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# Summary Report of the Key Findings for Work Package 8

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# Summary Report of the Key Findings for Work Package 8

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*Abstract:*

The aims of this report are to summarise the main findings of studies on migrant and ethnic minority families in Europe, to discuss how various factors shape family patterns of immigrants and their descendants and to provide policy recommendations. The analysis of partnership dynamics, mixed marriages and childbearing behaviour shows that there is a significant diversity of partnership patterns and family forms among immigrants and their descendants in European countries. Factors related to family of origin and country of residence are important in explaining differences in partnership and fertility behaviour between population subgroups. Overall, family patterns of the ‘second-generation’ fall in-between those of their parents’ generation and the respective native populations. The differences to natives are expected to further decline in the ‘third generation’, but a significant intra-group heterogeneity will likely persist. Policy-makers should be aware of the diversity of partnership forms and the presence of large families in some minority groups and small families in others and ensure that all families are supported. Children from different types of families should have the same opportunities as those from the ‘average’ families.

*Keywords: Immigrants, the second generation, family, fertility, Europe*

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## **1. Introduction**

European populations are characterised by an increasing share of immigrants and their descendants (Castles and Miller 2009; Rees et al. 2012). In the second half of the 20th century, immigrants mostly arrived in Northern and Western European countries, whereas in the first decade of this century, Southern European countries experienced a rapid increase of the immigrant population (Arango 2000; Cornelius 1994). Eastern European countries with their previous state socialist regimes and planned economy showed specific patterns, but sometimes the volume of migration was quite extensive, in particular after the fall of socialism (Fassmann and Münz 1994; Frejka 1996). Over time, the share of the descendants of immigrants has increased. In many Northern and Western European countries, immigrants and their descendants form approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of the population (OECD 2014; Zimmermann 2005). Therefore, migrants and ethnic minorities increasingly shape demographic, social and cultural trends in European societies.

Research has examined the various life domains of immigrants and ethnic minorities in European countries, including their employment and education (Adsera and Chiswick 2007; Kogan 2007; Rebhun 2010; Rendall et al. 2010), health and mortality (Hannemann 2012; Solé-Auró and Crimmins 2008; Wengler 2011), residential and housing patterns (Arbaci 2008; Musterd 2005), legal status and citizenship (Bauböck 2003; Howard 2005; Seifert 1997), and linguistic, cultural and religious diversity (Foner and Alba 2008; Güngör, Fleischmann, and Phalet 2011; Kulu and Tammaru 2004). Recent years have also witnessed a growing interest in the study of family dynamics among immigrants and their descendants (Andersson 2004; Bernhardt, Goldscheider, and Bjerén 2007; Bernhardt, Goldscheider, and Goldscheider 2007; González-Ferrer 2006a, 2006b; Milewski 2010). The diversity of family forms has increased among immigrants and ethnic minorities as it has among native populations in Europe; this compounds the difficulties of establishing a single and uni-directional relationship between immigrants' family dynamics and integration. Nevertheless, most recent research illustrates that immigrants' family trajectories provide valuable information on immigrants' experiences and their integration and also on the wider societal trends in European countries.

The aim of Work Package 8 was to examine family trajectories among immigrants and ethnic minorities with a focus on partnership change and childbearing. We analysed family trajectories of immigrants and their descendants in selected European countries; we identified mechanisms that led to various family outcomes for migrants and ethnic minorities; and we

evaluated various policy measures to support migrant and ethnic minority families and their well-being.

This report summarises the main findings of studies on migrant and ethnic minority families in selected European countries. We will first summarise the findings of case studies on partnership trajectories among immigrants and their descendants; we will highlight similarities and differences across migrant and ethnic minority groups and between the countries. We will then summarise the core results of studies on the spread and stability of mixed marriages in selected European countries; again we will present and discuss the similarities and differences across the migrant groups and between the countries. Next, we will summarise the main findings of country studies on fertility among the descendants of migrants with a focus on minority populations with relatively high and relatively low fertility; we will discuss the role that compositional and contextual factors and their interaction play in explaining fertility differentials among minorities in selected European countries. Thereafter, we will provide a brief summary of what has been learned in this project about families of immigrants and their descendants and will show how the results of our analyses inform governmental policies to support integration and well-being of minority families. Finally, we will critically evaluate the approach we applied in this research and suggest avenues for further research.

## **2. Summary of Findings of Individual Studies**

### *2.1. Partnership formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants in Europe*

Partnership patterns in Europe have significantly changed in the last decades; marriage rates have declined, divorce, remarriage and non-marital cohabitation have become common (Lesthaeghe and Neels 2002). The trends vary across countries and population subgroups. This research stream investigates union formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants in selected European countries with different migration histories and welfare state policies (Sweden, United Kingdom, Estonia, Switzerland, France and Spain).

The universal marriage pattern was first challenged in the Nordic countries. Sweden showed an early onset of non-marital cohabitation, at first as a transition and testing phase for marriage but which soon developed into a long-term alternative to marriage. Sweden has been a forerunner in other changes in partnership patterns, such as later age at marriage and increased divorce and re-partnering levels. Andersson, Obućina, and Scott (2015) analyse the

formation of first marriage, divorce, and subsequent re-marriage among immigrants and their descendants. Using the advantages of Swedish register data, the authors distinguish between numerous origin countries, allowing the detection of even small differences in partnership behaviour. Furthermore, the study provides separate insights into women with one or two foreign-born parents and women who arrived as children or as young adults in Sweden. The results show higher marriage, divorce, and re-marriage rates on average among migrants who arrived during their childhood than among immigrants who arrived in Sweden as adults. While the marriage levels of immigrants vary significantly across the different countries of origin, most immigrant groups exhibit divorce risks similar to or higher than those of the native Swedish population, which the authors partly attribute to the disrupting effect of the migration process. However, immigrants from Turkey show high marriage and low divorce rates, suggesting that factors related to selectivity and socialisation also shape partnership patterns. Further, while most Swedish-born descendants of migrants exhibit marriage rates that are similar to or lower than those of native Swedes, descendants of immigrants from Turkey and the Arab Middle East have high marriage rates, supporting the importance of the group-specific patterns of early marriage formation among these minorities.

Estonia, although belonging socio-politically to the group of Eastern European countries, demonstrates family formation patterns that are similar to those of the Nordic countries. Using pooled data from two retrospective surveys, Rahnu et al. (2015) analyse the formation and dissolution of first and second unions among immigrants and their descendants in Estonia. The analysis of eleven different partnership transitions shows significant differences between the native population and Russian-speaking immigrants, particularly in the mode of partnership formation and the outcome of cohabiting unions. While non-marital unions have been common among native Estonians for some time, they have only relatively recently spread among immigrants. The union dissolution risks, however, are high among all population subgroups. The partnership patterns among the descendants of immigrants are similar to those of their parents' generation, although Estonian-born Russians are more likely to cohabit than their parent's generation of immigrants. The analysis also reveals that the ethnic differences in the choice of mode of partnership formation are observed for both first and second unions and that they persist after adjusting for the educational attainment and labour market status of individuals. The differences between immigrants and the native population are similar for men and women. The study underlines the importance of factors related to socialisation and minority subculture in combination with those of legacy and contextual factors such as high spatial concentration of immigrants and the linguistic division

of the Estonian school system. The analyses also reveal moderate disruption effects of migration on partnership processes among the immigrant population.

Postponement of marriage, increased divorce rates, and diversity of union forms have also characterised recent partnership dynamics in France. However, the study by Pailhé (2015a) shows that the patterns differ significantly by population subgroup. For the native French population, she observes a clear change from direct marriage to cohabitation as the dominant mode of partnership formation, whereas many immigrants still show a high risk of direct marriage, particularly those from the Maghreb region and Turkey. The descendants of immigrants have lower rates of union formation than immigrants, indicating a postponement of partnership formation among the second generation. The analysis also reveals elevated rates of cohabitation among the descendants of immigrants from Southern Europe, suggesting increased similarity with the native's partnership patterns. By contrast, early and universal marriage remains the dominant pattern among the descendants of immigrants from Turkey and Maghreb countries. Interestingly, differences across groups are only slightly reduced after controlling for individuals' educational and employment characteristics, but they decline after adjusting for parental social background and religiosity, suggesting that socialisation factors play an important role in shaping the partnership behaviour of immigrants and their descendants in France.

Similar patterns of diversity of forms of union formation are reported in Switzerland by Guarin and Bernardi (2014). In general the authors find that the mean age at first partnership (marriage or cohabitation) is higher for immigrants than for the native Swiss population, a difference is even more pronounced when only marital unions are considered. However, they also observe variations among the migrant groups with immigrants from former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Southern Europe showing the highest rates for first union formation. This supports the notion of more conservative partnership trajectories, influenced by selection and socialisation processes among these minority groups. For the descendants of immigrants the authors observe lower risk for first union formation in comparison with the native population. The lowest risks are found among descendants of Western European immigrants, whereas descendants of former Yugoslavian, Turkish, and Southern European immigrants show similar first union formation levels than the native population. The substantial difference of union formation behaviour between migrant generations for the latter ethnic groups support the hypothesis of a strong influence of the mainstream behaviour on the partnership behaviour of the descendants of immigrants.

The UK, despite its northern location, adopted the new partnership patterns later than other Northern and Western European countries. Nevertheless, the new partnership forms have spread rapidly in the last decades. Hannemann and Kulu (2015) investigate a wide range of union formation and dissolution transitions among immigrants and their descendants in the United Kingdom. Similarly to Sweden, Estonia, and France, cohabitation has become the dominant mode of union formation among the native population; by contrast, cohabitation remains rare among immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh and their descendants, as most of them marry directly. However, the small share of UK-born South Asians that chose cohabitation over direct marriage exhibits higher rates of separation from cohabitation and lower risk of marriage after entry into cohabitation than other immigrants, supporting the idea that both minority subculture and mainstream society influence their partnership behaviour. Immigrants from Western European countries exhibit partnership behaviours similar to those of the native UK population for both first and second unions. The analysis also reveals specific patterns among Caribbean immigrants and, interestingly, among their descendants. The Caribbean population has high cohabitation, low marriage, and high divorce risk, which the authors attribute to the specific notion of family in Caribbean countries.

The conservative partnership patterns in Southern European countries have persisted longer than in other European regions and new partnership patterns have only recently spread there. This provides a unique setting, where many of the immigrant groups come from regions with more fluid union patterns than the native population. González-Ferrer, Hannemann, and Castro-Martín (2016) analyse union formation and dissolution among immigrants in Spain, which has recently become a destination for immigration after a long period of being a migrant sending country, making this study the first of its kind. Given the recent onset of immigration streams to Spain, the number of Spanish-born descendants of immigrants of union formation age is still insufficient for detailed analysis. The study focuses on migrants from Latin America, Eastern Europe, and EU15 countries. All immigrant groups exhibit different union patterns compared to those of native Spanish women. Overall, immigrant women have higher union formation risk and are more likely to enter cohabitation as well as separate from their first union. The authors attribute those differences to a combination of socialisation effects among immigrants from origins with more 'fluid' union patterns, as well as selection of immigrants according to partnership preferences and disruption effects after arrival in Spain. The conclusions are supported by the results of additional analyses of a sample of immigrants who only started their first relationships after arrival in Spain.

The main findings of the six case studies and a comparative study (Hannemann et al. 2014) are as follows. First, the analysis showed a significant variation in partnership patterns among minority groups in most countries. Individuals from Turkey and the Maghreb region in France exhibited high rates of (direct) marriage and low levels of cohabitation and marital dissolution, whereas Sub-Saharan African migrants had low rates of marriage and high levels of cohabitation and union dissolution. Similarly, marriage rates were high and (cohabitation and) dissolution levels low among immigrants from Turkey in Sweden and Switzerland as well as those from South Asia in the UK, whereas the Caribbean population in the UK showed the opposite patterns.

Second, immigrants from countries with conservative family patterns showed similar partnership trajectories across countries. Turkish women (and men) in France and Sweden and South Asians in the UK exhibited very similar union formation and dissolution patterns; partnership patterns were also similar, but with different dynamics, among Caribbean immigrants in the UK and immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa in France. The results thus seem to support the idea that *socialisation* plays an important role in the partnership behaviour of immigrants: immigrants normally bring their traditions and norms regarding family life, which shape their preferences and family behaviour later in life. The studies show that preferences for partnership modes change less than perhaps expected.

Third, partnership patterns among the descendants of immigrants varied. For geographically close and culturally similar migrants and their descendants (Europeans in the UK, France, Spain, and Sweden) the analysis showed relatively similar partnership patterns for immigrants and their descendants in comparison with their respective natives. For culturally and also geographically more distant groups, the relationships were more complex. Women of Turkish, Sub-Saharan, and Maghrebian origin in France, those of Turkish and Arab Middle Eastern descent in Sweden, South Asians and Caribbeans in the UK, and the Russian-speaking population in Estonia showed very similar trajectories of union formation across generations, particularly in the choice of partnership mode, and the patterns were significantly different from those of the respective natives (Figure 1 and 2). Interestingly, however, their separation levels stayed ‘in-between’ those of immigrants and natives, although this is potentially due to the spread of mixed marriages among some minority groups. In Spain the differences between European immigrants and natives were slightly larger due to the fact that Spanish natives can be considered to belong to the more conservative population group, while natives of France, the UK, Sweden, and Estonia are all considered more fluid in their partnership patterns. The studies thus suggest that the

*mainstream society* as well as the *minority subculture* shape the family patterns of ethnic minorities, although the role of minority subculture seems to prevail more strongly among some groups (i.e., individuals of Turkish and Maghreb origin in France, those of Turkish descent in Sweden and Switzerland, South Asians in the UK, the population of Slavic origin in Estonia, and Latin Americans in Spain).

## *2.2. Mixed marriages among immigrants and their descendants in Europe*

The spread and stability of mixed marriages are seen as important indicators of immigrant integration and social cohesion. This research stream investigates formation of endogamous and exogamous marriages among immigrants and their descendants in a number of European countries (United Kingdom, Switzerland, Estonia, Romania and Spain).

Kulu and Hannemann (2015) analyse the formation of endogamous and exogamous marriages among immigrants and their descendants in the UK using longitudinal data from the Understanding Society study. The analysis shows significant differences among immigrants in the likelihood of marrying within and outside of their ethnic groups. While immigrants from European countries have relatively low endogamous and high exogamous marriage rates, the patterns are the opposite for those from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh; all South Asians exhibit a high propensity towards marrying a partner from their own ethnic group. As expected, the descendants of immigrants have lower endogamous and higher exogamous marriage rates than their parents; however, for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, the differences across generations are small. The observed marital patterns support that South Asian communities in Britain, particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, are relatively closed groups with few signs of marital assimilation or integration. By contrast, the population of Caribbean origin exhibit diversity in marriage patterns; their pluralistic model includes individuals who marry natives, those who marry other Caribbeans, those who marry individuals from other ethnic groups and those who do not marry (or form a union) at all.

Potârcă and Bernardi (2015) show that similar group differences exist in Switzerland. The analysis of the Family and Generation Survey shows that the descendants of immigrants are more likely of forming exogamous marriages, as expected. The likelihood of forming mixed marriages is the largest among immigrants from Western Europe, whereas endogamous marriages dominate among immigrants from Turkey and South Slavic countries. Southern Europeans are in-between those partnership patterns.

Spain has only recently become a destination of immigration, which makes a study by González-Ferrer et al. (2015) on the spread of mixed marriages in Spain one of the first in Southern Europe. The analysis shows substantial differences across immigrant groups. Immigrant men and women from the EU25 countries are most likely to enter an exogamous marriage, whereas Moroccans, Romanians and immigrants from other European countries show a high propensity for endogamy. Latin American men, particularly those from Ecuador, have also a high likelihood of forming an intra-group marriage, whereas marriages with native Spaniards are widely spread among Latin American women. Overall, the highest propensity for endogamy is observed among male economic migrants and female migrants who have moved to Spain for non-economic and non-educational reasons suggesting also the importance of the factors related to immigrant selection.

Much of European research has focused on immigrants in Northern and Western European countries. The study by Rahn et al. (2016) on the spread of mixed marriages among immigrants and their descendants in Estonia offers the opportunity to study the dynamics of mixed unions in a specific demographic, socio-economic and political context. The analysis across three migrant generations shows that the likelihood of starting an ethnically mixed partnership is the highest among the third generation, as expected; however, there are no differences between the first and second generation in the Estonian context, which the authors attribute to specific contextual features: large-scale post-war immigration to Estonia, the spatial concentration of immigrants in specific regions and the linguistic division of the education system. The analysis of the propensity of separation of ethnically mixed marriages supports the exogamy hypothesis – overall, mixed marriages have elevated disruption risks, which the authors attribute to the clash between modern and traditional gender roles in most, although not in all mixed marriages. Partnerships between a native man and an immigrant woman have similar separation risks as ethnically homogamous marriages.

The study by Hărăguș (2015) on exogamous marriages among the Hungarian minority in Romania supports the importance of language skills in the spread of mixed marriages among established ethnic minority populations. The analysis shows that ethnic Hungarians who have studied some years in Romanian language are significantly more likely to form exogamous marriages than those who have no Romanian language skills. Interestingly, women are also more likely to marry outside of their ethnic group than men.

The main findings of the five case studies and a comparative study of seven countries by Hannemann et al. (2015), including also France and Belgium, are as follows. First, there are significant differences among immigrants and their descendants in the likelihood of

marrying within and outside of their ethnic groups. While immigrants from (most) European countries have relatively high exogamous marriage rates, South Asians in the UK and those from Turkey and North Africa in France and Belgium and Russian speakers in Estonia exhibit a high likelihood of marrying a partner from their own ethnic group (Figure 3). Second, the descendants of immigrants have lower endogamous and higher exogamous marriage rates than their parents; however, for some ethnic groups, particularly for South Asians in the UK, those of Turkish or North African origin in France and Belgium the differences across generations are small. Third, the exogamy rates are high among ethnic minority women and men with better majority language skills, higher education level, individuals who are less religious and those who are older at first marriage.

### *2.3. Childbearing among immigrants' descendants in Europe*

Fertility levels of immigrants and their descendants in Europe tend to converge with those of natives over time in most cases in the passing from the first to the second generation. However, fertility rates still remain relatively high among certain minority groups, among others they are surprisingly low. This research stream investigates childbearing patterns of the descendants of immigrants in selected European countries. We have conducted six case studies (Germany, United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Sweden and Spain) and a comparative study of eight countries (including also Belgium and Estonia) with a focus on minority women whose parents arrived in Europe from high-fertility countries.

Pailhé (2015b) analyses fertility patterns among the descendants of immigrants in France using the data from the Trajectories and Origins Survey. The study shows a significant variation in childbearing behaviour across minority populations in France. Women of Turkish origin enter motherhood at young ages, whereas women of Sub-Saharan descent postpone childbearing; those of North African origin are in-between. There are little (if any) differences in the second-birth rates across population subgroups, but most descendants of immigrants have high third-birth levels. The study shows that access to tertiary education explains some group differences in the first-birth rates; by contrast, cultural factors appear to be important determinants of third-birth levels; interestingly, the role of employment is negligible.

The early childbearing of women of Turkish origin is supported by two studies on German-speaking countries. Guarin and Bernardi (2015) show that women of Turkish and South Slavic origin in Switzerland are more likely of becoming parents at younger ages than the native Swiss women, even after adjusting the patterns to educational factors. Krapf and

Wolf (2015) observe similar childbearing patterns for the population of Turkish origin in Germany. The analysis of first-birth rates among women of Turkish descent shows that both women who were born in Germany and those who arrived as children are more likely of having a child and having it at younger ages than the native German population. Women of Turkish descent are also more likely of having a second child and the differences to natives persist after adjusting models to socio-economic factors. Interestingly, fertility levels are slightly higher among women who arrived as children compared to those who were born in Germany, which the author attributes to the factors related to socialisation environment. The analysis also shows that highly educated women of Turkish origin have fertility patterns similar to the native German population.

The study by Kulu and Hannemann (2016) shows that most UK-born minority groups have the total fertility rate below or around the replacement level. However, women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent exhibit high fertility levels. The analysis of fertility by parity shows, first, that there is little variation in the first-birth rates among natives and the UK-born ethnic minority women. First-birth levels of the descendants of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean immigrants are not different from those of native women. The levels for women of Indian and other European and Western descent are lower, suggesting a lower likelihood of becoming a mother among these groups. Second, the descendants of immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh exhibit a significantly higher risk of a second birth, whereas risk levels are low among women of European and Western, and particularly, Caribbean origin. Third, all UK-born ethnic minority groups exhibit a higher likelihood than native British women of having a third and a fourth child. Third- and fourth-birth rates are particularly high among women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent. Further analysis shows that the number of siblings and the level of religiosity account for some elevated fertility among UK-born ethnic minorities, whereas the role of education and employment is negligible. The authors conclude that factors related to family background and the minority subculture play an important role in fertility differences between UK-born ethnic minorities and natives.

The importance of parity-specific analysis is also demonstrated in a study by Andersson and Persson (2015) on childbearing of descendants of immigrants in Sweden. Most groups of descendants have lower first-birth rates than native Swedish women suggesting delayed parenthood among them. The authors attribute this to the difficulties related to getting established in the Swedish labour market. Somewhat surprisingly, many descendants to immigrants have also lower second-birth levels. This is related to the relatively

short birth intervals among native Swedish women. Many descendants of immigrants of non-European origin exhibit high third-birth rates, the pattern observed also in other European countries. The analysis shows that women of Turkish and Arab Middle Eastern origin exhibit childbearing patterns characteristics to groups with above average fertility; they have similar or slightly higher first- and second-birth rates than native Swedes and elevated third-birth rates, other groups of descendants to immigrants rather stand out with lower overall fertility than that observed for the native population.

González-Ferrer, Castro-Martín and Kraus (2015) extend previous studies by investigating fertility among women who arrived in Spain during their childhood (the so-called 1.5 generation). The analysis shows that most groups of descendants to immigrants have similar or lower first-birth rates than native Spanish women indicating delayed motherhood, which is related to specific labour market conditions and welfare state provisions (lack of part-time jobs, lack of pre-school services in ages 0-3). The second- and third-birth levels vary across groups. The likelihood of having a second and a third child is high among the descendants of Moroccan immigrants, whereas there are no differences in childbearing patterns between women of Latin American origin and those with a Spanish background, which is consistent with the selective nature of this group previously found in regard partnership formation patterns, as well as with the strong economic orientation of recent immigration to Spain. The descendants of EU15 immigrants exhibit a low propensity of having a second and a third child. The authors argue that the general assimilation trend in fertility patterns, expected for the second generation, is already observed for the 1.5 generation of Latin Americans, but to a lesser extent Moroccans.

Applying event-history analysis to large-scale longitudinal data the six case studies and a comparative study by Kulu et al. (2015) provide a detailed overview of childbearing patterns among the descendants of immigrants. The main results are as follows. The descendants of immigrants have lower first-birth rates than 'natives' suggesting the postponement of childbearing among ethnic minorities; the only exception are women of Turkish origin who exhibit elevated first-birth levels in several countries (Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium and France) indicating early childbearing among this group (Figure 4a and 4b). Some ethnic minority groups have somewhat higher second-birth risks than 'natives' (e.g. women from South Asia in the UK and Moroccans in Spain), many show significantly higher third-birth rates; elevated third-birth levels are observed among women of Turkish, Middle Eastern and Northern African origin in Sweden, South Asians in the UK and North Africans in France, Belgium and Spain (Figure 5). Elevated third-birth levels largely

explain a relatively high total fertility among some minority groups. Fertility differences between the ‘native’ and ethnic minority women largely persist once women’s educational level is included in the analysis, but decrease after factors related to language, religion and family of origin are controlled. Overall, the analysis supports the importance of cultural-normative factors, potentially related to minority subcultures, in shaping childbearing patterns of ethnic minority groups, particularly third-birth rates. The analysis also suggests that education and employment related factors may play a role, especially in family formation.

### **3. Lessons from Comparative Research and Policy Recommendations**

#### *3.1. Lessons learned*

The analysis of partnership dynamics, determinants of mixed marriages and childbearing behaviour supports that there is a significant *diversity of partnership patterns and family forms* among immigrants and their descendants in European countries. Based on the results of individual and comparative studies we can broadly distinguish between three groups. The first group consists of South Asians in the UK, women of Turkish origin in France, Belgium, Sweden and Germany and those of North African origin in France, Belgium, Sweden and Spain. Characteristic to these groups is the prevalence of intra-group marriages and conservative partnership forms with high marriage rates and low cohabitation and separation levels. Many individuals from these groups have large families with three to four children. The second group consists of immigrants from Caribbean countries in the UK and those of Sub-Saharan origin (mostly Ghanaians) in Western Europe. Some of them are in endogamous unions, whereas a significant part of them is in relationship with natives or other ethnic minorities. They have low marriage levels and high cohabitation and separation rates. The diversity of partnership patterns is also reflected in their family forms: some women have small families, whereas others have families with three children. The third group is formed mostly of immigrants from other European countries and their descendants and also Latin Americans. Many of them are in exogamous unions with natives and their partnership and fertility patterns are similar to those of natives with only a few exceptions (e.g. Russians in Estonia; Romanians in Spain).

Partnership and childbearing patterns of the *descendants of immigrants are in-between* those of immigrants and natives, although they vary across groups. Most descendants of immigrants from other European countries show partnership and childbearing patterns similar to their respective natives, which can be attributed to cultural similarities in their origin and

destination country. By contrast, women of Turkish, and Maghrebian origin in France, Belgium and Spain, those of Turkish and Arab Middle Eastern descent in Sweden, South Slavic and Turkish origin in Switzerland, South Asians in the UK, and the Russian-speaking population in Estonia show similar partnership trajectories across generations, particularly in the choice of partnership mode (marriage over cohabitation) and the type of union (endogamous unions over exogamous partnerships), and the patterns are significantly different from those of the respective natives. However, their separation levels and fertility patterns stay in-between those of immigrants and natives. Although Sub-Saharan Africans in France and Caribbeans in the UK exhibit similar patterns across generations, there is a large internal variation related to a relatively large share of mixed marriages. Overall, the studies thus suggest that the mainstream society as well as the minority subculture shape the family patterns of ethnic minorities, although the role of minority subculture seems to prevail more strongly among some groups (i.e., individuals of Turkish and Maghreb origin in France and Belgium, those of Turkish descent in Sweden, South Asians in the UK).

A critical question is whether the specific partnership and childbearing patterns are an indicator of cultural diversity or (also) of the poor economic and social integration of these ethnic groups in their respective countries? On the one hand, the inclusion of education and employment-related information in the analysis did not change much the observed differences across population subgroups suggesting that *cultural and normative factors*, e.g. the size of family of origin and factors such as the level of religiosity may be important in explaining differences in partnership and fertility behaviour between population subgroups. On the other hand, large group sizes with high levels of residential and spatial segregation have certainly supported the specific patterns that are observed for some immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the UK, France, Belgium and also in Estonia. These factors have facilitated daily social interaction between members of the same ethnic group and provided access to a pool of potential co-ethnic partners sharing similar family values.

Comparative analysis supported that the *country context* matters in shaping partnership and childbearing behaviour of minorities and differences across population subgroups. There was a notable similarity between the partnership and fertility patterns for similar groups of immigrants and their descendants in the UK, France and Belgium (i.e., migrants from same/similar country backgrounds behaved similarly in these three countries). These countries have experienced similar changes in partnership and fertility dynamics over the past half century as well as demonstrated relatively similar approaches to migration and integration policies. The analysis of fertility showed that first-birth rates were relatively low

for all minority and majority groups in Germany, Switzerland and Spain, suggesting later family formation and/or a lower likelihood of becoming a mother in those countries, which is a well-known finding from previous research. Fertility variation across ethnic groups was the smallest in Sweden and the largest in France, the UK and Belgium. The former finding is not surprising; research has shown that the generous and universal Nordic welfare system has an equalising effect on the fertility behaviour of all population subgroups; furthermore, minorities are relatively well integrated into education and the labour market, and residential segregation levels are relatively low (Bevelander 2004). Welfare state policies, although in different forms, have likely reduced differences across population subgroups in the UK, France and Belgium as well; however, the size of the main minority groups is large in those countries and residential and school segregation is high, particularly in the UK and France (Musterd 2005; Pan Ké Shon and Verdugo 2015). These factors certainly promote the existence of minority ‘subcultures’ in some countries and reinforce specific family patterns, e.g., through high levels of ethnic intermarriages.

### *3.2. Policy recommendations*

Our policy recommendations are as follows. Policy-makers should be aware of the diversity of partnership forms and the presence of large families in some minority groups in Europe and the depressed fertility in others. We should see large minority families as an asset for low-fertility societies and ensure that such families are supported. For example, it is important to ensure an access to appropriate housing. In many European countries the housing stock mostly consists of two and three-bedroom houses and apartments; four-bedroom houses and apartments are seen as a luxury, but they are essential for many large families. It is important that children from large and diverse families have the same educational opportunities as those from more ‘average’ families. The provision of pre-school activities should help to further develop majority language proficiency among ethnic minority children, widen their social networks and increase their interaction with children of the mainstream society. The results of academic tests in early ages should mainly be advisory or supported by complementary evidence in countries with selective school systems. Such measures are critical and should be part of a long-term integration plan in the context where there is a strong preference for intra-group marriages and a wish to maintain minority communities, as is the case with some immigrants and their descendants of non-European origin. We should also move beyond a contradictory discourse on immigration in our societies: On the one hand, we justify the need

for migrants to compensate low-fertility and relieve the issues related to population ageing, on the other, we often stigmatise large immigrant families as a sign of the lack of social integration.

Our findings of depressed fertility among many groups of descendants to immigrants also call for policy interventions. Below-replacement fertility is considered a problem in many countries in Europe. It causes problems for societies as age structures shift to display the dominance of the elderly in society; at the individual level it can be seen as a welfare issue as low and very low fertility reflects unmet demand for children and un-realized fertility intentions. In cases where descendants of immigrants in Europe have even lower fertility than that of the native population in their host societies we need to address these additional cases of un-realized fertility intentions. Young adults from minority families may face other challenges than majority youth when seeking to establish themselves as adults and to start a family. It is important that policy-making is sensitive to the needs of minority youth, for example in terms of more active educational counselling and in addressing cases of discrimination in the labour market.

It is important to emphasise that the diversity of family forms is here to stay and immigrants and their descendants are overrepresented in 'non-standard' families. It is also important to emphasise that we should not expect rapid changes in partnership and childbearing patterns among immigrants and their descendants; some changes are faster, others may take place across generations, particularly if patterns reflect cultural preferences and minority identities. Historical research has shown that diversity in family forms, if appropriately supported, can co-exist with successful labour market and social integration of migrant minorities and native majorities alike.

#### **4. Further Research**

Future research should explore the following avenues. First, investigation of family patterns should be extended to the 'third generation' where possible. Although for most descendants of immigrants their origin will remain just a record in part of their family history, for other ethnic groups, particularly those where intra-group marriage dominates, specific partnership and childbearing patterns may persist in the third generation, which may reflect and reinforce the emergence of an ethnic minority identity that tends to avoid complete cultural assimilation. Second, the links between structural/economic and cultural integration should be

studied in more detail. Although we have emphasised the importance of preferences and cultural-normative factors in shaping the partnership and childbearing behaviour of minorities, there is little doubt that economic and cultural factors are interwoven with each other. Further, the role of opportunity structures should be further examined. Clearly, the large group size and residential concentration of some minority groups have enabled and promoted specific partnership patterns among these groups and thus promoted minority identity. However, it is still far from clear whether and how opportunity structures have shaped the educational and employment opportunities of ethnic and migrant minorities.

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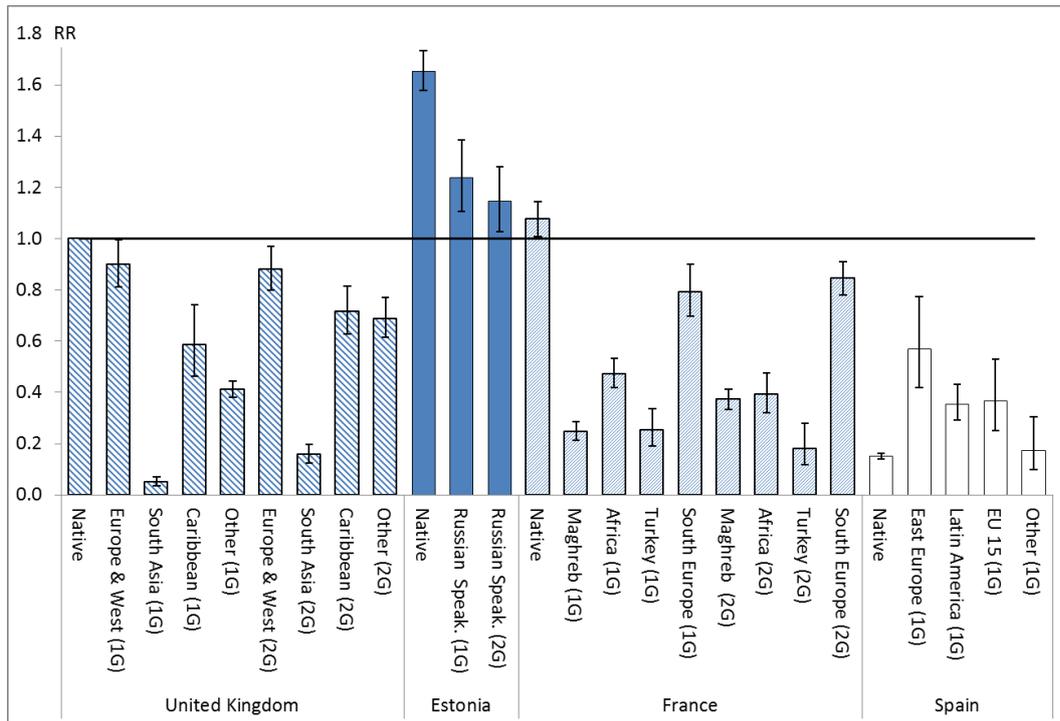
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## Figures

Figure 1. Relative risks of formation of first cohabitation.

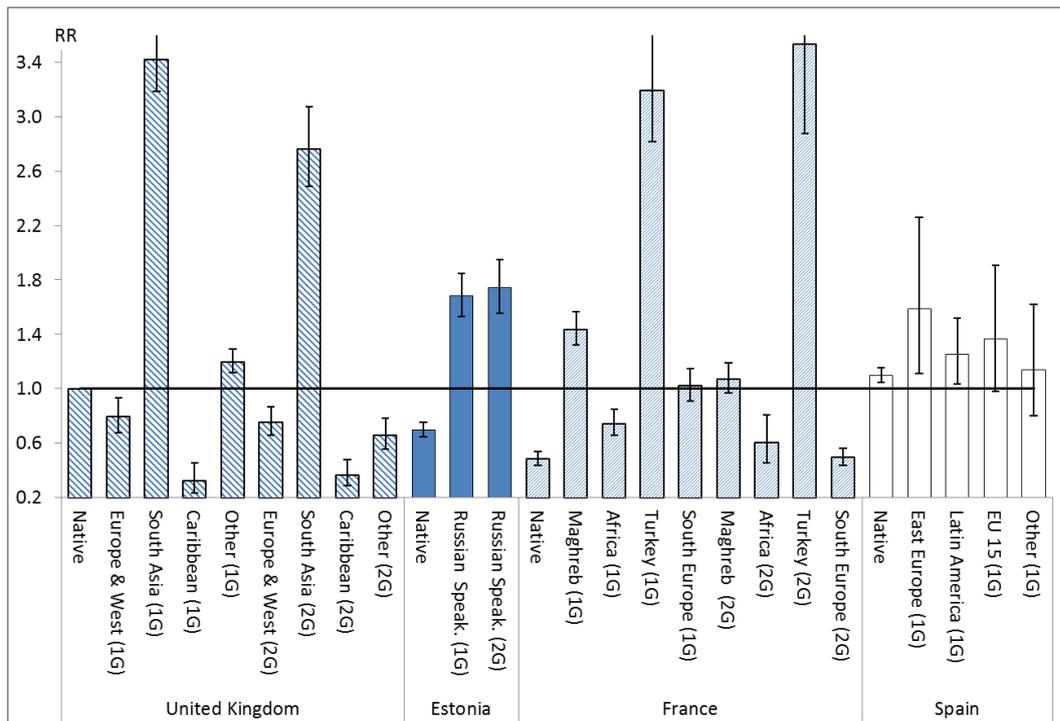


Controlled for age, cohort and educational level

1G refers to immigrants of the first generation and 2G refers to descendants of immigrants respectively

Source: Authors' own calculations based on survey data

Figure 2. Relative risks of formation of direct marriage.

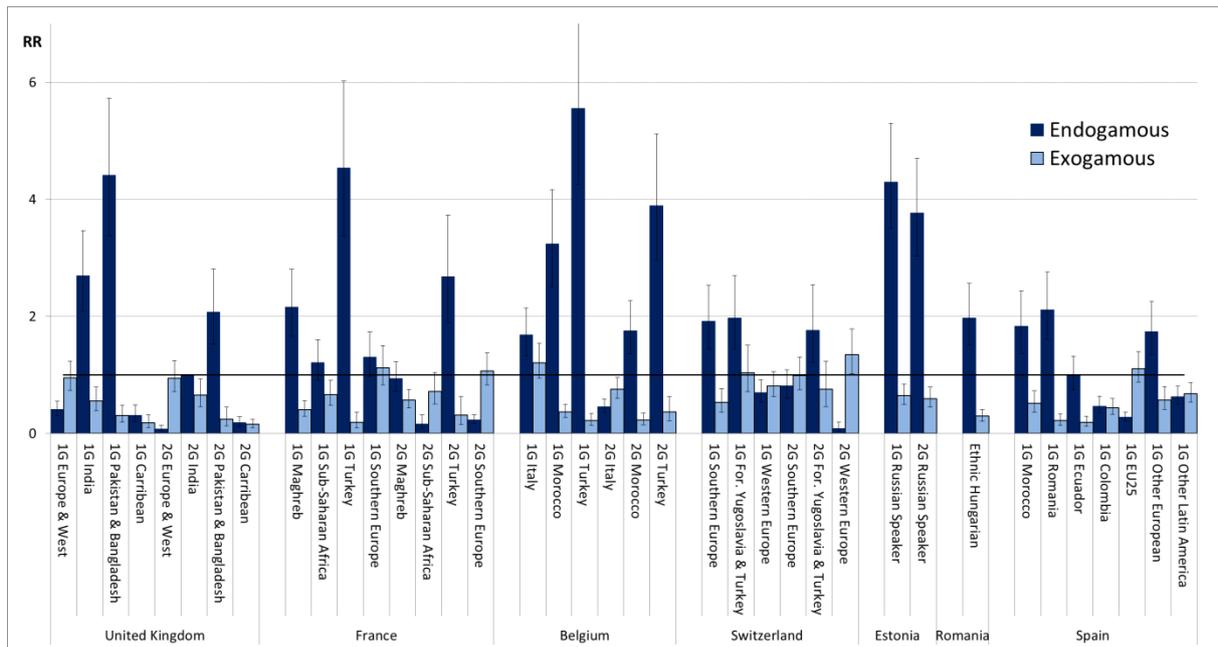


Controlled for age, cohort and educational level

1G refers to immigrants of the first generation and 2G refers to descendants of immigrants respectively

Source: Authors' own calculations based on survey data

Figure 3. Relative rates of endogamous and exogamous marriages for female immigrants and their descendants.



Source: Authors' own calculations based on survey and census data

Figure 4a. Relative risks of first birth.

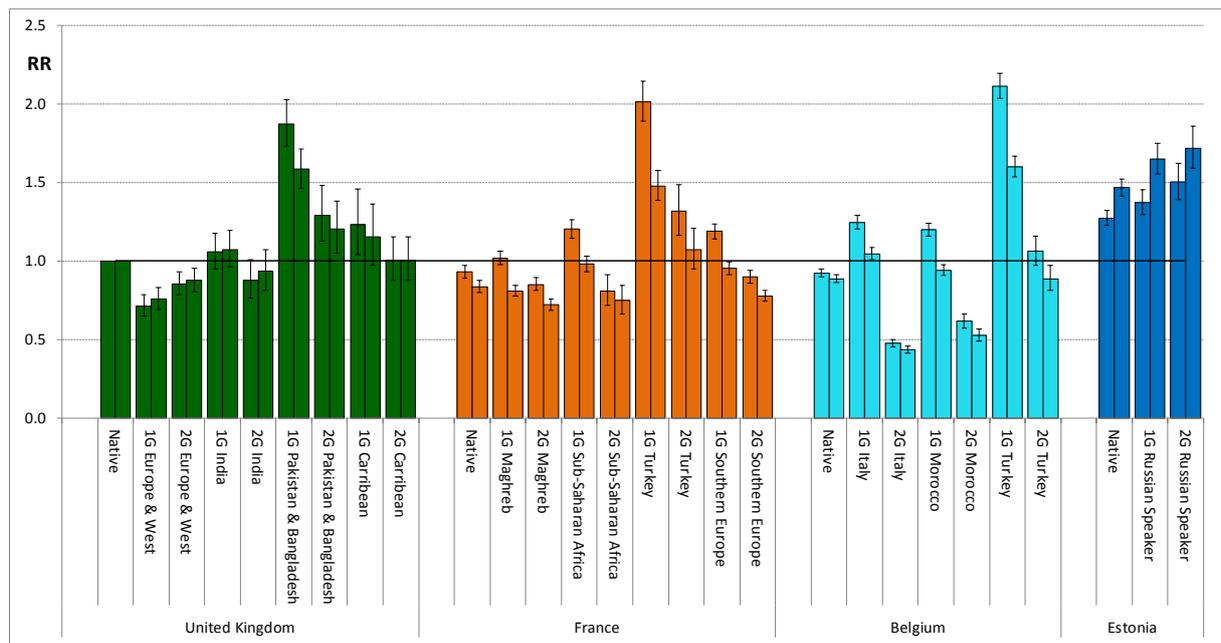
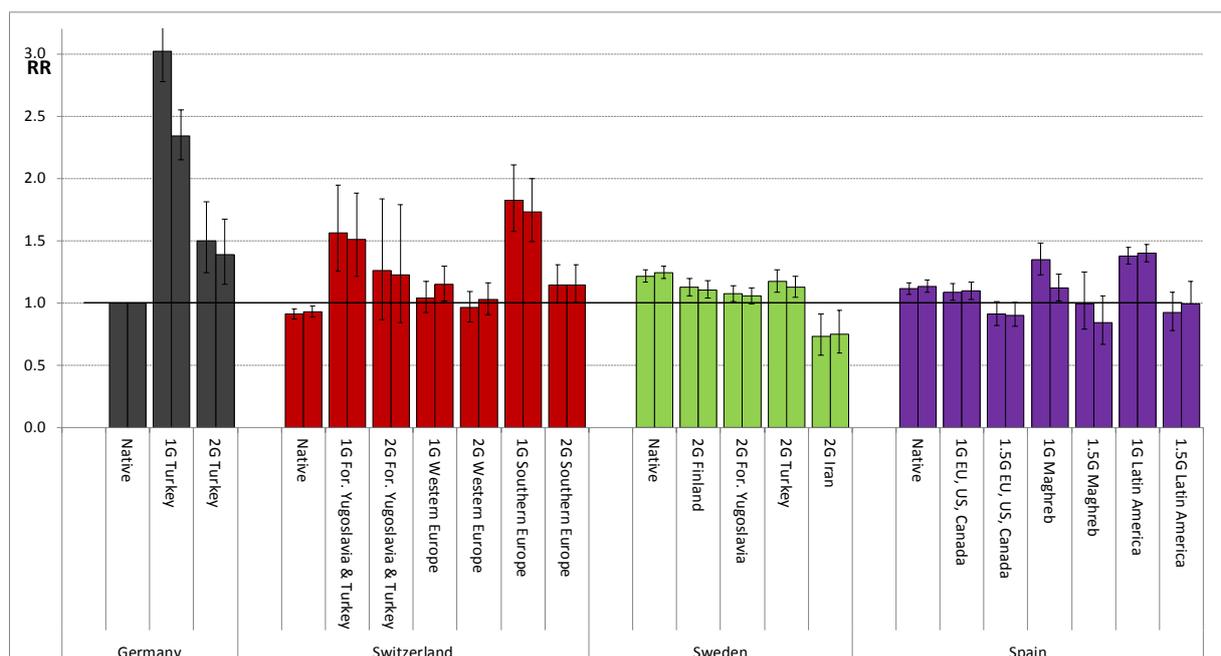
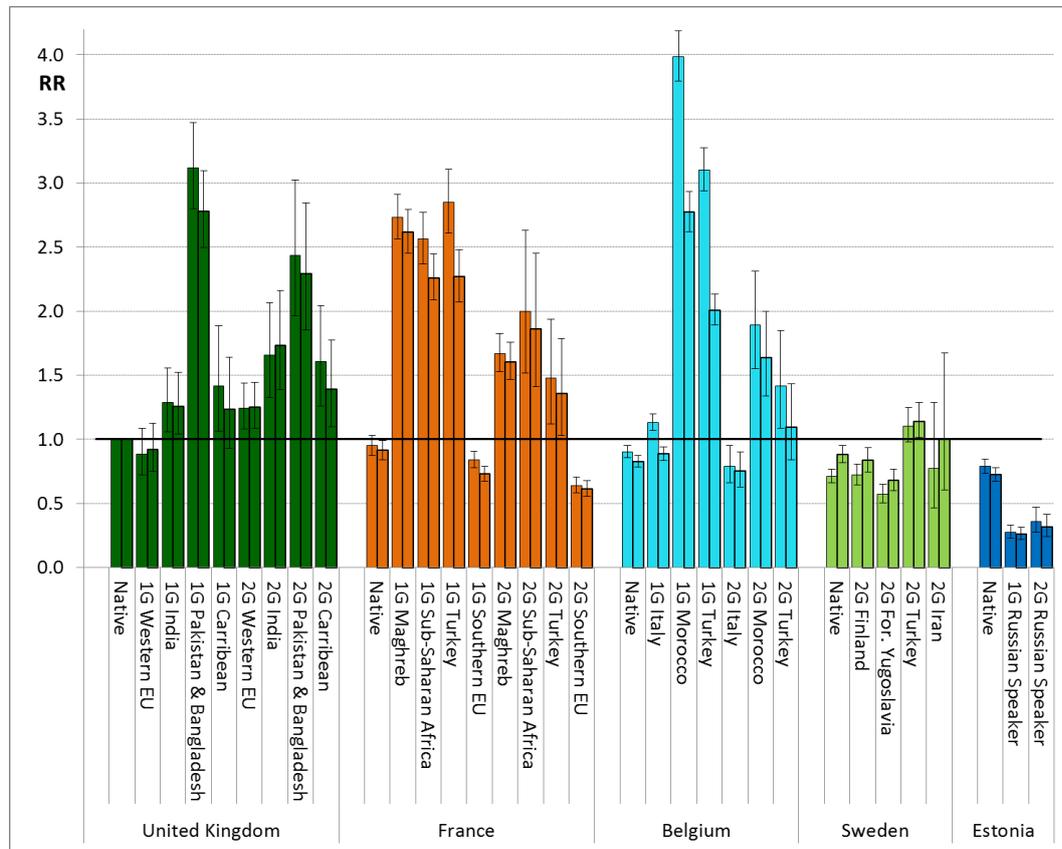


Figure 4b. Relative risks of first birth.



Model 1 = controlled for cohort and age group  
 Model 2 = controlled additionally for education  
 Source: Authors' own calculations based on survey and census data

Figure 5. Relative risks of third birth.



Model 1 = controlled for cohort and years since second birth  
 Model 2 = controlled additionally for education and age at first birth  
 Source: Authors' own calculations based on survey and census data