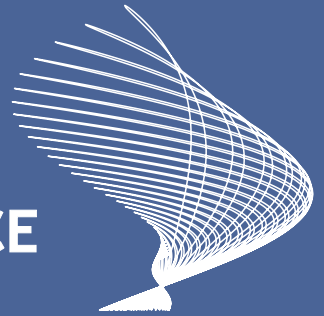


NORFACE
MIGRATION



Migration: Paths of Exploration Spring 2014

NORFACE Research Programme on Migration

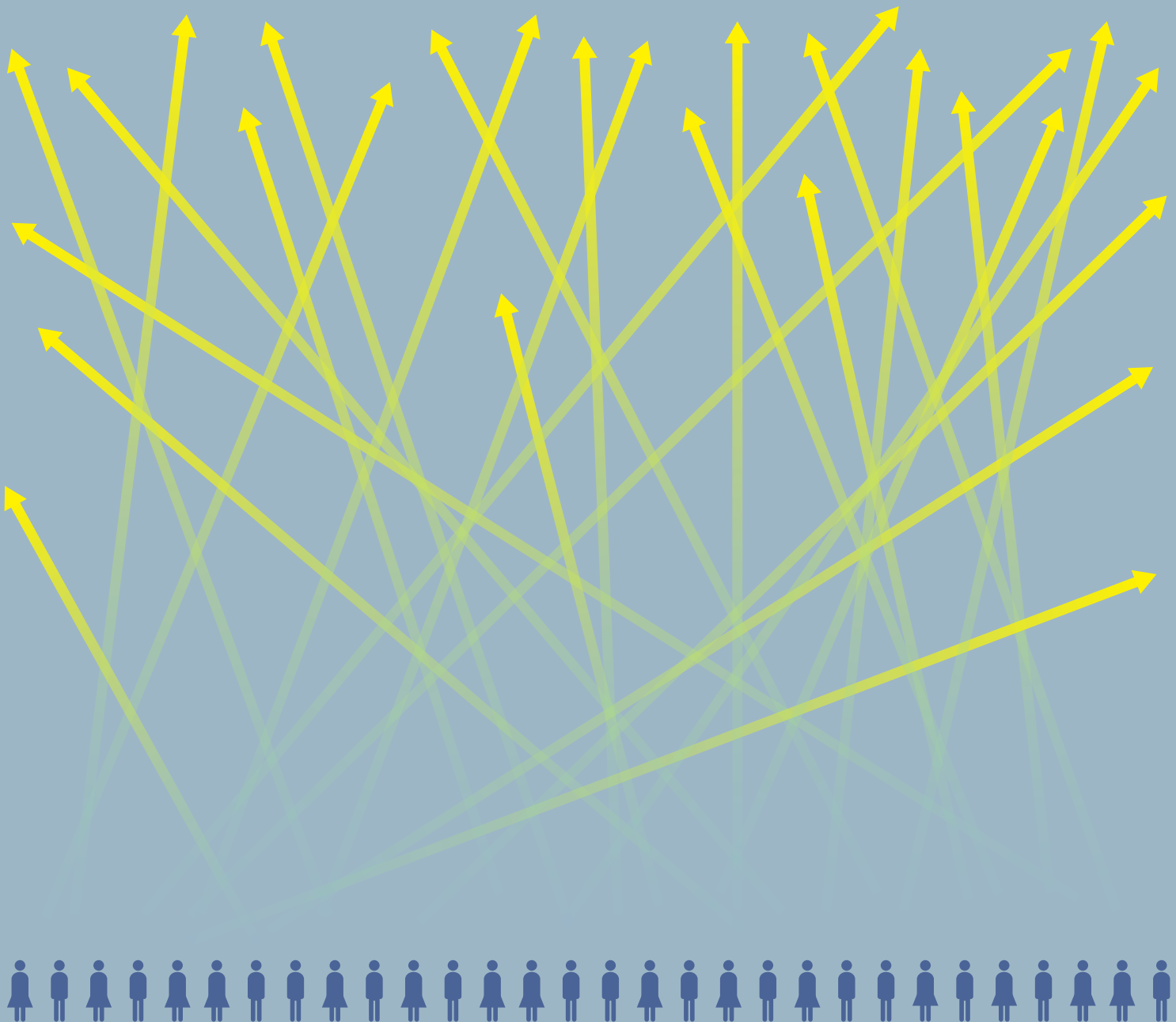


Table of Contents

NORFACE MIGRATION



About NORFACE Migration programme	3	
About NORFACE	3	
NORFACE Migration	3	
List of Migration Projects	3	
Letter from the Scientific Director	4	
 PART 1: Data collection	5	PART 2: A Selection of On-going Research Projects
The Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU): Efforts, Challenges, and Success in Primary Data Collection	5	From Bridgeheads to Gateclosers: How Migrant Networks Contribute to Declining Migration from Morocco to the Netherlands
A Multisite, Multigenerational and Origin-based Study of 2,000 Familiess	7	Out-migration, Wealth Constraints and the Quality of Local Amenities
Data Collection Efforts of the NODES Team	10	Cross-border Labour Flows from Estonia to Neighbouring Countries
Primary Data Collection Activities in the MIDI-REDIE Project	12	Diversity in Polish Migration in Europe
Survey on Post-enlargement Romanians in Italy	13	Transnational Child Raising Arrangements: Subjective Well-being Outcomes of Angolan and Nigerian Migrant Parents in the Netherlands
Does Gender-matching in Personal Interviews with Migrants Decrease Refusal Rates?	14	Measuring the Effects of Housing and Urban Policies on Ethnic Spatial Segregation in Four Countries
Experiences with a Simultaneous Matched Sample Methodology	16	Turkish Immigrant Families: Positive Relation between Fathers' Involvement in Parenting and Children's Well-being
Respondent-Driven Sampling as a Recruitment Method	17	Family Stress and Family Investment Models in Ethnic Minority Pre-adolescents
		Wage Gaps between Native and Migrant Graduates of Higher Education Institutions in the Netherlands
		Immigrant Integration in Norwegian Education Policies over 50 Years
		The 'Children of Immigrants' Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries' (CILS4EU): New Perspectives for Integration Research
		40

About NORFACE Migration Programme

About NORFACE

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 €28 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 synergetically 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

List of Migration Projects

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
- CILS4EU – Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries
- IMEM – Integrated Modelling of European Migration
- LineUp – 500 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe
- MIDI-REDIE – Migrant Diversity and Regional Disparity in Europe
- MI3 – Migration: Integration, 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
- TCRAf-Eu - Transnational Child-rearing Arrangements between Africa and Europe
- THEMIS – Theorizing the Evolution of European Migration Studies

Letter from the Scientific Director

NORFACE
MIGRATION



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, pursuing 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.aprilconference2013.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 web site 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.

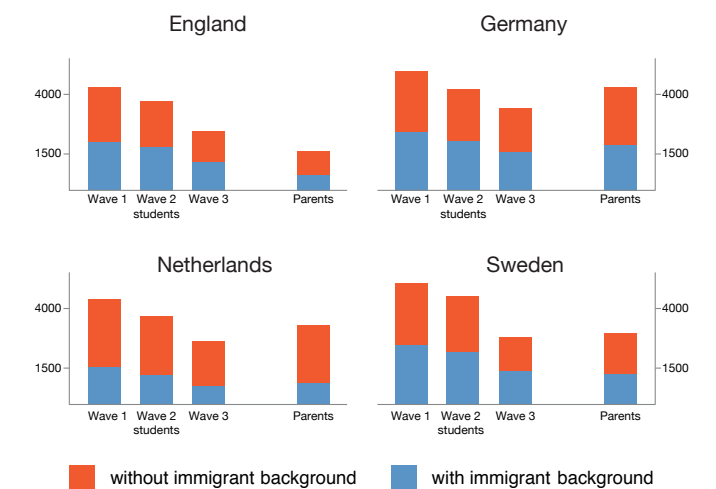
Table 1: Number of cases by school, class, and teacher

	EN	GE	NL	SW	Total
Schools	107	144	100	129	480
Classes	214	271	222	251	958
Teachers	182	248	190	216	836

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 comparably

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 15% 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 survey. 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 still 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.

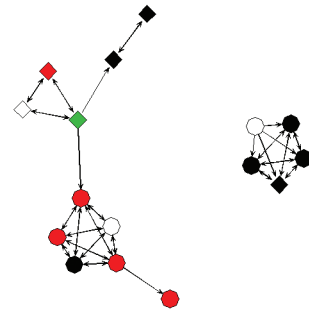
As these challenges clearly show, school surveys constitute an ambitious field of research. Yet they offer various advantages that make them a fruitful source of information for both general and integration research. First, despite the difficulties resulting from poor cooperation at the school level, 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 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, who is bullied by whom, and/or which peers' parents know each other. This information is much richer than data on social ties collected by means of standard network measures like name generators, and is especially fruitful for capturing social integration processes among immigrant children in an important domain of their lives.

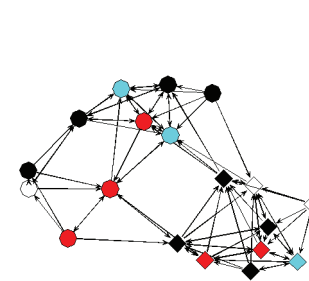
Figure 2 summarises the relational patterns within two example classrooms from the CILS4EU study. Symbol shape designates student sex (circle: male; square: female), the different colours represent different immigrant groups, and black symbols represent those without an immigrant background.

Figure 2: Socio-metric networks in two example classrooms

13101502



20320102



The arrows between the symbols designate friendship ties between different students. As the upper graph indicates, the students in this classroom are quite segregated, with comparably few social ties between members of different groups. In contrast, the lower graph shows an integrated school class, with many cross-group social ties. These descriptive findings immediately raise important research questions, such as how to explain these differences in social integration patterns within the school classes and what the long-term consequences are of being more firmly or more weakly embedded in the school class with regard to a student's educational and/or occupational success.

Summary

In sum, the school-based research design implemented in CILS4EU provides unique opportunities to study integration processes among children and young adults with an immigrant background in one of the most important contexts of their everyday life. Hence, challenges like a comparatively high non-response rate at the school level and specific demands in questionnaire development are outweighed by high participation rates at the individual level and the opportunity to collect valid contextual information. Moreover, implementing socio-metric questionnaires effectively captures the complex social integration processes surrounding the myriad social ties in school classes while taking into account the perceptions of both immigrant children and their native counterparts.

More information about the CILS4EU project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=2

A Multisite, Multigenerational, and Origin-based Study of 2,000 Families

By Ayse Guveli, Niels Spierings and Sait Bayraktar

The '2000 Families' study provides original insights into the ways migration to Europe impacts the lives of migrants and their children and grandchildren. It does so by focusing on the largest non-Western migrant group in the EU: Turks. According to European statistics, there are over five million Turkish migrants and their offspring in Europe, making the study both relevant and timely.

Originally planned as the '500 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe' project aimed at collecting data on the whereabouts of 500 Turkish migrant and non-migrant families, the project has since metamorphosed into '2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe'. The reason, simply stated, is that our unique research design and corresponding initial analyses revealed that migration processes are more complex than generally considered and merit more extensive examination. Hence, our project has already made an important contribution to knowledge of migration patterns – but more lies ahead.

The '2000 Families' study

Study motives

The social, economic, and cultural integration of migrants and their children is of pressing contemporary interest. Yet despite the wealth of scholarly research in Europe and elsewhere, there remain major lacunae in our understanding of generational change and continuity among migrants and their families. In particular, there is little direct evidence of the intergenerational transmission of social, cultural, religious, and economic resources and behaviours. One reason for this dearth is that previous research compares migrants with other migrant groups or natives of the destination countries with no large-scale comparisons across generations between the migrants and those left behind in origin countries. Lastly, although the importance of transnational studies for understanding international migration processes is now well established in the U.S., similar studies are scarce in Europe. As a result, we know little about how migrants compare to those who remained in or returned to the country of origin.

The '2000 Families' study makes it possible to directly test the impact of international migration to Europe on migrants and their offspring across multiple family generations. In particular, it develops a new theoretical perspective on the socioeconomic gains of migration and on cultural and religious "dissimilation" from the origin country. Specifically, it asks the following important questions: To what extent do migrants and their children and grandchildren continue to display the behaviours and beliefs of their non-migrant counterparts? Do they develop distinctive trajectories in response to the migration experience and destination context?

Contributions 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 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 descendants 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, new theories 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 descendants 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.

Table 2: Number and percentage of Turkish citizens in European countries in 2006

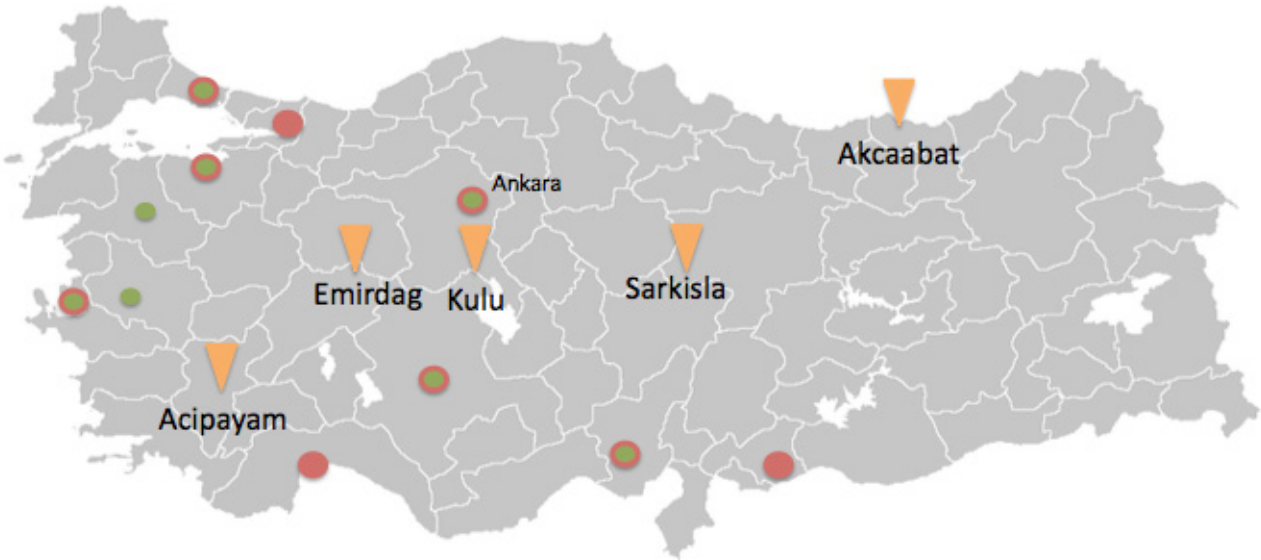
Country	N Turkish citizens	% of total citizenry
Germany	1,738,831	59
France	423,471	14
Netherlands*	364,333	12
Austria	113,635	4
United Kingdom	52,893	2
Sweden	73,861	2
Denmark*	54,859	2
Switzerland	63,580	2
Belgium	39,664	1
Norway	15,356	0
Italy	14,124	0
Finland	7,000	0
Total	2,961,607	100

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

Research design

The study’s unique design is origin oriented, multisite, and multigenerational. Data collection occurred in five high sending regions (Akçaabat, Şarkışla, Kulu, Emirdağ, Acipayam) spread around Turkey (Figure 3) and included a representative sample of men who migrated or could have migrated as labour 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 2000 families of the project title.

Figure 3: Selected regions of origin in Turkey



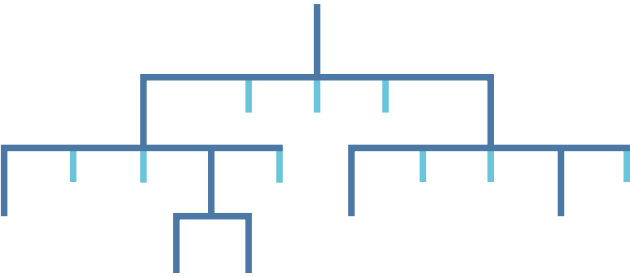
Note: Green circles indicate the provinces with a population of 250,000 or higher in 1965; red circles indicate the cities with a population over 1,000,000 in 2012.

Data collection

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



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 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.

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 1992 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

	N	%
Ancestor (first generation men)	1992	4.1
Second generation (children)	10387	21.2
Third generation (grandchildren)	6561	54.2
Fourth generation (great grandchildren)	10038	20.5

Source: ‘2000 Families’, family tree dataset.

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

	Ancestors only		Descendants	
Moved to and stayed in Europe	401	24.4	4010	21.7
Return migrant	906	55.0	601	3.2
Born in Europe	-	-	3953	21.4
Non-migrant in Turkey	339	20.6	9931	53.7
Total	1646	100	18495	100

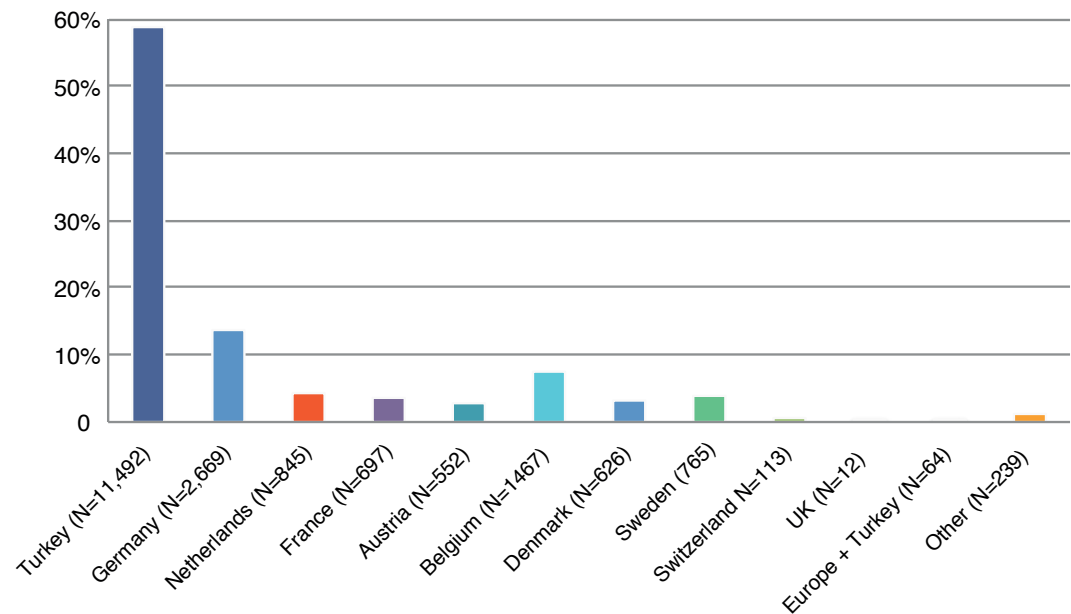
Source: ‘2000 Families’, family tree dataset.

In the subsequent generations, the majority of descendants were born in Turkey and never left (54%), about one fifth moved to and remained in Europe, and another fifth was born in Europe. Only a small group of descendants were return migrants in contrast to the majority of ancestors, who went back to Turkey. Only 1% of the European-born family members moved to Turkey (not shown in Table 4).

Country of residence

Most of the European Turks surveyed now live in Germany, followed by Belgium, the Netherlands, and France. However, as a comparison of Figure 5 and Table 2 shows, the ‘2000 Families’ dataset does not completely reflect the distribution of Turks in the European destination countries, partly because of the relations between some sending regions and certain receiving countries. For example, Emirdağ reflects mainly chain migration to Belgium, meaning that the data show higher numbers of Turks in Belgium than the Table 2 distribution indicates.

Figure 5: Country of residence



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 focused on 500 rather than 2,000 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 these returners 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’s 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 demographic 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 Ganzeboom, Prof Dr Lucinda Platt, Prof Dr Bernhard Nauck, Dr Helen Baykara-Krumme, Dr Sebnem Eroglu, Sait Bayraktar, Efe Kerem Sozeri, Dr Niels Spierings.

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

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 careers (SP2) and housing strategies (SP4), as well as the motives and rationale behind the migration choices of native households (SP3). 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 families – 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 many European countries. Yet despite the vast amount of research linking neighbourhood ethnic composition to neighbourhood preferences and satisfaction, studies examining how preferences, perceptions, and experiences affect actual moving behaviour have been scarce. The NODES subproject 3 was therefore designed to study these linkages with the help of rich register-based survey data.

The survey used was designed in collaboration with the National Statistical Authorities and targeted native-born residents in the Helsinki, Oslo, and Stockholm regions. The questionnaire included items on housing and family situation, neighbourhood satisfaction, attitudes towards immigrants, and more specific questions about the choice of current neighbourhood and reasons for the last move. The survey was sent to 9,000 respondents (3,000 in each city), a target population divided into four strata in each capital region (750 persons in each stratum) based on residential mobility status. Half of the sample (1,500) was drawn from ‘stayers’, defined as individuals living in the same neighbourhood in 2008–2009 and still living in that neighbourhood at the time of the survey. Another half (1,500) were drawn from ‘movers’, defined as individuals living in the same neighbourhood during 2008–2009 but who moved to another neighbourhood during 2010. Both movers and stayers were further divided into two groups according to the type of neighbourhood resided in during 2008–2009. The first two strata consisted of stayers in, and movers from, the most immigrant-dense neighbourhoods, while the latter two strata contained stayers and movers from all other neighbourhoods. The respondents were selected from the National Statistical Authorities’ population registers according to these criteria.

The survey results provide support for the assumption that neighbourhood factors – particularly, neighbourhood ethnic composition – affect mobility decisions, especially those of natives leaving immigrant-dense neighbourhoods. For instance, Hedman, Vilkkama, Brattbakk, and Vaattovaara found that although the general attitudes among those moving out of the most immigrant-dense neighbourhoods are fairly similar to those of others, a surprisingly large share of the movers from the most immigrant-dense neighbourhoods specified the high share of immigrants in the former neighbourhood as an important reason for their decision to relocate. The natives moving out of the most immigrant-dense neighbourhoods were also considerably more likely than other movers to be dissatisfied with their former neighbourhoods and to explicitly want to leave that neighbourhood. In particular, although they identified ethnic composition in their former neighbourhood as an important reason for their dissatisfaction, they commonly cited reasons related to safety and social problems in the neighbourhood. Yet the most common reason for leaving was a lack of appropriate housing. This same survey data was used to analyse native residents’ attitudes towards ethnic segregation, as well as their avoidance behaviour and the impacts of schools on mobility decisions.

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 Nordic countries differ, three groups (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 gathered through qualitative 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 to varied country background, the interviewees differed in reasons for immigration (work, refuge, family), household composition, socioeconomic resources, housing situation achieved, and location 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, Dhalmann, Holmqvist, Skovgaard Nielsen, and Søholt, in 56 interviews, examined Somalis' own perceptions 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 identify the importance of local context and study the intersection between cultural belonging and local housing market contexts. In particular, the analyses showed how local context influences not only the Somalis' housing opportunities but also their housing preferences. It also made clear, however, that cultural background impacts priorities. That is, when local context and cultural background were at odds, the Somali interviewees negotiated the conflict individually within the frames of their referenced social setting. However, although Somalis across the four capitals valued stable and predictable housing situations prior to tenure, those in Copenhagen believed that their desired housing career was possible inside the public housing sector, while those in Oslo thought a shift to ownership was necessary to achieving a stable housing situation. These different situations in the four Nordic capitals resulted from a reluctance to take on loans with interest because of religious convictions and norms. The individual negotiation of this conflict led to different preferences and priorities within and between capitals. The conclusion, therefore, is that local conditions and cultural background must be studied together if perceived housing possibilities are to be understood. It is with this aim that, in addition to conducting interregional comparisons, this research has analysed differences in immigrants' housing and neighbourhood preferences in individual capital regions.

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

Primary Data Collection Activities in the MIDI-REDIE Project

By Merja Kauhanen and Tiit Paas

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 research topic is the causes and consequences of Finland-Estonia 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 Andmevara 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 these 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. This questionnaire also contains qualitative 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 email 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 basic population distributions to be used in the statistical analyses.

The initial analysis of these survey data is already underway with a particular focus on returns to return migration with wages, occupational mobility, and well-being. The preliminary empirical findings from the econometric analysis suggest that Estonian migrants' experiences in Finland provide a post-return earnings premium for wage earners in comparison to

otherwise similar Estonians who have remained in the home country. These results also seem stronger for males than for females.

In-depth interviews of Estonians who lived and worked in Finland

Study aim and data collection

The Estonian team conducted a number of in-depth interviews with Estonians who are experiencing or have experienced living and working in Finland. The aim of these interviews was to gather more specific and deeper information about the emigration process, emigration motives, new life experiences, accumulation of knowledge and experience, attitudes towards home and host country, and actual or expected time of return. To differentiate case types, this research initially focused on three types of migrant groups: (i) those living in Finland with no return migration intentions, (ii) those living in Finland with return migration intentions, and (iii) those who have actually returned to Estonia after living for some time in Finland. This demarcation of cases, however, proved not to be so straightforward, a reality that may or may not be unique to migration between Estonia and Finland.

Sample design

The sample was constructed around the need to recruit individuals in the three previously mentioned categories (migrants living in Finland with or without return intentions and actual returnees). After several contacts were identified from a previous migration survey database, initial contacts were made through e-mails and a snowball sampling technique employed to recruit additional interviewees. The only sampling restriction was that participants have been working in Finland for more than three months. The final sample consisted of 32 interviewees, 18 males and 14 females. The average age was 43 years, with 10 individuals between 20 and 35 years old, 13 between 36 and 50 years, and 9 aged 51 years or over. All the interviews were held in comfortable places, some at the participant's own home, in which case both husband and wife were interviewed separately.

Questionnaire for the in-depth interviews

The interview questionnaire consisted of three broad sections:

Section I – questions for all respondents: One part contained items on pre-migration life in Estonia and the emigration process (the residential, family, work, and study situation before the move; previous contacts with Finns; motives and way of leaving). A second part examined life in Finland (organising family life, work and study, finding the first job, career, integration into local life, sources of stress, interest in Finnish citizenship, attitudes and attitudinal changes towards Estonia and Finland) and asked for comparisons between the life in Estonia and that in Finland (from the personal and family points of view).

Section II – questions for migrants in Finland. These items addressed contact with Estonia (connections with Estonia; use of services in both countries) and return migration intentions (time horizon and reasons for intending to return)

Section III – questions for individuals who had returned to Estonia. These items asked about contacts with Estonia

while living in Finland, reason for return, living conditions after returning (place and contacts), conditions while in Finland, career advancement (new skills, knowledge), problems of reintegration, and intentions of moving back to Finland.

Interviewing process

To extend the validity chain throughout the research process, interview data were collected by four different researchers. The interviews themselves, conducted from the end of August until the middle of November 2012, were mostly face-to-face and took place in both Finland and Estonia. Only two interviews were carried out through Skype. The average duration of an interview was 45 to 60 minutes, and all interviews were saved digitally and later transcribed. To ensure anonymity, the names of the interviewees have been changed and other information that can identify them (e.g., company name) has been removed.

The analysis of these interview data, conducted using the qualitative data analysis software NVIVO 10, is also underway. The preliminary results suggest that because of new technologies and fast, frequent, and affordable means of transportation, a phenomenon of transnational commuting has emerged in the case of labour mobility between Estonia and Finland.

More information about the MIDI-REDIE project is available at <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=5>

Survey on Post-enlargement Romanians in Italy

By Isilda Mara and Michael Landesmann

In January–March 2011, a survey was conducted on pre- and post- enlargement Romanian migrants in Italy with the aim of investigating the impact of the 2004 free visa regime and the 2007 Romanian accession to the EU. In addition to exploring how these events have affected the migration plans of Romanian immigrants in Italy, the survey investigated the potential implications for their employment and job mobility. Conducted in certain suburban areas primarily in Rome, Turin, and Milan, the survey, carried out by ISMU–Milan (Iniziativa e Studi sulla Multietnicita), comprised 1,000 interviews with Romanian migrants who had reached Italy between 2004 and 2011.

Sampling and survey method

The survey was designed to cover those themes and areas which appear to have important policy implications related to mobility, temporary or permanent migration, labour market performance and migration experience outcomes, social inclusion, and access to public services and the social welfare system.

Sample selection was conducted through quotas and aggregation centres. To meet the selection goal of a representative sample of 1,000 individuals with proportional geographical coverage, the interview quotas for the respective regional areas were defined based on Italian National Statistics Office. To ensure proportional representation, 208, 370, and 418 interviews took place in Milan, Turin, and Rome, respectively. These quotas

represented the Romanian immigrants residing in Italy in 2010 following the momentum created by visa liberalisation. The interviewed populations were randomly selected using centre sampling and snowball sampling techniques. For the former, the sample was randomly selected from those who frequented the aggregation centres that serve as primary gathering sites, including institutions; places of worship, entertainment, and care; 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 satisfied are the migrants with life during migration and how does it affect their decision to stay, return, or move to another country?

Main survey results

The survey results clearly show that migrant mobility during the free visa regime was initially labour supply driven, whereas more recently, it has been labour demand that has 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 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 those 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 services’, 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 a 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. Access to healthcare does, however, appear 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.

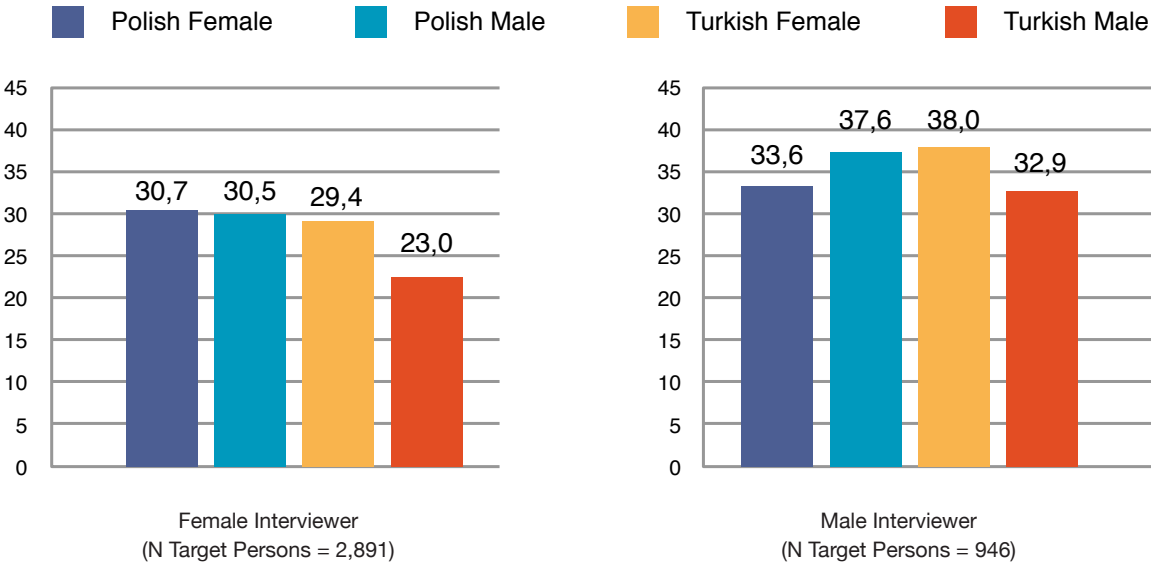
More information about the TEMPO project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=10

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

By Claudia Diehl, Anne Gresser, 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 in the SCIP project is personal interviews with about 7,000 recent arrivals in Germany, the Netherlands, the

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



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, not simply because interviews consume the interviewees’ time but also because the interviewers necessarily enter their private living space. In this regard, 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 females. 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 respect. These questions are not only interesting for practical reasons but also from a sociological viewpoint.

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 interviewers 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 Turkish than for Polish targets. A further analysis by sex of targeted interviewees (see Figure 6) indicates that the interviewer’s sex makes a difference not only for female but also for male targets.

Those Turkish males who had been approached by female interviewers had a considerably lower refusal rate (23%) than those approached by a male interviewer (33%). Moreover, Turkish women were substantially less willing to participate in an interview than Turkish men, especially when contacted by a male rather than a female interviewer (refusal rate of 38% versus 29%, respectively). Obviously, the interviewer’s sex was important for both Turkish women and Turkish men’s decision to participate in the survey, and female interviewers were indeed more successful in securing cooperation than male interviewers. Among Poles also, male targets were particularly sensitive to the sex of the interviewer: Polish men refused to participate in the survey substantially more often when a man contacted them at the door than when a woman did so (38% versus 30%, respectively). For Polish females, however, the interviewer’s sex was rather unimportant (34% versus 31%, respectively).

About 18 months after the first interview, respondents were asked to participate in a follow-up interview, which provided further insights into the effectiveness of the gender-matching strategy. Specifically, the SCIP data reveal that Turkish males in particular were much more likely to refuse participation in a follow-up interview when the first interview had been conducted by a male rather than a female (32% versus 22%). These differences were less pronounced for Turkish females (37% versus 31%), although in general Turkish women were

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 Dankyi

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 constellations (families divided by borders) themselves pose particular challenges for researchers hoping to understand their internal dynamics and the challenges and opportunities faced by both migrant and non-migrant family members. In particular, examining the experiences of family members located in two or more localities is methodologically challenging for a single researcher who runs the risk of either a lack of depth – when only one researcher must gain insights into multiple contexts in a multisited research design – or a lack of breadth – when only one side of the transnational family network is studied. One way that the ‘Transnational Child Raising Arrangements’ projects (TCRAf-Eu and TCRA) have addressed these hurdles has been to adopt a simultaneous matched sample (SMS) methodology wherever possible, an approach that facilitates ethnographic research by two (or more) researchers in the different locations in which the transnational family members are located.

In the Ghana-Netherlands part of the project, two researchers followed 15 transnational families (i.e., migrant parents, children, and caregivers) during different fieldwork periods between mid-2011 and mid-2013. One researcher conducted ethnographic fieldwork among Ghanaian migrant parents in the Netherlands, while the other conducted ethnographic research 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

allowed the researchers to probe further into these topics to gain a better understanding of the invisible factor of non-communication.

Capturing simultaneity

Simultaneity is one of the primary concepts characterising the transnational phenomena. The fact that people, through modern information and communication technologies, can be in simultaneous contact with their families across the world gives rise to substantively different engagements between migrants and their families and communities back home. Because of such access, the consequences of a single event in one locality – for example, imprisonment of a migrant parent or a temporary change in caregivers – are observable on both sides of the transnational family network. Having a researcher on each side allowed each to follow these events in real time, to observe directly how a single event is experienced by different family members in their respective locations and what effects it has. For instance, when a migrant parent lost his job in the Netherlands, the Netherlands-based colleague informed her Ghana-based colleague, who was then able to visit the caregiver and the migrant parent’s children and observe what consequences this event had on their lives. Knowing what was happening and being on ‘the other side’ allowed both researchers to pose better questions and delve more in depth at their own research site.

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.

More information about the TCRAf-Eu project is available at <http://www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=12>

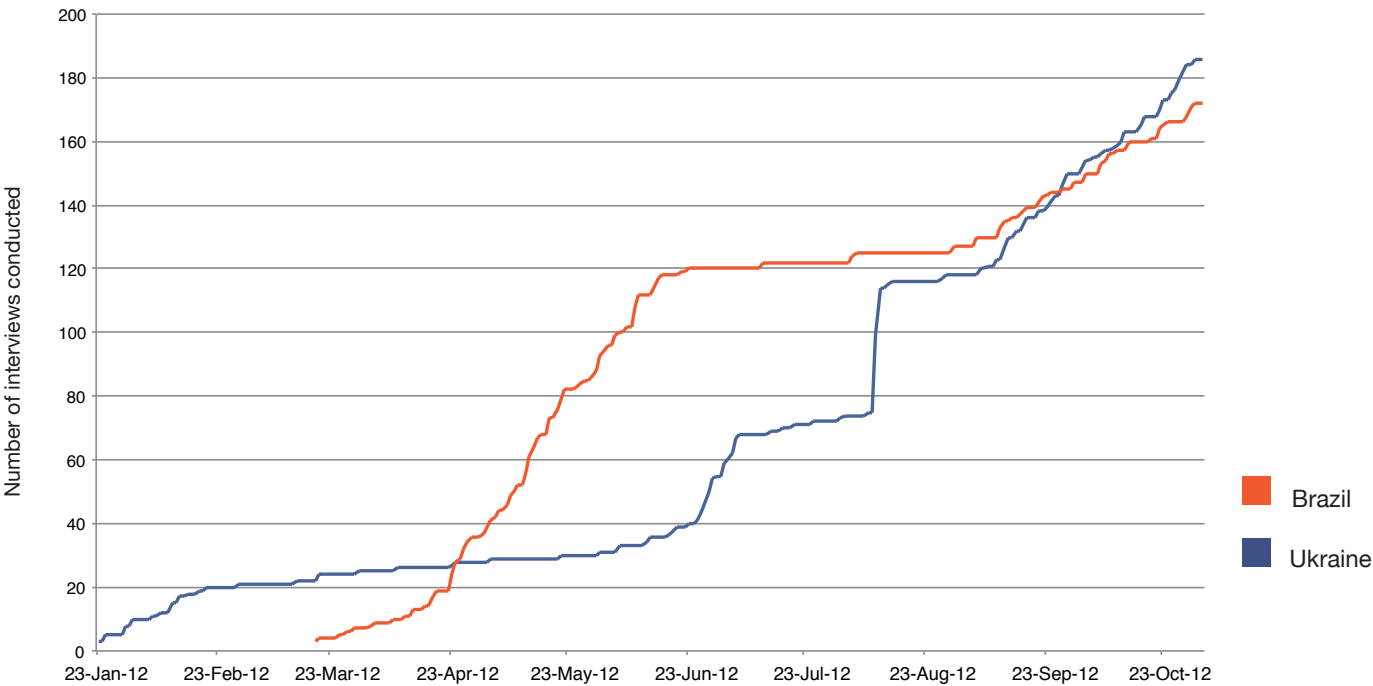
Respondent-Driven Sampling as a Recruitment Method

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



RDS, the sampling method chosen for the four-country survey, is a peer-to-peer sampling method similar to snowball sampling but incorporating a mathematical model that weights the sample to compensate for biases in recruitment. RDS thus relies on the respondents themselves to enlist further research participants, a recruitment facilitated by monetary incentives.

Although RDS did prove an efficient recruitment method in 9 of THEMIS’s 12 cases, in Norway, despite successfully contacting 172 Ukrainian migrants, researchers could only reach 30 Brazilian migrants. It was only after abandoning RDS for the Brazilian case and using alternative methods (e.g., snowball sampling) that they reached an equivalent sample size. This experience naturally raises the question of why RDS worked for one target population but not the other.

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 managed to conduct 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

interviews were held at the time and place of the respondent’s choosing. In contrast to the Brazilian study, the researchers were successful in reaching a sufficient number of Ukrainians through RDS alone. Figure 7 illustrates the recruitment rates for both the Brazilian and Ukrainian cases (remembering that the RDS was discontinued in May for the Brazilian case).

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.

More information about the THEMIS project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=11

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 Snel, Marije Faber, and Godfried 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 flows between sending and receiving countries. Whereas ‘pioneer’ migrants 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 – with the objective 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 70s. After formal labour migration recruitment stopped in the mid-1970s, migration from Morocco to the Netherlands continued and even increased, partly in the form of informal labour 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 1990s migration from Morocco to the Netherlands has decreased steadily from about 5,000 Moroccan-born immigrants per annum in the late 1990s 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 immigration 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 (69%) 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 macro-level factors mentioned 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, whereas 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.

More information about the THEMIS project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=11

Out-migration, Wealth Constraint 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 rates from poor and rich countries are 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 MI3 team have developed a simple theoretical model of migration decisions to illustrate that the relation between individual wealth and migration intentions 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 migrations 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 may have an impact on migration decisions, such as individuals’ contentment with local amenities like public services, security, or governance. Specifically, the researchers argue that 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 relation 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 on 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 migrations, which are usually constructed from census data. Two factors explain this difference: (i) census statistics do not capture all population movements and (ii) the Gallup World Poll probably overstates the number of migrants because not all respondents intending to migrate will actually move.

Figure 8: Average migration intentions and GDP at purchasing power parity per capita

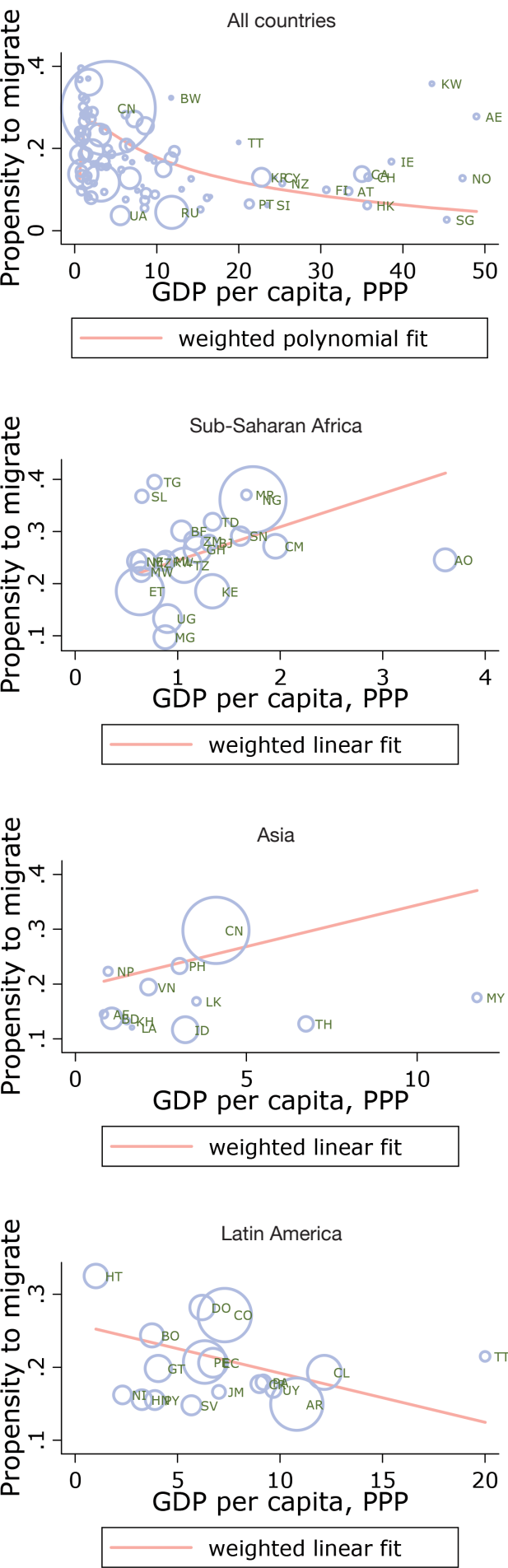


Figure 8 plots the mean migration intentions (by country) against 2005 GDP at purchasing power parity per capita, measured in thousands of international dollars. The first graph in the upper left corner pools all 98 countries for which Gallup has information on migration intentions. The other three panels correspond to the three groups of countries on which Dustmann and Okatenko focus. The figure clearly shows that the relation between migration intentions and GDP per capita is an inverse U-shape overall but that at the regional (and thus more homogeneous) level, they increase with it in poorer Africa and Asia but decrease with it in more developed Latin America.

Multivariate regression analysis further confirms that the association between wealth and migration intention varies widely across regions: the likelihood of an intention to move increases steeply over much of the wealth distribution in Africa, suggesting that migration costs are a severe constraint throughout. In Asia, on the other hand, migration propensity rises steeply with wealth only in the first two deciles of the wealth distribution. Above the 20th percentile, the profile continues to increase but with a smaller slope, reflecting less restrictive migration costs. Budget constraints, however, seem to be less important in Latin America, where migration intentions decrease with wealth. The poor in Latin America, for instance, have a higher propensity to migrate than the poor in Africa, although the benefits from moving are far higher for the latter. The poor in Africa, however, cannot realise these benefits because they cannot finance the costs of moving in the first place.

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 ends 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 in the Asian 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 variation 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 allow more individuals to cover 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, development policies should aim not only at enhancing wealth but also at providing local infrastructures, public services, and security.

References

Dustmann, C. & Okatenko, A. (2013). Out-migration, wealth constraints, and the quality of local amenities. NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper, No. 2013-17.

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 migration now includes temporary, repeated, circular, and contract migration, as well as long-distance commuting. Yet research on such mobility, including commuting, at the EU level remains rather scarce, with previous studies focusing mainly on intraregional (e.g., rural-urban commuting) movements and/or labour mobility between specific border regions. In this study, therefore, the researchers provide insights into cross-border labour flows by focusing on those from Estonia to its neighbouring countries: Finland, Latvia, Russia, and Sweden. In fact, over the last decade, geographic labour mobility, especially labour outflows, has been a ‘hot topic’ for Estonia, a small EU Member State with a population of about 1.3 million. Since Estonia joined the EU, its yearly out-migration flows have more than doubled compared to 2004, reaching around 11,000 in 2012. Moreover, such out-migration has 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 one of the highest numbers of cross-border commuters per 1,000 inhabitants in the EU. The most important destination for this cross-border short-term circular migration is Finland, with around 50% of migrants moving there each year. This high level of cross-border commuting and increasing migration numbers signal that the country’s institutions must seriously monitor geographic labour mobility in order to develop and implement policy measures that both reduce permanent labour outflows and attract a labour force with a range of knowledge, skills, and network connections. Only by doing so can the country reap long-term benefits from the free movement of labour.

Data source: the online job portal ‘CV Centre’

The empirical part of the study relies on data from Estonia’s CV Centre (CV Keskus), an online job portal that brings together jobseekers and vacant job posts. The data from this centre make it possible to examine the main socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, education, and language skills) and job characteristics (job categories and duration of employment) of Estonians who have worked in a neighbouring country. Estonia’s four neighbour nations are Finland and Sweden (East-West labour flows), which are among the wealthiest states in the EU, and Latvia and Russia (East-East labour flows), post-Soviet neighbours with a much lower level of economic development. These differences in socioeconomic and political background may be reflected in the socioeconomic and job characteristic differences between the East-East and East-West labour flows. Hence, this study aims to outline possible differences in such variables as the age, gender, education, and professions between those who have worked in Finland and Sweden (hereafter, East-West mobility) and those who have worked in Latvia and Russia (East-East mobility). This study is the first to monitor Estonian labour flows to its four neighbouring countries using the CV Keskus database.

Primary empirical results

The study results confirm that different destination regions – the wealthier countries of Finland and Sweden, on the one hand, and the post-socialist countries of Latvia and Russia, on the other – attract workers with different personal and job-related characteristics. They also show that ethnicity and higher education are important determinants in explaining differences between East-West and East-East cross-border labour flows. That is, non-Estonians and those with higher education are less likely to work in Finland or Sweden, and East-West labour mobility is significantly more likely to be characterised by lower skilled workers in fields such as construction, agriculture, manufacturing and production, and customer service. Because the close proximity of wealthy neighbouring countries provides an opportunity for Estonian workers to significantly increase their income in lower skilled jobs, there was a sharp increase in those taking lower skilled jobs 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 neighbour 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

Paas, T. & Kaska, M. (2013). *An empirical analysis of cross-border labour mobility in the case of Estonia. NORFACE Migration Discussion Paper, No. 2013-16.*

Diversity in Polish Migration in Europe

By Lucinda Platt

Recent research by Renee Luthra, Lucinda Platt, and Justyna Salamonska 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.

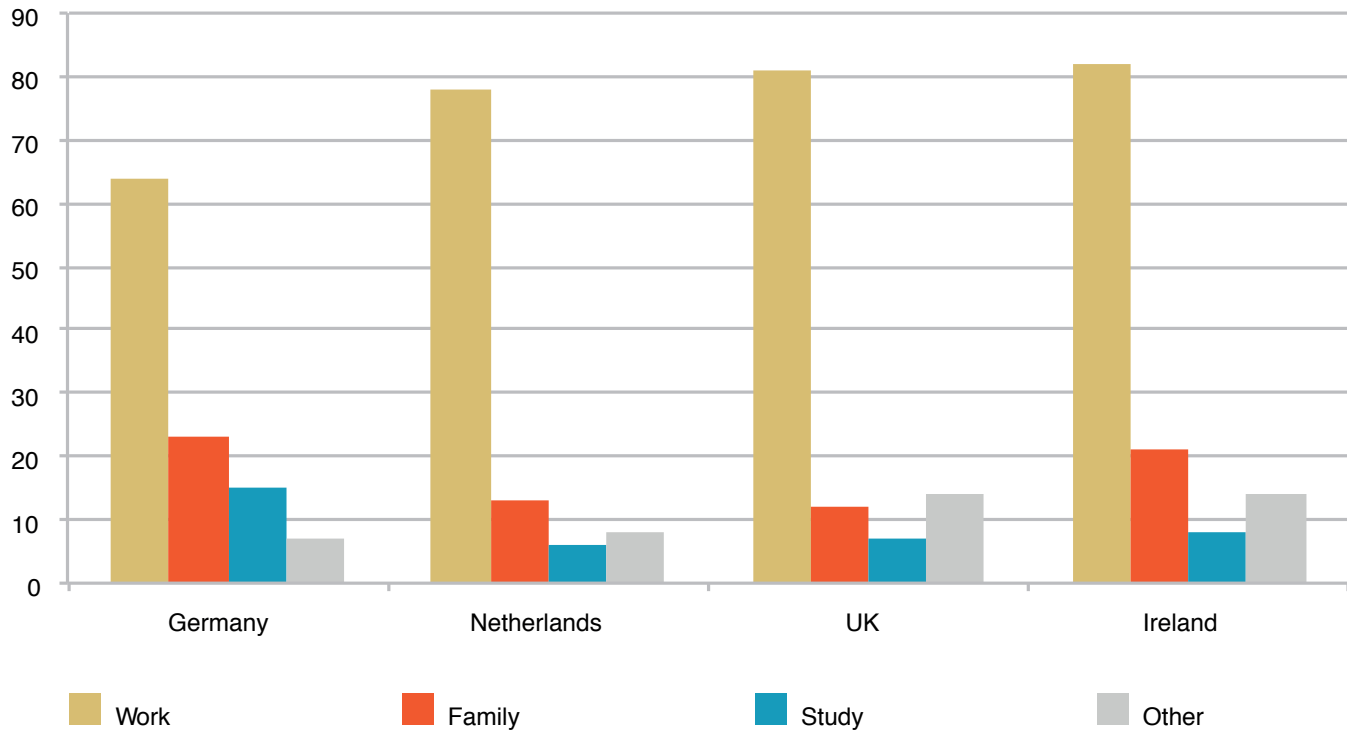
With the expansion of East-West migration within Europe, there has been a corresponding expansion of interest in how to describe and theorise these relatively new, and substantial, flows, given that they do not necessarily have the same structure as ‘traditional’ migration patterns from South to North. 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 narrowness 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



Source: SCIP data

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.

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

	Traditional, male	Young, educated	Family, mid-life	Full sample
Unemployed	22%	20%	15%	19%
Life satisfaction				
Unsatisfied or neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	24%	19%	19%	20%
Satisfied	65%	67%	68%	67%
Very satisfied	11%	15%	13%	13%
Agrees people can get on if work hard	74%	77%	76%	76%
Country				
Netherlands	6%	7%	16%	9%
Germany	47%	32%	50%	41%
Ireland	21%	38%	19%	29%
UK	25%	23%	15%	21%

Source: SCIP data

The analysis also linked these three types with the four countries of destination and with three ‘outcome’ measures: unemployment risks, life satisfaction, and a measure ascertaining the extent to which the migrants felt they could control their destinies in the destination country.

How these three outcomes vary across the three types is summarised in Table 5, which reveals that unemployment was high across the sample but, interestingly, was more strongly associated with older ‘work-seekers’. This group was also, perhaps unsurprisingly, linked to lower levels of life satisfaction than the other two groups and was disproportionately represented in Germany. The family-oriented mid-life migrants were also overrepresented in Germany but also in the Netherlands. The young educated migrant type, in contrast, was most likely to be found in Ireland, although it was also somewhat overrepresented in the UK. This group also seemed more concerned with migration as a life experience as reflected in its relatively high rates of life satisfaction. It was also most likely to express a sense of control in agreeing that ‘people can get on if they work hard’.

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 counterintuitive 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

Luthra, R.R., Platt, L., & Salamonska, J. (2014). Diversity in Polish migration in Europe. Working Paper Series, Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Essex (forthcoming).

Transnational Child Raising Arrangements: Subjective Well-being Outcomes 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.

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.

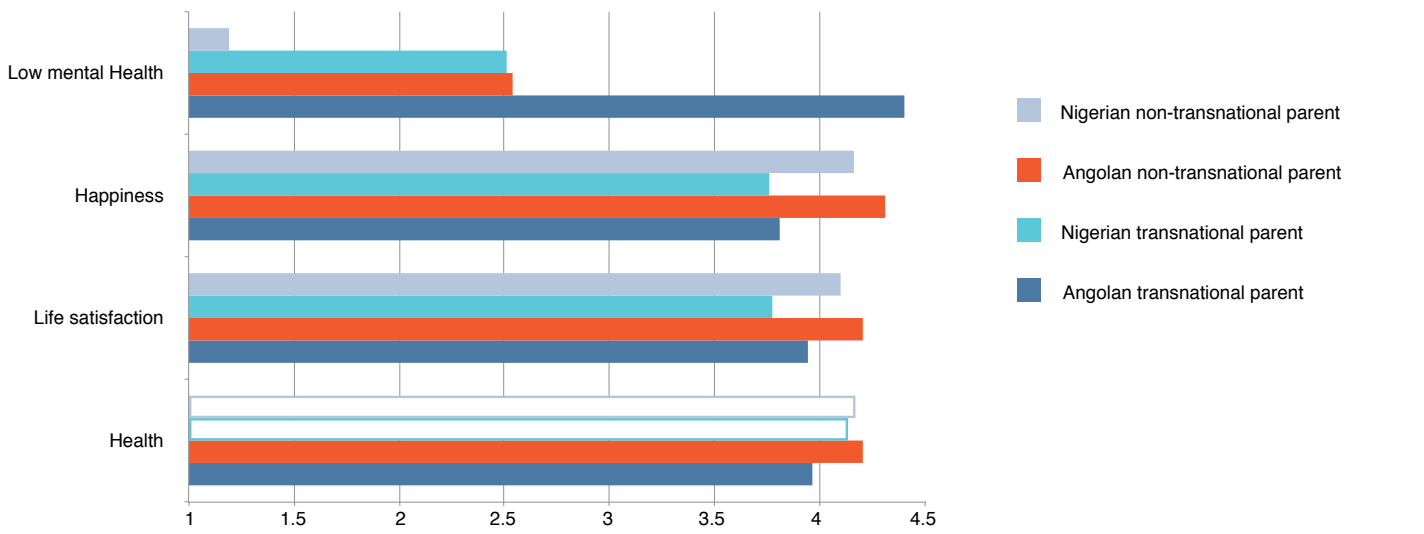
Here, higher scores indicate lower mental health as measured by the GHQ but higher well-being for the other measures. These descriptive results indicate that transnational parents report significantly lower mental health, happiness, and life satisfaction than non-transnational parents. Angolan transnational 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 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.

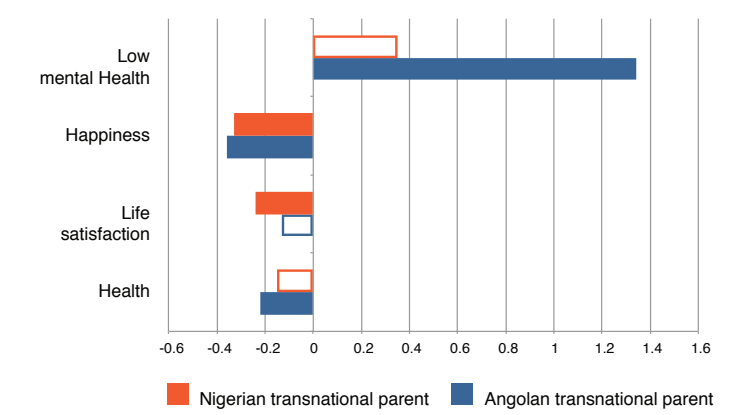
Figure 10: Differences in subjective well-being transnational and non-transnational Angolan and Nigerian migrant parents



Source: TCRAf-Eu Angolan and Nigerian Parent Survey, the Netherlands 2010-11.
Note: This figure is based on independent sample t-tests (means displayed); significant results are presented as solid-filled bars.

The relation between socioeconomic status and happiness is also stronger for transnational parents. For Nigerians, in contrast, the differences in happiness and life satisfaction remain, but 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 11: Differences in subjective well-being once individual characteristics are controlled for



Source: TCRAf-Eu Angolan and Nigerian Parent Survey, the Netherlands 2010-11
Note: This figure is based on the coefficients of multivariate regression analyses controlling for individual characteristics; significant differences between transnational and non-transnational parents are presented as solid-filled bars.

Transnational family life: not a primary cause of migrant parents’ low subjective well-being

One limitation of this study is the cross-sectional nature of the data, which makes causal inferences impossible. Hence, future research should aim at collecting longitudinal data to establish whether the relations observed are indeed causal. Despite this limitation, however, this study provides important evidence that lower well-being is associated with particular migrant characteristics rather than the mere fact of being in a transnational family. This finding makes an important contribution to the transnational family literature, which until now has emphasised the role of being in a transnational family as the primary cause for low levels of well-being among migrant parents. In particular, this study finds that lower well-being is not always associated with being in a transnational family; rather, legal and socioeconomic status and the quality of the migrant parent-child relationship are more important for well-being outcomes.

Yet maintaining a good long-distance relationship with a child back home remains a major problem for transnational families despite the possibilities provided by ICTs. If this relationship cannot be well maintained, however, it is associated with distress among migrant parents. Likewise, undocumented and low socioeconomic status stand in the way of regular physical contact with family members back home and prohibit family reunification. They are thus associated with poor emotional well-being. Hence, it is not separation as such that matters for poor subjective well-

being but rather the circumstances in which these parents find themselves in the host country. This observation is also reflected in the differences identified between the migrant groups: Angolans most probably display lower levels of mental health because of their exposure to the civil war in Angola from 1975 to 2002. On the other hand, their refugee status has enabled them to obtain residence and working permits relatively more easily than Nigerians, making legal and socioeconomic status a less important factor for them than for Nigerians.

References

More information about the TCRAf-Eu project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=12

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 cities has shown that minorities are typically confined to the least desirable housing. In many countries, there has been a general tendency among immigrant families to settle – either voluntarily or because of constraints – in certain segments of the housing market and in limited parts of cities, often in social/public housing. In this way, some city neighbourhoods have attained a high concentration of ethnic minorities and have been transformed into what are sometimes called ‘multiethnic neighbourhoods’, in which the 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 policies. It is sometimes also 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 question: Can a comparison of four countries reveal something about the connection between housing markets, housing policies, and the spatial distribution of immigrants?

Housing markets themselves can be more or less segmented, 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 households. If urban policies, or a lack thereof, have led to a strong spatial separation of tenure, it will also result in strong segregation.

The purpose of this subproject was to use a comparison of four Nordic countries, to determine how the spatial separation of immigrants from natives is connected to their distribution on housing tenures and the extent to which housing tenures have been separated spatially. The hypothesis was that a stronger ethnic segmentation of the housing market in any one country combined with 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 housing 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 general comparison 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 regions: Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, and Stockholm. After comparable sets of neighbourhood data based on population and housing statistics were compiled, both descriptive and multivariate statistics were employed to estimate the relation between housing segmentation and ethnic residential segregation.

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 the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and housing tenure. 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 ‘ethnic segmentation of the housing market’; that is, the extent to which immigrants were unevenly distributed across housing tenures. Similarly, using data on neighbourhood tenure composition, an index was calculated for each tenure indicating the extent of its uneven distribution across neighbourhoods. The index used for segregation, defined as spatial separation of immigrants from natives, is the index of dissimilarity used in many segregation studies.

To estimate the connection between housing market segmentation and the spatial distribution of ethnic minorities, statistical (linear regression) models were constructed for each city designed to establish the connection between neighbourhoods’ tenure composition and their ethnic composition. These models were used to estimate an ‘expected’ number of immigrants in neighbourhoods based on their tenure composition, from which expected distribution segregation indices were constructed that, when compared with actual segregation, provided a measure of the extent to which ethnic segregation is explainable by the housing 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, a division is made 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 some 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 segmentation, which in turn will increase the risk of ethnic segregation.

Housing policies and housing markets vary greatly between Nordic countries in spite of their common background as universal welfare states. Based on the results of the first study phase, Table 6 provides a rough outline of the differences between them. As the table shows, Sweden and Finland have a better social balance between renting and ownership and thus more unitary housing systems, but the rental market in Finland is more segmented because social housing is a restricted sector for low-income groups. Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, have stronger social separation between renting and owning and thus more dual systems, although the rental sector in Denmark, with a large social housing sector, is more unitary. This latter egalitarianism, however, applies little to immigrants because rent control in private renting results in surplus demand and queues for this tenure type, which disfavours immigrants. In Norway, the rental sector, and especially the social housing sector, is quite small, which is why it is more segmented.

Table 6: A rough characterisation of the housing systems in four Nordic countries

Housing system	Rental markets	
	More unitary	More dual
More unitary	Sweden	Finland
More dual	Denmark	Norway

The study does not find, however, any systematic connection between income segmentation and ethnic segmentation of the housing markets in these four countries. Rather, ethnic segmentation is lowest in Norway in spite of higher 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 segmentation is strongest in Finland, where it is ascribed to a more dual rental market.

The importance of housing provision and planning systems in the cities for segregation of tenures

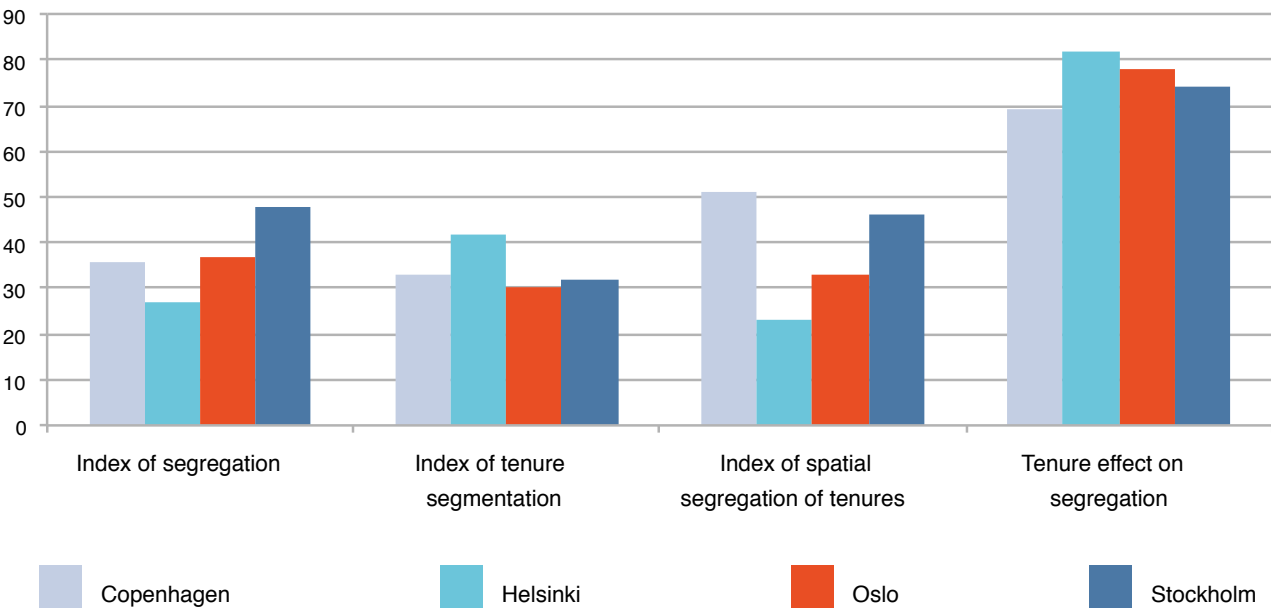
The way in which housing policy and housing market segmentation affect segregation depends on how different kinds of housing are distributed in urban space. This distribution is not a simple result of segregating market forces but is also dependent on the politics, institutions, and markets that shape 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, mixing 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 exist in Oslo that have developed large housing estates.

Results

The computed indices of ethnic segregation, ethnic tenure segmentation, housing tenure segregation, and tenure effect on segregation for non-Western immigrants are graphed in Figure 12, which shows a notable difference across cities between ethnic segmentation in the housing market and

Figure 12: Indices of ethnic segregation, ethnic tenure segmentation, segregation of housing tenures, and tenure effect on segregation for the four capital regions.



the spatial distribution of tenures, as well as very different patterns for the two indicators.

Ethnic segmentation 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 neighbourhoods 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 neighbourhoods 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 segmentation 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 segmentation 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/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=7>

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

By Birgit Leyendecker and Alexandru Agache

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 fathers’ 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 ‘parenting’ and to refer to ‘parents’ and ‘parenting’ even when data were collected exclusively or primarily from mothers. In recent years, however, the roles fathers play in family well-being have been more widely recognised: fathers are no longer reduced to background roles or the part of ‘breadwinner’. Instead, their central roles – for example, as care providers and husbands – have received increasing attention. Research has also shown that engaged fathers foster their partners’ and 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 socioeconomic status (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.

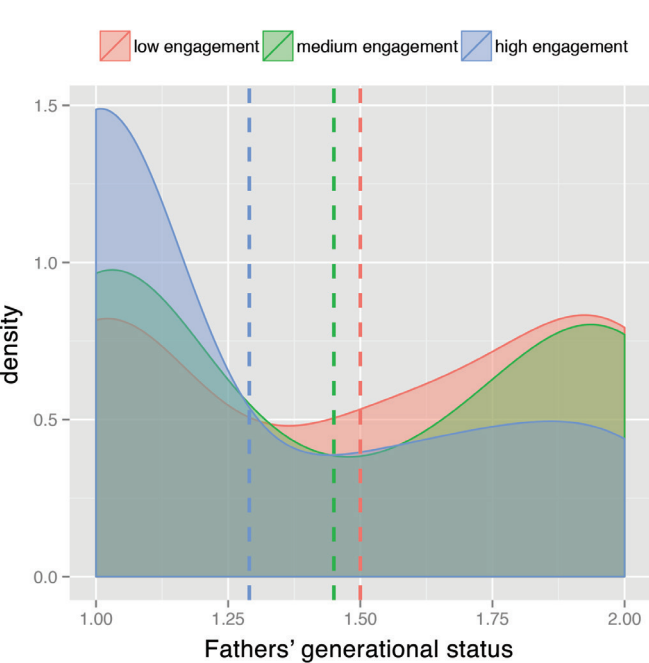
Task division among parents

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 employment status in either sample. Moreover, both boys and girls were equally likely to receive paternal 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 parental 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 father’s 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 for Turkish immigrant families.

References

Leyendecker B. & Agache, A. (in preparation). Turkish immigrant families: Positive relation between fathers’ involvement and children’s well-being.

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

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

By Judi Mesman

The Family Stress Model (FSM) and Family Investment Model (FIM) provide explanations for the relation between socioeconomic status (SES) and child development. According to the FSM, 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 FSM 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 11- to 13-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 either 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 frustration tolerance and inhibitory control. Scores were reversed so that a high score indicated more frustration inhibition.

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 using 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 was in turn 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 one 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

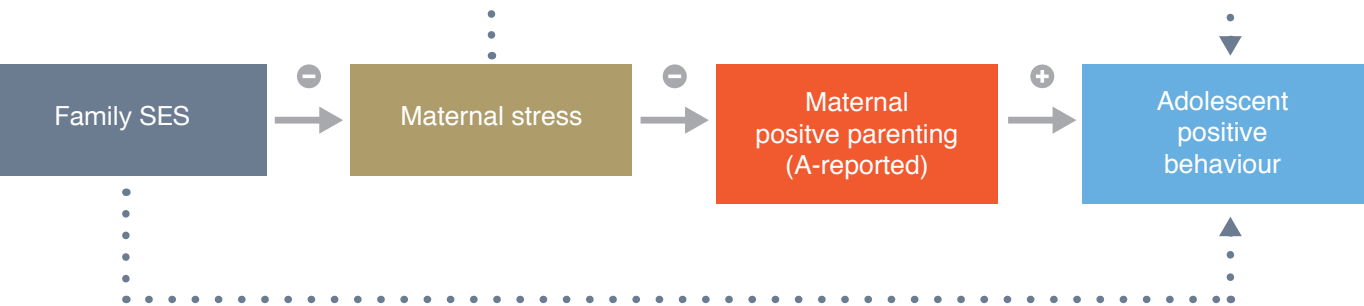
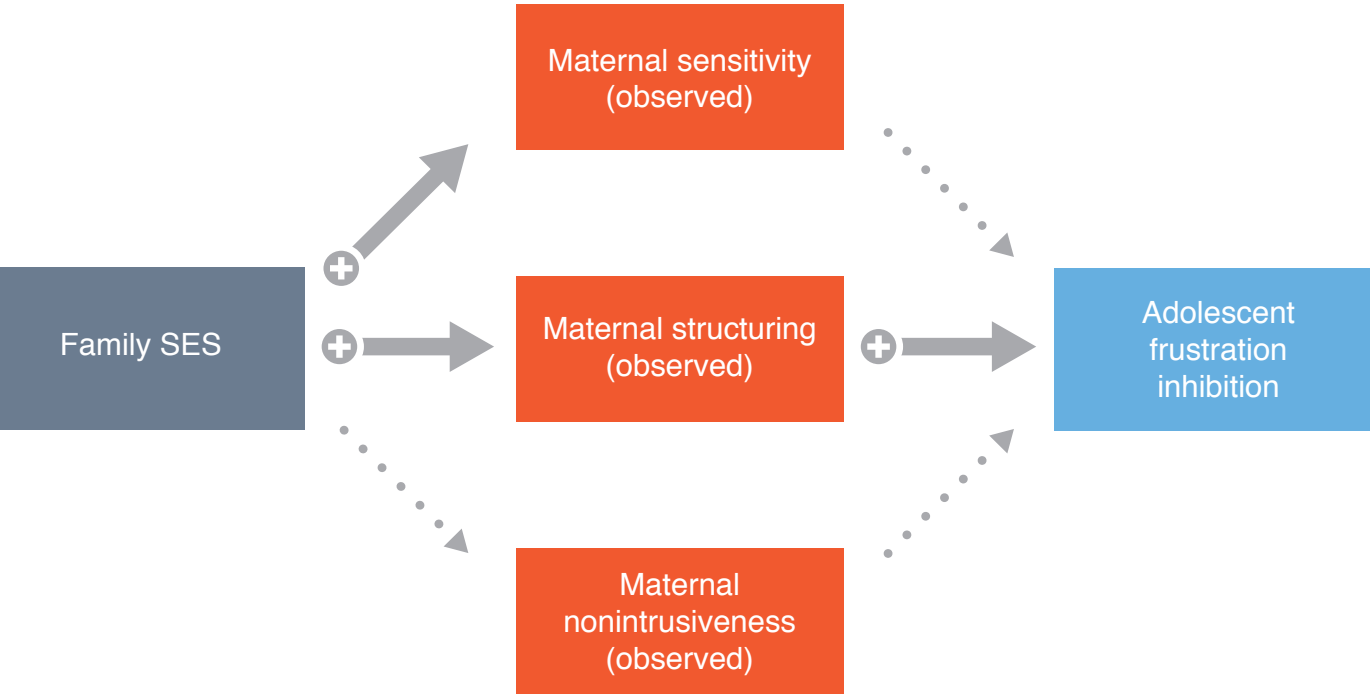


Figure 15: Testing the Family Investment Model



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/or 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

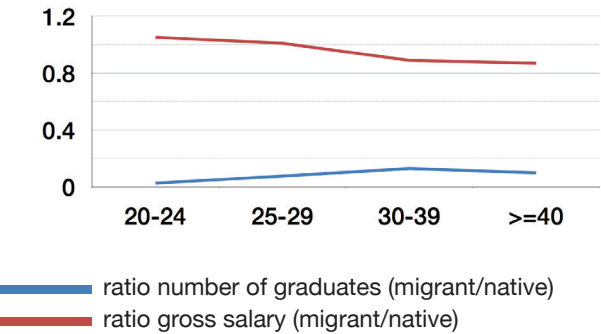
Our data come from the Research Centre for Education and the Labour Market (ROA) at Maastricht University in cooperation with DESAN Research Solutions. The survey is based on the cohort of students (in higher professional education) who graduated during the 2006/2007 to 2009/2010 periods.

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.

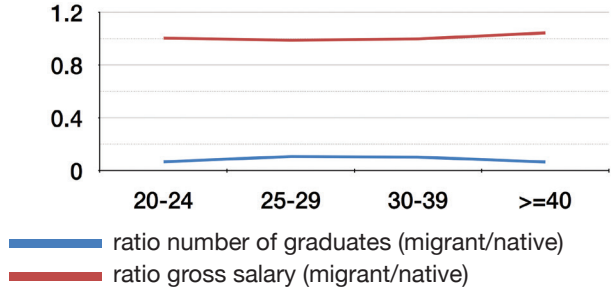
For the students who have graduated from higher education, data are available on a series of variables including personal characteristics (e.g., gender, age, and ethnicity); subject of study; employment mode (full-time vs. part-time); degree results at the time of graduation; and whether the individual is employed in a small (1-9 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 were living 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 30. 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.

Figure 16: Higher professional education graduates immigrants/natives: relative wages and number of graduates by age category



First generation immigrants (by age group)



Second generation immigrants (by age group)

Methodology

The primary analytic instrument is the standard Mincer earnings equation, a common tool in economic analyses of wage variation, which explains wages in terms of a series of personal, work, and regional characteristics. The equation performs particularly well in explaining the positive relation between human capital (proxied by years of education) and earnings.

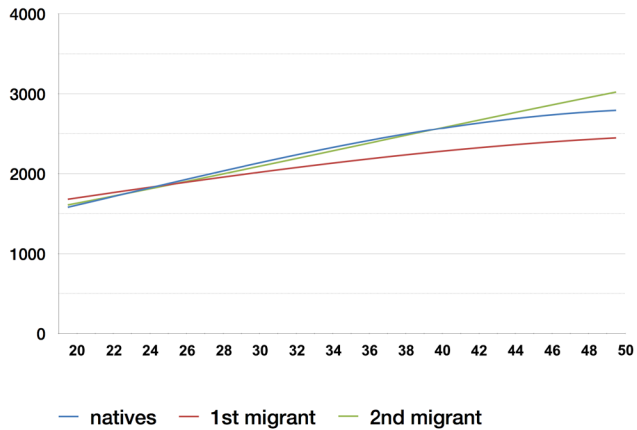
Because this equation assumes that the logarithm of earnings is also a nonlinear function of experience, in the corresponding model, potential experience can be measured as age minus years of schooling minus school starting age (5 years). Because in this study we have no information on total years of education, we use age and age squared as proxies for experience. We address spatial and temporal heterogeneity by including residential and time fixed effects.

Results and discussion

The age variable, used as a proxy for experience, is statistically significant and positively related to our dependent variable (log (gross salary per month)). The estimated coefficients in the various specifications are comparable to the values generally reported in the literature. To capture the age effect reported in the previous section, however, (by which first-generation migrants who graduate at a later age experience a relatively lower gross monthly salary), we separate the age and age squared for the first- and second-generation of immigrants and then re-run our regression model. As Figure 17 shows, there is no significant wage difference across age categories between the second-generation immigrant and native graduates, but if we compare native graduates with first-generation immigrants, these latter 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.

The below results are indicative of an average wage gap of 3% between natives and first-generation migrants, a gap that the literature suggests is related mostly to language difficulties and limited social integration. These results

Figure 17: Natives and immigrants: age and gross salary (in Euros per month)



confirm previous research findings that first-generation migrants who are living and working in the countries under study are earning significantly less than comparable natives and that for those coming from developing countries, the wage gap increases further. In addition, the important role of firm size in our empirical analysis lends support to efficiency wage theory.

Finally, we investigate whether having a native mother contributes more to language skills than having a native father and whether, as a result, individuals can earn higher wages in the former case. At the same time, we recognise that in the past, fathers often occupied higher positions in the labour market than mothers, meaning that a native father could pass more valuable social networks on to their children than the native mother. We test both hypotheses by categorising individuals' parents into OECD and non-OECD countries. Through this distinction, we can observe the differences in culture, language, and quality of parental education and its impact on individuals' productivity in the labour market.

The results suggest that having only a native father or a native mother has no effect on the labour market outcome of these young graduates compared with having two native parents. All else being equal, however, having non-OECD parents decreases the wages by 2% compared to the reference case (of two native Dutch parents). These findings for OECD versus non-OECD parents capture the culture and languages differences, on the one hand, and parents' quality of education, on the other. There is little difference in this respect, however, between first-generation and second-generation immigrants.

More information about the MIDI-REDIE project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=5

Immigrant Integration in Norwegian Education Policies over 50 Years

By Kristian Garthus-Niegel, 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.

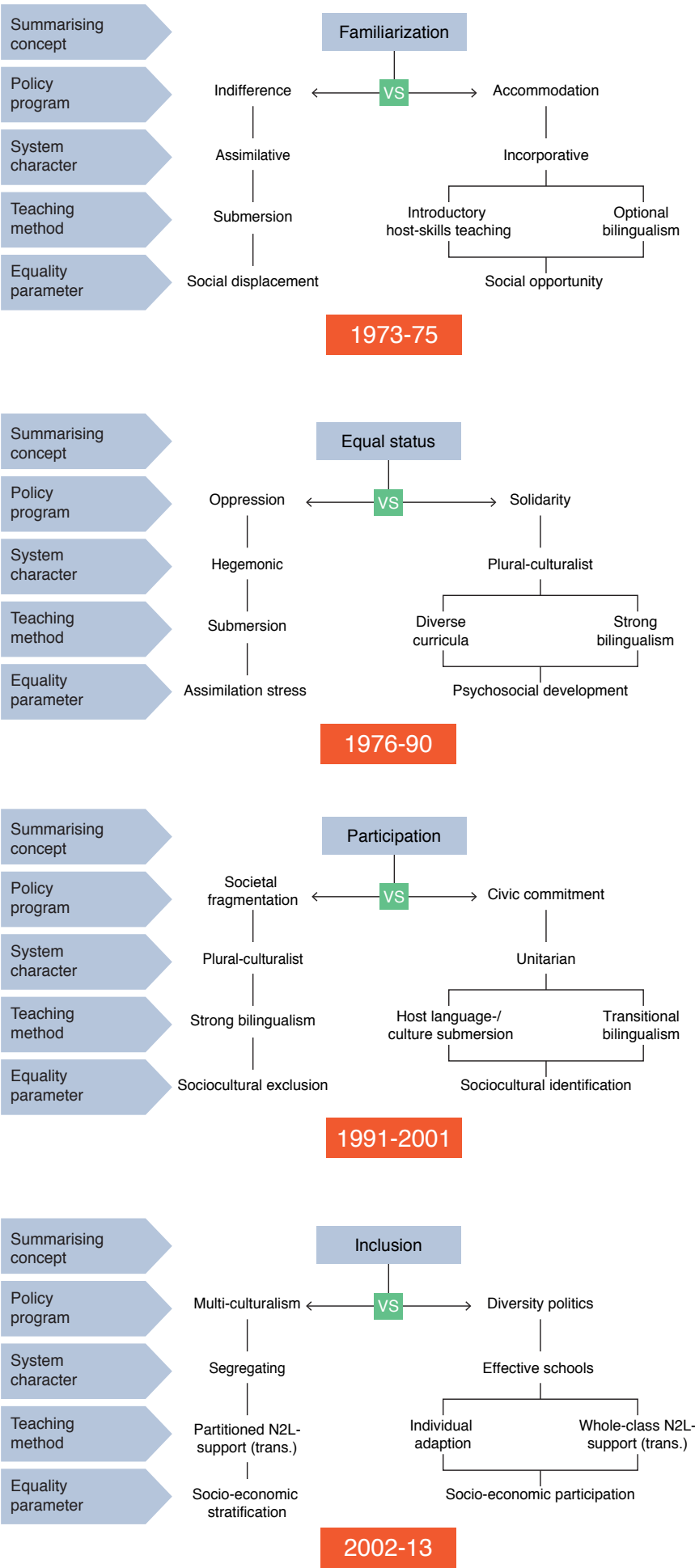
Methods

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).

Figure 18: Semantic models by period



Results

Four different semantic models were identified, each headed by a concept that summarises the period-specific core notions of integration (see Figure 18). Each of these summarising concepts incorporates four contrast dimensions: overall policy programmes, education system characteristics, teaching methods, and equality parameters. The constructs on the left side of the axes represent the policies’ antithetical semantic qualities; those on the right side, its idealised aspects. Vertical relations are not hierarchical but rather sequences of interrelated traits.

Demographic and sociocultural contexts

Nordic education policies: a semantic baseline

During the post-WWII era, social policy-making in Scandinavian welfare states has been profoundly marked by an aspiration to foster equal opportunities for all, regardless of social background. This crucial value of equality is not restricted to the regions’ modern political history; in fact, equality-notions 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 influence over national education policy-making. The first Norwegian immigrant education policy appeared in 1973, when progressive pedagogues held a strong position in the national education discourse. At this time, notions of educational equality 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: immigration first began around 1970 when attempts to halt it were well underway in other countries. Most of the early immigrants came from Pakistan, India, Turkey, and Morocco, and the majority settled in the capital of Oslo. In the initial national immigrant education policy, the core semantic structure was constructed as a contrast between an indifferent and an accommodative policy programme. The former was associated with an assimilative education system; the latter with an incorporative one. ‘Language’ and ‘culture’ (as opposed to, e.g., ‘race’, ‘class’, or ‘migration type’) were the core features marking host-immigrant relations, and integration was conceptualised as a symmetric bi-directional process of cultural familiarisation:

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

Policies in this period generally advocated tolerance towards the immigrants’ culture. The state was thus seen as a hospitable and non-partisan actor in the familiarisation process, offering social support according to individually expressed adaption aspirations. Specifically, it was expected to provide immigrants with as equal services as possible based on their life situation, whether they want to stay in the country with

assimilation or some other way of integration as their bi-directional goal.

The prime positive discrimination measure for immigrant pupils, set up as an alternative to full submersion, was introductory teaching in the language and behavioural norms of the host country in separate classes. The goal was to give immigrants equal social participation opportunities in the host society. Bilingual teaching methods were posited as an optional measure but one dependent on the will and resources that each school had to implement them.

By the mid-1970s, the pedagogical community in Oslo was calling for more ambitious policies. Conceptualising immigrant pupils as being in a position of long-term psychosocial risk, they argued in favour of more wide-reaching positive discriminatory measures to prevent the hazards they faced:

...a likely consequence of the considerable social and mental burdens the pupils are exposed to is that they, more than Norwegian youth, are at risk of developing homosexuality and criminal behaviour unless a series of necessary measures are implemented

Period 2 (1976-90): ‘Equal status’ – strong biculturalism to promote equal psychosocial development

From the mid-70s onwards, the egalitarian framework of the familiarisation model gave way to one of structural oppression. ‘Equality’ was gradually untied from notions of individual adaption strategies and reformulated through a more critical perspective on immigrants’ opportunities to maintain their culture. Host-immigrant relations were thus framed by a narrative of sociocultural struggle in which the host population was posited as hegemonic, the immigrants as oppressed. The concept of ‘equal status’, imported from feminist activism, came to summarise this new integration model, and the welfare state was ascribed wide-ranging responsibilities of protecting sociocultural minorities through an expansive solidarity policy programme. In this paradigm, educational hegemony was to be ousted and educational equality achieved by creating a ‘plural-cultural’ education system in the belief that a culturally plural society must build on the principle of equal status and equal opportunities for groups and cultures (... thus,) it is often necessary to implement special measures to ‘arm’ individual immigrants and immigrant groups.

With the idea of a plural-cultural education, notions of ethnic identity formation and positive long-term psychosocial development became core pedagogic concerns:

Immigrant families have been ripped out of the national and cultural contexts they were parts of and felt they belonged to. To support maintenance of their mother tongue and participation in cultural activities is thus of great significance to prevent identity crises and future social problems

Positive discriminatory 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 1987, ‘functional bilingualism’ was proclaimed the overall aim of the immigrant education system as part of general curricular reform that included a national curriculum for mother tongue teaching, which had become the most highly acclaimed immigrant education method.

Simultaneous with the 1987-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 a parliamentary election. The model of host-immigrant relations as a social struggle between ethnic groups was challenged by more transformative integration connotations:

Whereas the term ‘culturally plural’ only focuses on the existence of several cultures, ‘intercultural’ involves the encounter between different cultures. In intercultural education, it is important to prevent prejudice and promote better understanding of different cultures (...) to create a basis for understanding, tolerance and equality

Period 3 (1991-2001): ‘Participation’ – cultural identification to promote equal social opportunity

During the 1990s, Norway’s immigrant population grew steadily, becoming increasingly multigenerational and heterogeneous. In 1991, pupils with immigration origins made up about 4% of the national primary school population, almost seven times as many as that one decade earlier. In 1993, Norwegian primary schools hosted pupils of more than 60 different language groups. The political right wing criticised the plural-culturalist programme for creating incentives for immigrants to exploit the welfare society. A broader neo-conservative policy shift brought national economic growth and national cultural heritage preservation to the centre of education policy-making. Welfare policies increasingly emphasised citizenship duties, summarised by the concept of ‘participation’. Failing civic commitment at the individual level was seen as a threat of societal fragmentation.

Another general education reform in 1994 strongly emphasised the need for a unitarian education system, and strong identification with the nation became a core educational principle. In immigrant education, equality parameters became redefined according to features of host society identification:

...education shall contribute to the integration and participation of immigrant pupils in school and society (...) [immigrant origin pupils] shall be given the opportunity to grow into the Norwegian society as equal and active members with the familiarity with the Norwegian language, the Norwegian traditions and norms this requires.

With the 1994 reform, the bilingual methods that had been widespread in the previous period were largely suspended, and a new general education act included only a paragraph on bilingual education. The semantic legitimation for such suspension was rooted in a minimalist interpretation of Norway’s international judicial obligations towards the preservation of immigrants’ mother tongues:

...[Immigrant languages and cultures] have their foundations in other countries (...) The Norwegian society is responsible for the developmental opportunities of individual pupils in Norway, where Norwegian is the common language.

Throughout the 1990s, immigrant culture and language issues were redefined as a private matter outside the responsibility of the welfare state. Thus, bilingual teaching methods were marginalised at the expense of transitional and submersion approaches. The immigrant education paragraph prescribed that Norwegian language learning should be the primary purpose of the education system, so that from then on bilingual methods should be an optional and temporary means serving this end, premised by Norwegian language deficits.

Period 4 (2002-13): ‘Inclusion’ – universal workforce training to promote equal socioeconomic opportunity

In the age of globalisation and mass migration, a new general platform for internal cultural border regulation was launched in Norway in 2003 under the summarising concept of ‘inclusion’. This new integration model, although it sustains the core status of civic participation, includes a most notable semantic shift in regard to the concept of culture. Influenced by a more neo-liberal discourse on cultural plurality, ‘culture’ has now become more fully disentangled from ethnicity and has come to mean a feature of autonomous, flexible, and mobile individuals that is primarily a private matter. The policy of this neo-liberal pluralism was labelled a ‘diversity policy’ and set up as a contrast to ‘multiculturalism’:

...[multiculturalism] views culture as frozen and unchangeable [...] and] locks people in cultural boxes that they cannot escape.

...cultural diversity (...) is a result of more recent immigration (...) [as well as] more general individualisation and differentiation of values and life styles.

In recent years, the political influence of the national teachers’ unions has also diminished at the expense of supranational organisations such as the EU and OECD. Moreover, in PISA 2000, the gap between host and immigrant origin pupils in Norway was larger than in most other countries, which shook beliefs in the equalising power of the Norwegian education system. A national strategy was thus launched to ‘...improve the school performance of language minority pupils’. This initiative, however, explained the gap as latent SES background differences while barely addressing cultural factors. It also lent heavily on school effectiveness principles, arguing that immigrant education should be organised around an intensified and more systematic instruction in a universal set of basic skills to generate equal opportunities for socioeconomic participation.

Diversification has continued in the most recent period, with a particularly heavy impact in Oslo. The proportion of pupils with immigrant origins in Oslo public schools rose from 31% in 2000 to 40% in 2010. In 2004, Oslo introduced a ‘whole-class instruction method’ in which compensatory support to such pupils is provided within mainstream classrooms. The partial use of partitioned instruction, a pre-requisite of most bilingual methods, was argued to have segregating effects. This whole-class method was made possible by a 2004 revision of the bilingual education paragraph that fully exempted schools from any consideration of bilingual methods. Under the national strategy and domination of the whole-class method, bilingual methods have become utterly marginalised in Norwegian immigrant education policies at the expense of a monolingualist school-effectiveness oriented education programme.

Recent policy-making has revolved around the implementation of new nationwide Norwegian-as-a second-language curricula and a standardised professionalization of Norwegian language assessments. The new curricula are explicitly designed to return immigrant origin pupils to mainstream classrooms as quickly as possible.

In a 2012 white paper, the Norwegian government summed up its immigrant education policy views as follows:

...as many as possible [should] become active and included participants in the society and included in the labour market. (...) Norwegian is the common language of education. (...) The

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 equality. So does the instrumental role and universal ambition of the comprehensive education system with respect to integration of immigrant pupils. As a result, the semantic core structure of current immigrant education policies 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 acknowledge the importance of origin culture 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 equalisation 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 immigrant education 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.

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

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. To achieve this goal, the survey collects 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 perspective 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. All these respondents were followed over three consecutive years. These longitudinal data are complemented by cross-sectional information on the important characteristics, 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 on the different dimensions 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 children of immigrants in Europe, one now available to the scientific community. These two aspects ensure that the NORFACE Compact Series offers unique insights into the topic of study while also stimulating 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 current 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 scholastic achievement and attainment of immigrants as one aspect of structural integration is an important research topic. Accordingly, Zerrin Salikutluk (Mannheim University) is currently exploring the so-called immigrants’ 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 poorer than average socioeconomic background and worse school performance, verbalise higher educational ambitions than do natives, the major aim of Zerrin’s PhD thesis is to draw on various theoretical approaches to disentangle this aspiration-achievement paradox. A second question addressed in her thesis is how differences in the aspiration patterns 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 ambitions. 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, some minority groups have higher ambitions 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, Turkish students in Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden have the highest educational aims, while in England, Bangladeshi students are at the top of the aspirational distribution. Hence, although 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 school and classroom as important social contexts 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 Parameshwaran (Oxford University, now at Manchester University) investigates how variations in individual social contexts account for the existence of ethnic differences in educational outcomes. Specifically, she investigates the effects of various classroom and school compositions on a range of children’s educational outcomes. Her first chapter, building on previous research from other European countries, explores the effects of ethnic and poverty compositions in schools in England using data from the National Pupil Database. In contrast to the findings for continental Europe, in England, increased ethnic minority concentrations in schools are associated with improved educational progress. Concentrations of economically disadvantaged students, however, are detrimental to such 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 minority educational advantage, but concentrations of religious students do not explain the positive effects of ethnic minority concentration. Likewise, positive parenting behaviours are associated with improved attitudes towards schoolwork, 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 along the cognitive-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 socio-metric data collected in the project to examine how and to what extent adolescents’ school outcomes are affected by their concrete peer networks. Her work assumes that peer networks can impact students’ school outcomes 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, relatedness is a basic need whose lack could lead to adjustment problems in school. Hence, in a study using the CILS4EU data – co-authored with Matthijs Kalmijn and Frank van Tubergen – Sara investigates how the ethnic composition of a school affects students’ friendship networks, and how

these friendships in turn affect students’ problem behaviour in school (e.g., skipping class and arguing with the teacher). Two important findings are that the proportion of co-ethnics in school is associated with a reduction in problem behaviour in school and that this relation is mediated by the proportion of the student’s in-school friendships. More specifically, adolescents who are surrounded by more co-ethnic peers in school have a higher proportion of in-school than out-of-school friendships, and this higher proportion of in-school friendships is in turn negatively related to students’ problem behaviour in school.

As regards the second possible impact of peer networks, research has shown that adolescents can be influenced by the school motivation, school behaviour, and achievement of their peers (citation). 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 characteristics (ego), the characteristics of his or her ties (alter), dyadic characteristics (e.g., interethnic versus co-ethnic ties), and contexts (e.g., country and class characteristics).

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

Although the school context is an important factor in an individual’s scholastic achievement and attainment, an adolescent’s neighbourhood also plays a major role in his or her everyday life. In his PhD project, therefore, Hanno Kruse (Mannheim University) investigates which circumstances may induce interethnic group spatial boundaries resulting from residential segregation processes to translate into social boundaries. Specifically, his work investigates the influence of ethnic residential concentration on friendship segregation among adolescents. Using German CILS4EU data on the extent of the investigated phenomena and their interrelation, 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.

Because the ethnic composition of individuals’ living environments can affect their friendship relationships in different ways, his research assumes that the impact of each causal path varies according to situational side constraints. Accordingly, he 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, he provides an explanation for the observed differences between adolescents of different social backgrounds. More generally, his 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 friendship

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 indicate links between ethnic groups in society 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.

Hence, to identify how these in-group friendship preferences are established, she seeks to explain 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 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 neighbourhood ethnic composition, co-authored with Hanno Kruse, suggests that the neighbourhood functions mostly as a sorting mechanism – children with few out-group neighbours have few out-group peers in class – but offers little evidence that a more ethnically diverse neighbourhood 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 Verbakel), 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 opportunity to meet: choosing a native partner is more likely in schools and neighbourhoods with a larger share of natives. Other influential factors are individuals' level of religiosity, their parents' religion, and parents' social network. Hence, in her doctoral thesis, van Zantvliet aims to contribute to previous research by focusing on the mechanisms underlying third-party influence and providing empirical evidence for its actual levels.

Intergenerational transmission or intergenerational assimilation: religion and religiosity of immigrants in Western Europe

Because a major strength of the CILS4EU study is its broad focus, it also offers the opportunity to study other, very different aspects of integration, such as its emotional-cultural dimension. For example, in recent decades, empirical research has demonstrated that religiosity among Muslim immigrants is considerably stable over time and over generations. In a paper co-authored with Frank Kalter, Konstanze Jacob (Mannheim University) uses the comparative data from the first wave of the project to analyse parent-child dyads and replicates this pattern. This exceptional stability in the importance attached to

religion can be identified both in contrast to other non-Muslim immigrant groups and the respective native population, and through comparison with other dimensions of integration within the Muslim immigrant group. Such exploration suggests that religion and religiosity occupy a special position in the overall integration process of immigrants with a Muslim background, one that cannot be sufficiently explained by existing theories in either the sociology of religion or of integration. Konstanze's PhD thesis adopts the perspective of intergenerational transmission of religiosity in immigrant and native families. In doing so, it aims at helping to solve two puzzles: (i) why Muslim immigrants show such exceptional stability in religiosity compared to other groups and (ii) how (the lack of) religious integration in Muslim families can be explained against the background of progress in other integration dimensions.

Based on assumptions from sociological rational choice theory, she first develops a theoretical model of intergenerational transmission of religiosity within families, in which divergent interfamilial transmission patterns between groups and integration dimensions are a consequence of parents and children assigning different weights to the costs and benefits of intergenerational transmission of religiosity. Her theoretical model also explicitly takes into account the influence of social peers on intergenerational transmission of religiosity. Hypotheses derived from these theoretical considerations are then tested empirically using data collected within the CILS4EU project on German youth and their parents. In this way, Konstanze's thesis is able to answer several open questions in integration research about religion's special role in the overall integration process.

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 on-going 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 socio-metric 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.

More information about the CILS4EU project is available at www.norface-migration.org/currentprojectdetail.php?proj=2

Norface Research Programme on Migration
Scientific Co-ordination Office
Department of Economics
University College London
Drayton House
30 Gordon Street
London, WC1H 0AX
United Kingdom

Telephone: +44 (0)20 3549 5390
Email: norface-migration@ucl.ac.uk
Web: www.norface-migration.org

