

Second generation migrants in Spain and their choice of the living arrangements

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The cluster of Mediterranean countries has been showing the so-called “latest-late” patterns of transition to adulthood (Billari et al., 2002). In the Southern European context the nest leaving process is very much associated with marriage (see, e.g., Iacovou, 2002), with the gain of economic independence and home-ownership (Mulder, 2006; Holdsworth and Irazoqui Solda, 2002). Moreover, Southern European countries, classified as belonging to the Familialistic welfare regime (Ferrera, 1996), do share many other peculiarities. Indeed, beside the latest exit from the parental home and the lowest fertility in Europe, these settings also witness a high youth unemployment rate and a rather difficult access into the housing market, combined with low welfare provision, the latter relying especially on family networks.

Within the Mediterranean setting, a peculiarity of the Spanish context is its great and historically documented regional diversity shaping the family formation process with respect to the timing and the quantum of home leaving and marriage (see, e.g., Reher, 1991; Holdsworth et al., 2002; Holdsworth, 1998). Moreover, Spain has been a migrants sending country since the second half of the 19th century, with preferred destinations being the Americas, Algeria and Morocco and, after World War II, Northern European countries. However, during the 1970s and 1980s, there was an inversion of the Spanish migration flows which gradually led Spain to become a destination country for migrants coming from a very heterogeneous set of countries: Morocco is the principal migrant

sending country, followed by Ecuador and Colombia, but large flows of migrants toward Spain originate also from the United Kingdom, Germany and Romania, to cite the most numerous groups (Ine, 2001).

This paper attempts to investigate the choices of living arrangements for second generation migrants in Spain by simultaneously taking into account the peculiarities of their place of origin and of their final destination, which is regarded as the provincial dimension in Spain. Therefore, Spain will not be considered as a homogeneous destination for migrants, but regional differences in the labour and housing markets as well as in the proportion of foreigners in the province of destination and possibly in the prevailing cultural climate –interpreted, for instance, according to the acceptability and diffusion of modern lifestyles as might be modelled through the proportion of same-sex couples or of cohabiting couples in a given province– will be taken into account.

The main question which is addressed here is how second generation migrants, who have been socialized in Spain, do experience their transition toward the adult status for what concerns their residential choices. Are second generation migrants comparable to Spanish peers with respect to the transition outside the parental home? Or do they show any difference? And if so, are these differences common to all young migrants, or are there patterns of association according to the country of origin? In other words, this paper aims at investigating whether second generation migrants are likely or not to adapt to the latest-late transition outside the parental home, frequently linked to the marriage event; whether the eventual adaptation is influenced by regional diversities which do exist in Spain and whether among groups of migrants there exists variability or homogeneity in the choice of the living arrangements.

In order to address these questions, micro-census data from the Spanish 2001 Population and Housing Census are used. Census data provide an opportunity to disaggregate a large sample of migrants grouping them according to their country of origin and to their current place of residence. The census is accessed via two different sources: individual-level information on a 5% sample drawn from the census are gathered from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International – IPUMS-I–, while the provincial-level information are provided by the Spanish National Statistical Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE). IPUMS-I collects comparable samples of individual-level data from population censuses, which are made available for public use. Available information on the nativity status, country of immigration and years since immigration took place allow identifying migrants of the second generation. However, second generation migrants are identifiable only among those who were born in the country of origin (and who migrated before age 6, according to the usual definition) while those born in Spain from migrant parents are not identifiable according to census data: those born in Spain can be coded as second generation

migrants only if still leaving with their parents. The final sample includes individual information for about 13,500 second generation migrants coming from more than a hundred different countries. Empirical analyses are based on a cross-classified multilevel logistic model on the probability of living outside the parental home, in which the origin and destination dimensions are simultaneously exploited. Indeed, migrants are classified according to their place of birth while grouped into the province of current residence in Spain. Thus the provincial variation in factors which could ease or impede the transition to independent living for young migrants is also taken into account.

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