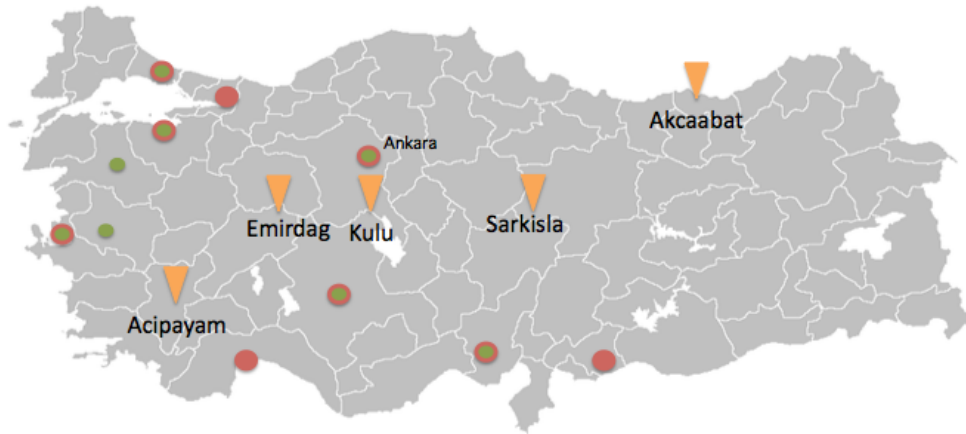
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Endnotes

- 1) According to our combined statistics on the basis of Turkish and Eurostat figures. The Turkish figures are from the Turkish Ministry of Development, consulted on 27th March 2014: <http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/Pages/EkonomikSosyalGostergeler.aspx>
- 2) Where it benefits the analysis, it is possible to include information collected on the occupation of the father of the ancestor. Great-grandchildren of the ancestor are covered in the family module and in a small number of cases and reached adulthood by the time of the survey.

Figures

Figure 1: Selected regions of origin in Turkey



Note: Green circles indicate the provinces with a population of 250,000 or higher in 1965; red circles indicate the cities with a population over 1,000,000 in 2012.

Figure 2: Structure of family tree and selected respondents for the personal interview

