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Research Article

Living arrangements of adult children of immigrants in selected European countries

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Abstract

BACKGROUND
The living arrangements of adult children of immigrants are shaped across Europe by both the dominant norms of mainstream society and the intergenerational transmission of values and practices.

OBJECTIVE
The paper describes the heterogeneous scenario across Europe in three specific living arrangements (living with parents, in a partnership, and, among those living with a partner, being in nonmarital cohabitation) by developing a multiple-origin/multiple-destination analysis based on migratory generation and by questioning adaptation and socialization hypotheses.

METHODS
The 2014 ad hoc module of the EU Labour Force Survey provides significant insights on young adults aged 20 to 34 in eight EU countries. The propensity to experience the three specific behaviors is estimated through logit models aiming at comparing southern and northwestern Europe.

RESULTS
Adult children of immigrants mostly tend to resemble the majority groups in the different destination contexts. Nevertheless, contextual factors cannot explain the whole intra-European heterogeneity. Results are not fully consistent with the expected gradual adaptation across migratory generations, and some differences based on the area of origin persist in all destination areas, especially for the decision to experience a nonmarital cohabitation. Young adults originating from South and East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa show stronger influence of their cultural inheritance than the other groups.

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CONTRIBUTION

By developing comparative research on living arrangements among immigrants and their descendants, we contribute to the theoretical debate giving evidence of prevalence of the adaptation hypothesis in the exit from parental home and family formation and the dominance of a socialization effect in the type of union.

1. Introduction

International migration is generating a deep demographic transformation, giving rise to the children of immigrants as the fastest growing sector of the youth population in several European countries (Suárez-Orozco 2018). Even in countries without long histories of immigration, children of immigrants are growing – literally and in numbers – and reaching adult ages. Born or arrived at very young ages in the destination countries, they left their parental home, entered the job market, and formed new families. Their behavioral patterns represent a challenging issue in assessment of the outcome of the immigration experience as well as of how our societies are evolving (DeWind and Kasinitz 1997). Following an established line of research in North America, many studies in Europe have examined the educational outcomes and social mobility pathways of second-generation immigrants (see, for example, Chiswick 2004; Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008; Algan et al. 2010; Crul, Schneider, and Lelie 2012). Conversely, living arrangements among adult children of immigrants and ethnic minorities has only recently developed as a research topic. Some scholars have analyzed the spread of transnational couples' formation, their characteristics, their role in immigrant integration (González-Ferrer 2006; Dribe and Lundh 2012), and fertility dynamics of second-generation migrants (Milewski 2011). Others have dealt with the topics of partnership dynamics and union formation and dissolution (Milewski and Hamel 2010; Andersson, Obucina, and Scott 2015; Pailhé 2015; Hannemann and Kulu 2015). Moreover, a number of studies have investigated living arrangements in North America (Burr and Mutchler 1993; Boyd 2000; Glick and Van Hook 2008; Landale, Thomas, and Van Hook 2011) and northwestern Europe (de Valk and Billari 2007; Ferrari and Pailhé 2017; Giuliano 2007; Impicciatore and Pailhè 2019; Kulu and González-Ferrer 2014; Pailhè 2015; Zorlu and Mulder 2011). Nevertheless, the living arrangements of children of immigrants across Europe still need to be analyzed further in comparative terms. In particular, there is a substantial lack of knowledge about transition, such as the achievement of residential autonomy and family formation experienced by young adult children of immigrants in southern Europe (Arpino, Muttarak, and Vitali 2015; Liu, Esteve, and Treviño 2019). This is mainly due to the

relatively young age of immigrants' immediate descendants who have arrived in large numbers only in the past three decades with a consequent lack of data (see, for example, Vitali and Arpino 2015). Moreover, there are still scant comparisons among European destinations with which to evaluate different patterns and the existence of different settlement models.

The 2014 ad hoc module of the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS), based on an oversampling of the foreign population, allows comparison of immigrants' children (here defined as individuals born abroad or arrived before 15 years of age with at least one foreign-born parent) with the first generation of migrants (migrated at 15 years or later) and the majority group (individuals born in the destination country with both nonimmigrant parents) in eight European destination countries: Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Focusing on young adults (i.e., individuals aged 20 to 34) at the interview, we analyzed three specific living arrangements (living with parents, in a union, and, among those living with a partner, being in nonmarital cohabitation) according to three main dimensions: migratory generation (based on the place of birth of respondents and their parents and the time of migration), area of origin, and area of destination, with a specific focus on the comparison between southern Europe and northwestern Europe.

The behaviors of immigrants' descendants are shaped by both the dominant norms of the society in which they grow up as well as by the intergenerational transmission of family values and practices. The original contribution of this article is to provide a descriptive picture of unknown patterns through EU-wide comparable data by developing a multiple-origin/multiple-destination analysis based on the migratory background. In addition, the paper sheds light on the theoretical debate by providing evidence on different living arrangements.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we present the theoretical background. Two main hypotheses are tested, namely the adaptation and socialization hypotheses. Section 3 presents the data and methods used for the empirical analysis and the sample description. Section 4 sets out the results of the multivariate regression models. Some concluding remarks are discussed in section 5.

2. Theoretical background

Since the studies by Goldscheider and Uhlenberg (1969) and Goldstein and Goldstein (1981), scholars have elaborated different yet not mutually exclusive hypotheses to explain migrants' behaviors. Although developed for fertility analysis experienced by the first generation of immigrants (Hervitz 1985; Kofman 2004; Lopez Ramirez 2009), some of these hypotheses can be easily extended to the household behaviors of young

adults with a migratory background, such as adaptation and socialization (Kulu and González-Ferrer 2014; Rahnu et al. 2014).

2.1 Adaptation and socialization

The adaptation hypothesis assumes that first-generation migrants and their children adapt their household behaviors to the norms and values dominant in the destination context because of the social, political, cultural, and labor market conditions (Ford 1990; Alba and Nee 1997; Carter 2000; Andersson and Scott 2005). For example, Carlson (1985a) shows that nonmarital as well as marital fertility rates of immigrants converge rapidly to the domestic rates in Germany among groups from a diverse set of origin countries. Thus, living arrangements among immigrants' children may increasingly resemble that of natives as an adaptive process mainly triggered by two channels: origin background and socioeconomic conditions (Landale 1994; Sebille 2005). However, convergence does not necessarily imply a process of acculturation; it can result from adjustment strategies intended to cope with the circumstances in the new country (Kulu 2005; Kulu and Milewski 2007; González-Ferrer et al. 2017).

Nevertheless, rather than the effect of the mainstream society and the institutional context, characterized by laws, welfare regime, and institutions like school and labor market, there may be some cultural traits, acquired by parents in the native country and transmitted to their children through the socialization process, that are important in influencing the behaviors in living arrangements. This socialization hypothesis assumes that the childhood environment exerts the greatest influence, and being exposed to certain norms and values during childhood, transmitted from immigrant parents, may have long-lasting effects in shaping individual behaviors (Michaël and Tuma 1985). In particular, socially recognized norms exist for the timing and sequencing of the events in the transition to adulthood, and thus influence partnership dynamics (East 1998; Pailhé 2015). Thus, migrants, and their children, would show household behaviors that are more similar to those observed in the country of origin than to those of the natives in the country of destination (Hanneman and Kulu 2015; Baykara-Krumme and Milewski 2017). This idea is reinforced by the fact that cultural and ideational factors are portable from one country to another and can be transmitted to younger generations even outside the original geographical context (Furtado et al. 2013). The uncertainty associated with the migration experience and the perception that the new environment threatens the values imported from the country of origin may even result in an overemphasis of these values among immigrant parents (Huschek et al. 2011; Baykara-Krumme and Milewski 2017). According to the socialization hypothesis, people from a specific geographical origin but who settled in different contexts may show similar

behaviors and differences with natives that are persistent across generations (Andersson 2004; Kulu and Milewski 2007). In this sense, the diversity of immigrant origins are considered to measure the influence of the cultural context on the patterns of living arrangements (Carlson 1985b; González-Ferrer 2006; Zorlu and Mulder 2011; Charsley et al. 2012), even though the socialization effect can operate only if there is a large difference in family patterns between the country of origin and the destination country (Hanneman and Kulu 2015).

2.2 Migratory generation, origin, and destination

Children of immigrants may encounter very different patterns in their living arrangements according to the migration experience of the origin family. Scholars have observed the multifaceted picture of children of immigrants according to the time of their migration, underlining that there is no single, undifferentiated category (see, for example, Rumbaut 1997). In line with the theoretical approaches synthesized thus far, the adaptation perspective suggests that living arrangements for children of immigrants and the population majority should gradually converge as the time of arrival increases (i.e., differences should be lower for those born in the destination countries and higher for those arriving later in the life course, or generation 1.5) (Rumbaut 1997). Conversely, the socialization effect assumes persisting different patterns in living arrangements among natives and children of immigrants.

Among children of immigrants born and raised in the destination countries, a further relevant element of distinction is whether both parents are immigrants (usually called generation 2) or only one is an immigrant while the other is a native. Members of the latter group (usually called generation 2.5, mixed-heritage children, or children with mixed parents) have a lower likelihood to be identified with the foreign national origin of the immigrated parents compared to the other children of immigrants, reducing the socialization effect and facilitating their adaptation (Rumbaut 2004). Despite their better integration compared to the second generation and their closer similarity with the majority population (Futardo 2009; Muttarak 2013), children with mixed parents may assume specific outcomes concerning racial identity, educational attainment, earnings, and self-esteem (Harris and Thomas 2002; Kao 1999). For example, they are often bilingual and have more contacts with other ethnic groups compared to both the second generation and majority group (Ramakrishnan 2004). Nevertheless, their behaviors and living arrangements still represent an under-researched topic in the European context.

Immigrants' children occupy a sociocultural middle ground between the mainstream culture in the country of origin and that in the country of arrival (Holland and De Valk 2013). Cultural norms and practices may be transmitted and maintained by

family and friends from the same origin. Among the immigrants' characteristics influencing living arrangements, emphasis has been given to their country of origin. This is often considered a proxy for their values and norms, which can be maintained after migration (Burr and Mutchler 1993; Boyd 2000; Impicciatore 2015). Therefore, persons from different geographical origins may show different household behaviors in the same country of destination (Alders 2000). Conversely, an adaptation issue occurs as long as we observe similar patterns in respect to natives and across different ethnic groups in the same destination area.

Considering the destination areas, scholars have stressed the persistent heterogeneity of household forms, relationship, and parenthood patterns of native young adults across Europe (Kuijsten 1996; Corijn and Klijzing 2001; Fokkema and Liefbroer 2008; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008; Hoem et al. 2010; Iacovou and Skew 2011). In western and northern Europe, young adults tend to leave the parental home comparatively early. Conversely, southern Europe is generally characterized by young adults who mostly live in their parents' home during their twenties until marriage. Consequently, relationship formation starts earlier in the northern and western countries than in the southern European countries. Furthermore, young adults in northwestern Europe mostly experience living alone and shared arrangements whereas their counterparts in southern Europe simply postpone the exit from the parental home (Schwanitz and Mulder 2015). Scholars have provided a number of explanations for these persistent regional differences in Europe: on the one hand, the welfare differences in terms of social care between familistic and individualistic regimes (Esping-Andersen 1999; Daatland and Herlofson 2003; Albertini and Kohli 2013); on the other hand, long-term, persistent cultural differences between strong and weak household ties (Kertzer 1991; Reher 1998; Kalmijn and Saraceno 2008). Also, migration paths have shown that southern European countries are similar because of various factors: their historical evolution of international migration (from mass emigration to mass immigration), lax and unselective admission policies (prevalence of irregular and low-skilled migration), and scarcity of welfare systems and services (King and Black 1997; Ribas-Mateos 2004; Baldwin-Edwards 2012; Peixoto et al. 2012; King and DeBono 2013; Di Bartolomeo, Gabrielli, and Strozza 2016). In this general context, children of immigrants tend to have younger ages, lower educational performances, and higher unemployment and inactivity rates than in northwestern Europe. Thus, their living arrangements and household behaviors may be affected by these specific characteristics and show original patterns.

2.3 Selection, disruption, and interrelation of events

In addition to adaptation and socialization, other mechanisms may shape the patterns of leaving home and partnership formation among adult children of immigrants. A possible selection effect may arise because migrants are not a random sample extracted from the population in the country of origin. Migrants' selectivity may be based on observed characteristics (such as education, socioeconomic status, occupation, income, and marital status at their places of origin), reason for migration (labor, family, humanitarian, etc.), and unobserved traits (like social mobility ambitions and family proneness) (Abbasi-Shavazi and McDonald 2000; Kulu 2005; Pailhé 2015). Despite the fact that selectivity tends to have more relevant consequences among the first generation of migrants than in their children (i.e., those who arrived in the destination country before adulthood) (Bleakley and Chin 2010; Adserà and Ferrer 2014), this selection process may be in some way related to the intergenerational transmission of norms and values by migrants to their children. For example, selectivity may play a role in defining the effort made by parents into socializing their children in the values and norms of their ethnic group. Although some selection processes may remain unnoticed, a possible research strategy would be to include into the analysis a set of observed factors (such as socioeconomic characteristics of parents) that may be associated with the selection. Unfortunately, due to the characteristics of the sample and the limited number of available information, in this analysis we have no significant tools to disentangle selectivity from other possible mechanisms at play, and we are not able to explicitly test the selection effect.

Two further effects have been considered in the literature aiming at underlying the impact of migration on life courses. The disruption effect suggests that the migration itself is stressful for a person because of the drastic change in everyday life conditions and an interruption of social networks (for a review see Kulu 2005; Milewski 2007). For example, migration may separate spouses at least temporarily. According to this perspective, migrants tend to avoid family formation immediately after migration due to the disruptive factors and difficulties related to the migration itself or to the new environment (Toulemon 2004). Conversely, other analyses argued that several events might take place at the same time. This explanation, generally referred as "interrelation of events," posits an interdependence among migration, union formation, and entry in parenthood (Courgeau 1989; Mulder and Wagner 1993).

Nevertheless, both disruption and interrelation of events usually refer to the first generation of immigrants, and they can hardly be extended to their descendants born and raised in the destination country. Furthermore, the lack of a longitudinal perspective in the data considered in this analysis prevents from testing two mechanisms that refer mainly to the timing of different events (around migration).

2.4 Research hypotheses

Following the above-cited literature, we formulate a set of specific hypotheses. Given the persistent heterogeneity of household forms, relationship, and parenthood patterns across Europe, our first hypothesis (H1 – European context) is as follows: Young adults (regardless their immigrant background) show significant differences in their living arrangements when comparing northwestern Europe and southern Europe.

Living arrangements are mainly influenced by laws, welfare regime, institutions, norms, and values dominant in the destination society. Following this line of reasoning, the exposure to the mainstream environment would define the distance between people with an immigrant origin and the majority group. On the one hand, among those born abroad, the longer the time spent in the country of arrival, the stronger the adaptation to the mainstream behavior. On the other hand, among those born in the destination country, having only one immigrant parent facilitates a more inclusive path in the mainstream society, and living arrangements would resemble those of the majority group more closely than those experienced by children with both immigrant parents. Thus, our second hypothesis (H2 – Adaptation) is as follows: There is increasing similarity in terms of living arrangements across the following groups: the immigrants who arrived at adult ages, immigrants' children who arrived very young, children of both immigrants born and raised in the destination country, and, finally, children with only one immigrant parent.

Conversely, according to the socialization hypothesis, cultural traits acquired by parents in the origin country and transmitted to their children can be considered as the main drivers of different household behaviors. Following this premise, we formulate our third hypothesis (H3 – Socialization): Differences in the achievement of residential autonomy and family formation persist across migratory generations (generation 1.5, generation 2, and children with mixed parents), and individuals with the same geographical origin but settled in different contexts show similar behavior.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, although adaptation and socialization have been often presented as distinct from each other, they turn out to be partially complementary given that contradictory views may be supported simultaneously (Kulu 2006). Thus, these hypotheses should be considered as not mutually exclusive, being that a combination of them may help to explain the different patterns of living arrangements (Goldstein and Goldstein 1981).

3. Data and methods

Empirical analyses were based on the 2014 ad hoc module of the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS 2014). In particular, we considered individuals aged 20 to 34 in eight EU destination countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom).[3]

The advantage of these data is that they are drawn from a large sample, allowing comparison among individuals with and without a migratory background. The final sample size concerns 77,158 young adults aged 20 to 34 years old, among which 15,914 have a migratory background. However, the EU-LFS has some limitations. First, it provides only cross-sectional information (no panel data) on living arrangements, partnerships, and fertility behaviors, so a longitudinal perspective cannot be applied. Second, area of origin is coded by considering wide macro-areas (e.g., sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America). Hence it is not possible to consider the existing and the largest heterogeneity within each macro-area of origin (e.g., at the country level).

As regards the migratory generation, groups were defined according to Rumbaut's (1997) classification based on the respondent's place of birth, parents' place of birth, and year of arrival in the destination country. Thus, the adult children of immigrants (our focus group) were distinguished into the following categories: G2 (individuals born in the destination country or arrived in the first 5 years of age), G1.5 (individuals arrived between 5 and 14 years of age with both immigrant parents), and Mix (born in the destination country with one immigrant parent and one native parent). As control groups, we considered G1 (individuals migrated after 14 years of age) and Majority (all the individuals born in the destination country with both nonimmigrant parents). Individuals born abroad as natives (i.e., born abroad to both parents who were born in the destination country) were excluded from the analysis (683 cases equal to 0.9% of the selected sample of people aged 20 to 34 years), as they represent a specific case of study and being a potential confounding factor.[4]

The following macro-areas of origin were considered: EU-15 and countries of the European Free Trade Association (EU15+EFTA: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland); post-enlargement EU-13 migrants (New Member States: EU-NMS[5]);

[3] EU-LFS 2014 is not available for Denmark, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Iceland, and Turkey. Information on living arrangements at the time of the interview (if the individual was living with parents, with a partner, etc.) are not available for Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

[4] Cases were also excluded when at least one piece of information related to respondent's place of birth, age at arrival (for those born abroad), and parent's place of birth was missing. As a result, 1% of cases were omitted due to missing information.

[5] Including the 13 New Member States that joined the EU in 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, and Slovakia), in 2007 (Bulgaria, and Romania), and in 2013 (Croatia).

other European countries (Other Europe); North Africa and the Middle East; sub-Saharan Africa; South and East Asia; North America and Oceania; and Latin America.

Table 1 shows the sample distribution according to migratory generation and origin separately for southern and northwestern areas. Given that the largest migration inflow occurred more recently, in the former area there is a lower incidence of children of immigrants. People with a migration background constitute only 14.7% of the total sample compared to 31.1% in northwestern Europe. The internal composition of migrant background is also different. Excluding the majority group, first-generation migrants are highly prevalent (55.7%) in southern Europe and the G2 is a very small group (6.5%) if compared to northwestern Europe, where the same percentages are, respectively, 48.0% and 21.3%. Some differences between the two areas of destination emerge also in terms of origin. While Latin America is overrepresented in southern Europe (18.7%), mainly due to the links in terms of languages with Spain and Portugal, South and East Asia are more frequent in northwestern Europe (18.3%). Individuals coming from other European countries form the most numerous group (respectively, 50.5% in southern Europe and 52.7% in northwestern Europe). However, the proportion of people from EU15+EFTA countries is larger in northwestern Europe (21.9% compared to 12.5% in the southern), whereas the percentage of people from other European countries is larger in southern Europe (20.9% compared to 14.1% in the northwest). Finally, the percentages of individuals of the two African origin areas are similar in the two European destination areas.[6]

This analysis focuses on the following three outcomes:

a) living with parents,
b) being in a (formal and informal) couple,
c) and living in a nonmarital cohabitation (among those in a couple) instead of being married.[7]

We estimated the propensity to experience each behavior through binomial logit models by area of origin, migratory generation, and the two distinct European destination areas (Iacovou 2013; Schwanitz and Mulder 2015): southern Europe (Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Spain) and northwestern Europe (Austria, Belgium, France, and the United Kingdom). More in detail, we followed a two-step strategy. First, we estimated the interaction between destination area and migratory generation for all the

[6] Additional features can be read in Table A-1 in the Appendix where the sample is described according to the combination of the three dimensions (generation, area of origin, and area of destination). For example, it can be noticed that one difference between the two receiving areas is that people originating from South and East Asia are overrepresented among the G2 in northwestern Europe and among G1 in southern Europe.

[7] Analyses for living with parents and being in a partnership are limited to young adults aged 20 to 29 years old at the time of the interview.

young adults. Second, focusing on children of immigrants, and thus excluding G1 and Majority, we considered the interaction between areas of origin and destination (controlling for migratory generation).

Table 1: Sample description by migratory generation, area of origin, and area of destination. Young adults aged 20 to 34. Unweighted number of cases

	Northwestern Europe	Southern Europe	Total
Migratory generation (whole sample)			
Majority	19,145	42,099	61,244
Mix	2,025	1,708	3,733
G2	1,847	474	2,321
G1.5	628	1,034	1,662
G1	4,154	4,044	8,198
Total	*27,799*	*49,359*	*77,158*
Area of origin (excluding Majority)			
EU15+EFTA	1,901	908	2,809
EU New Member States	1,437	1,242	2,679
Europe non-EU	1,221	1,517	2,738
North Africa and Middle East	1,138	971	2,109
Sub-Saharan Africa	878	643	1,521
South and East Asia	1,585	523	2,108
North America and Oceania	228	100	328
Latin America	266	1,356	1,622
Total	*8,654*	*7,260*	*15,914*

Source: EU-LFS AHM 2014.

In order to account for compositional effects, in the regression models we also included a selected number of control variables: gender (men and women), age at interview (20 to 24, 25 to 29, or 30 to 34), higher educational level achieved (primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, tertiary first stage, and tertiary second stage), educational enrollment (currently studying at the time of the interview or not), occupational status at the time of the interview (employed, unemployed, or inactive), and the parents' highest level of education (primary or lower secondary, upper secondary, and tertiary).[8]

[8] All the analyses were replicated separately by gender (see Figures A-1, A-2, and A-3 in the Appendix). However, in the light of our research hypotheses, there are no relevant differences when men and women are considered separately. Thus, for the sake of simplicity and readability, all the results are presented in an aggregated manner (see also footnote 10).

4. Findings

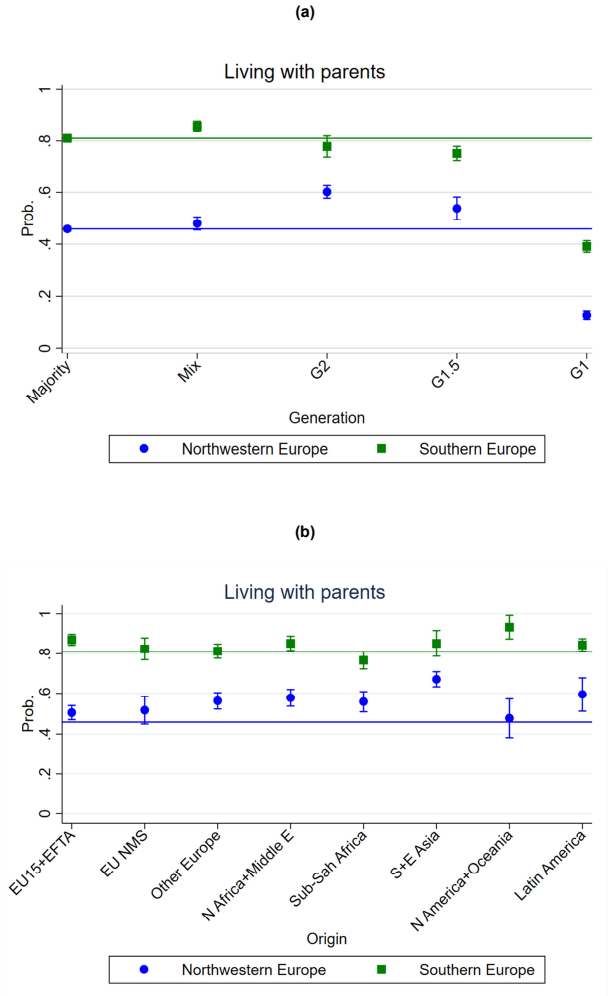
Figure 1 shows the predicted probabilities of (a) living with parents at the time of the interview by migratory generation and (b) according to the area of origin obtained through the development of logistic models.[9] Estimates in Figure 1a show substantial differences between southern Europe and northwestern Europe as far as the majority group and the children of mixed couples (Mix group) are concerned. G1 have the lowest propensity to live with parents compared to other groups, as it may be assumed that a large majority of them migrated on their own. They exhibit a wide gap between the two destination areas as well, thus suggesting a potential selection of migrants.

Disparities by generation are generally less marked in southern Europe compared to northwestern Europe. However, it is noteworthy that in southern Europe, ceteris paribus, children of immigrants display a predicted probability that is lower than that of the Majority. Conversely, In northwestern Europe, G1.5 and G2 record the highest probability of living with parents.

Concerning our focus group of adult children of immigrants, we can consider the interaction between the areas of origin and destination. Figure 1b highlights that, overall, the origin is less important than the context of arrival in defining the probability to live with parents. Furthermore, this figure confirms a greater level of heterogeneity in northwestern Europe also by country of origin. In the northwest, we can see in particular a higher probability to live with parents among children of immigrants born in South and East Asia compared to other groups of children of immigrants. In the southern Europe only children with parents born in North America show a remarkable difference with the other groups (and with the majority group whose probability is highlighted by the green straight line). Even though the context of arrival remains widely relevant, the gaps between the two areas of destination are smaller for children of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and South and East Asia.

[9] Estimates obtained separately for each country are available in the appendix (see Figures A-4, A-5, and A-6). Overall, the analyses for each country reveal close similarities among countries within the two geographical areas considered (i.e., northwestern and southern Europe), thus supporting the strategy adopted to cluster destination countries into two groups.

Figure 1: Living with parents by generation (a) and area of origin (among children of immigrants) (b) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



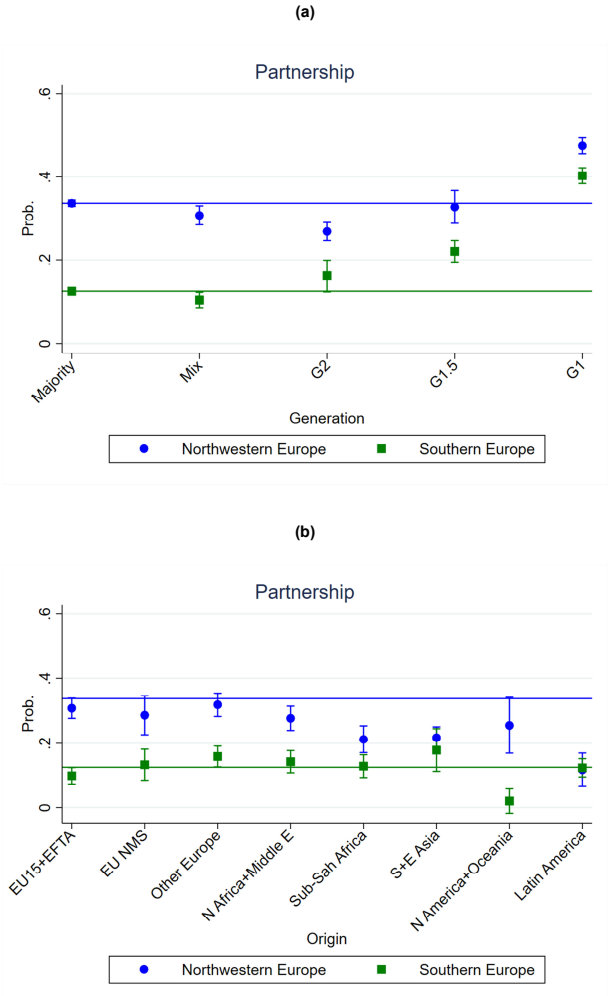
Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, gender, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parent's level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group, respectively, in northwestern and southern Europe. Estimates for each country are available in Figure A-4 and complete model estimates are available in Table A-2 in the Appendix.

Predicted probabilities of being in a partnership (Figure 2) somehow mirror the results observed in Figure 1. In the top panel (Figure 2a), we see that G1 have the highest propensity to live with a partner compared to the other groups, and children with mixed parents are roughly similar to the majority, though some differences emerge for the other groups according to the destination area. In southern Europe, G1.5 is somehow between Majority and G1, whereas G2 shows little differences compared to the majority group. Differently, in northwestern Europe, G1.5 is in line with Majority, and G2 has a lower probability of living with a partner than the other groups. Looking at the area of origin (Figure 2b), three main issues can be underlined. First, as we have already observed for the first outcome, we found a greater heterogeneity by area of origin in northwestern Europe than in southern Europe (where only North America shows a different behavior). Second, children of immigrants originating from the three observed European groups (EU15+EFTA, EU-NMS, and Other Europe) show values that are in line with the majority group not only in southern Europe but also in the northwestern area. Third, young adults originating from sub-Saharan Africa, South and East Asia, and Latin America show similar probabilities of being in a partnership regardless of the destination area.

Among those living with a partner, the probability of living in a nonmarital cohabitation (Figure 3) is lower in southern Europe than in northwestern Europe, as expected. Differently from the other considered outcomes, the gap between Majority and children of both immigrant parents is larger in northwestern Europe, where G1.5 and G2 groups are located far below Majority and Mix groups. Conversely, in southern Europe, only G1 and G1.5 show a lower incidence of nonmarital cohabitation, whereas G2 does not show significant differences with respect to Majority (Figure 3a). Given the reduced sample size, differences based on origin are less clear (Figure 3b). However, it can be highlighted that children of immigrants originating from Other Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, and South and East Asia show similar probabilities well below the Majority group regardless of the destination area.[10]

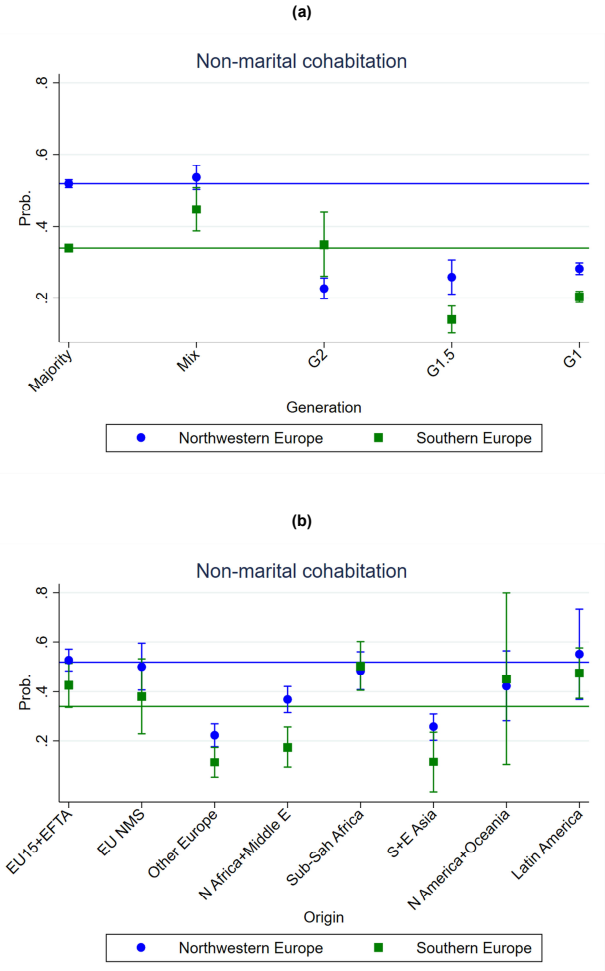
[10] Additional analyses developed separately by gender (see Figures A-1, A-2, and A-3 in the Appendix) confirm that normative timetables vary for men and women, reflecting pervasive cultural differences in their age stratification (see, for example, Chiuri and del Boca 2010; Liu, Esteve, and Treviño 2019; Hogan and Astone 1986): In both destination areas, women tend to leave their parental home and form a new union before men, and they are less likely to live in a nonmarital union. However, in line with the existing literature (Hamel et al. 2012; Zorlu and Van Gaalen 2016), second generations show that gender differences in the transition to adulthood are quite constant across different ethnic groups. Nevertheless, some minor points can be detected: In southern Europe, men show no marked disparities by generation (excepting G1) in the probability of living with parents, whereas G1.5 women display a predicted probability that is lower than that of majority group. Young men originating from South and East Asia exhibit similar probabilities of living with parents regardless of the area of destination, whereas among women the context of destination is more relevant. In northwestern Europe, the probability of being in a union is particularly low among young women originating from Latin America. In southern Europe, young men from South and East Asia have the highest probability of living with a partner, whereas women are in line with majority.

Figure 2: Living with a partner by generation (a) and area of origin (among children of immigrants) (b) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, gender, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group, respectively, in northwestern and southern Europe. Estimates for each country are available in Figure A-5, and complete model estimates are available in Table A-2 in the Appendix.

Figure 3: Nonmarital cohabitation by generation (a) and area of origin (among children of immigrants) (b) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 34. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group respectively in northwestern and southern Europe. Estimates for each country are available in Figure A-6 and complete model estimates are available in Table A-2 in the Appendix.
Source: EU-LFS 2014.

5. Summary and discussion

We investigated living arrangements among the adult children of immigrants in Europe using data from the ad hoc module of the EU Labour Force Survey conducted in 2014, taking into account three dimensions of migration, namely, migratory generation, area of origin, and area of destination. In doing so, we tried to contribute to the scientific debate by questioning two theoretical approaches (i.e., the adaptation and socialization hypotheses).

Fully supporting H1 (European context), our results show substantial differences across Europe and, in particular, between southern and northwestern areas. In the former, young adults tend to leave the parental home and form a new family later in their life courses compared to their counterparts in the northwest. Moreover, despite the increase of nonmarital unions during the past 20 years in southern European countries (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008; Gabrielli and Hoem 2010; Hoem et al. 2010), young adults continue to have systematically lower chances of ever entering this type of union.

Highlighting the key role of mainstream society, adult children of immigrants are strongly influenced by the destination context. They exhibit very different behaviors in southern and northwestern Europe, with children of immigrants tending to resemble the majority groups within each area. Differences across destination areas are also evident among individuals originating from the same geographical area and thus suggesting an adaptive behavior. However, when we consider the role of migratory generation (H2), the results are not fully consistent with the expected gradual adoption of the mainstream behavior passing from G1 to G1.5 and finally to G2 and Mix. On the one hand, children of mixed parents generally assume patterns in household behaviors very close to those of the majority group in the two destination contexts, whereas first-generation migrants (G1) show the widest gaps with respect to the majority group. Moreover, in southern Europe, differences with the majority group are lower for children of immigrants born in the destination countries (G2) than they are for those who arrived later in the life course (G1.5). On the other hand, in northwestern Europe, while G1.5 tends to have probability levels not significantly different from those experienced by the majority group both in living with parents and being in a couple, G2 has the highest likelihood of living with parents and the lowest one of being in a couple. This delay in the acquisition of residential autonomy and family formation in northwestern Europe may be linked to the stronger structural constraints, such as the lack of affordable housing or job opportunities, experienced by children of immigrants (Algan et al. 2010; Iavovou 2013; Arundel and Ronald 2016; Bayrakdar and Coulter 2018). These factors tend to hinder union formation, given that children of immigrants are less attractive on the marriage market because they may not be able to fulfill the role of breadwinner (Kalmijn 2011)

and have difficulty in providing the guarantees required by the housing market (Santelli 2007; Pan Ke Shon and Scodellaro 2015).

More in general, contextual factors cannot explain the whole heterogeneity, and the role of norms and values transmitted from immigrant parents may also be significant. This is mainly highlighted by the fact that, net of composition effects and despite the limitation of considering only macro-areas of origin, children of immigrants assume different levels in household behaviors according to their areas of origin. In other words, the different behaviors of first-generation migrants that arrived from different areas of origin in the same European destination (Giuliano 2007; Kulu and Gonzalez-Ferrer 2014; Hanneman et al. 2020) continue to be present, although to a much lesser extent (also among their children) because of their cultural background. This is evident in northwestern Europe. For example, in this area, young adults with parents born in South and East Asia show the highest probability of living in the parental home and the lowest probability of both living with a partner (together with the children of parents from Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa) and being in an unmarried union (with those originating from Other Europe and, to a lesser extent, North Africa and the Middle East).

Although with a lower level of heterogeneity, some differences exist in southern Europe as well. For example, children of immigrants from North America and Oceania live longer in their parental home and less often in a partnership. However, more interesting is that, similarly to what we found in northwestern Europe, the probability of being in an unmarried union is lower among youth adults originating from South and East Asia, Other Europe, and North Africa and the Middle East.

We found strong similarities between the majority group and the children of immigrants from the European Union. Conversely, children of migrants from South and East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa show similar behaviors regardless of the area of destination, thus suggesting a stronger influence of cultural inheritance. Further research is needed to better disentangle the effect of cultural background from the contextual factors by considering single countries of origin or, even better, subnational contexts (see, for example, Klüsener, Neels, and Kreyenfeld 2013).

Additional considerations concern the diffusion of nonmarital cohabitation. This outcome is less related to the timing of a specific event compared to the others (namely, exit from the parental home, entry to the first union, and becoming a parent) and more linked to a shift in values and attitudes that has occurred quite recently, as predicted by the Second Demographic Transition (Lesthaeghe 1995, 2010; Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006). Thus, not surprisingly, the incidence of nonmarital cohabitation offers stronger evidence of a socialization effect (H3). In fact, children of immigrants differ substantially from the majority groups particularly in northwestern Europe, which is characterized by a greater incidence of unmarried cohabitation. Put differently, origin

seems to be as important as the context of arrival, and this partially contrasts with what we have observed for the other behaviors. In particular, descendants of immigrants originating from South and East Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, and other non-EU+EFTA European countries show lower incidence of nonmarital cohabitation, whereas differences with the majority group are definitely less marked in partnership levels.

A final set of remarks concerns the limits of this article. First, as already stated in Section 3, using EU-LFS data we are forced to consider wide macro-areas of origin. We do not want to underestimate the importance of the exiting diversity within each area. Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, includes groups like the Ghanaians or the Senegalese, which exhibit differences in terms of gender ideologies, household structure, and living arrangements; or Latin America includes groups like the Argentinians and Bolivians. Second, given the cross-sectional data setting, our analysis lacks a longitudinal perspective, and its contribution is mainly descriptive. Third, there is a lack of details about parents' characteristics and their migratory history among children of immigrants. For example, we do not know the reason of migration and the time at the arrival in the host country – factors that may be linked to some uncontrolled elements of heterogeneity in terms of migratory background, selectivity, and immigration policies. More in general, the characteristics of immigrant parents may entail a selection-related aspect in predicting living arrangements of migrants. The selection process of parents' migration affects family norms, values, and practices, and thus transpires into their children's living arrangements through socialization (Nauck 2001). Finally, cross-section data such as those used in this analysis do not allow detailed discussion of the role of cultural roots or constraints arising from being part of an immigrant family in shaping life course trajectories, mainly because immigrants, and to some extent their children, cannot be considered a non-selected group.

However, despite these limitations, very few exhaustive analyses provide such a wide and heterogeneous scenario across Europe that considers so many dimensions at the same time (for an exception see Giuliano 2007; Schwanitz and Mulder 2015). Indeed, our analysis adopted a wide comparative perspective by considering three dimensions of migration – migratory generation, area of origin, and area of destination – and contributed to the theoretical debate giving evidence of prevalence of the adaptation hypothesis in the exit from parental home and family formation and the dominance of a socialization effect in the type of union.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Sample description by migratory generation, area of origin, and area of destination. Young adults aged 20 to 34. Unweighted percentages

Northwestern Europe

	Mix	G2	G1.5	G1	Total
EU15+EFTA	45.4	11.5	11.3	16.8	22.0
EU New Member States	5.4	4.5	9.9	28.5	16.6
Other Europe	3.6	25.7	33.0	11.2	14.1
Africa and Middle East	16.4	18.9	11.2	9.3	13.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.0	10.6	12.4	9.7	10.2
South and East Asia	9.8	25.9	15.8	19.5	18.3
America and Oceania	4.8	0.8	1.1	2.6	2.6
Latin America	4.4	2.2	5.4	2.5	3.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Southern Europe

	Mix	G2	G1.5	G1	Total
EU15+EFTA	43.7	9.7	1.9	2.4	12.5
EU New Member States	3.9	4.0	12.5	25.4	17.1
Other Europe	2.2	28.7	34.1	24.5	20.9
Africa and Middle East	9.3	21.7	15.6	13.6	13.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	16.4	18.4	5.9	5.3	8.9
South and East Asia	1.5	4.9	6.8	10.0	7.2
America and Oceania	4.9	0.8	0.1	0.3	1.4
Latin America	18.2	11.8	23.1	18.6	18.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: EU-LFS AHM 2014.

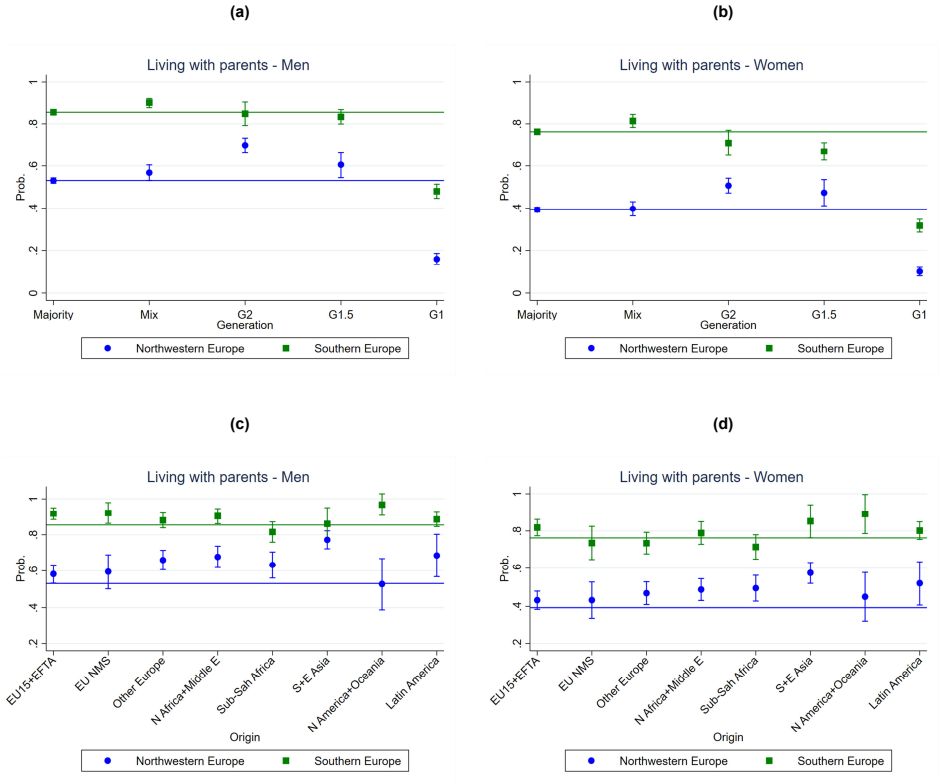
Table A-2: Living with parents, with a partner, and in nonmarital cohabitation (among those living with a partner) (a) by generation and destination and (b) by origin and destination (among children of immigrants). Estimates and p-values (logistic model). Young adults aged 20 to 29 (20 to 34 for nonmarital cohabitation)

	Living with parents				Partnership				Nonmarital cohabitation			
	(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*
Generation (ref. Majority)												
Majority	*ref.*				*ref.*				*ref.*			
Mixed	0.10	*0.11*	*ref.*		–0.17	0.02	*ref.*		0.08	0.32	*ref.*	
G2	0.70	*0.00*	0.21	0.02	–0.41	0.00	–0.08	0.44	–1.43	0.00	–0.76	0.00
G1.5	0.38	*0.00*	–0.23	0.02	–0.05	0.66	0.42	0.00	–1.24	0.00	–0.79	0.00
G1	–2.04	*0.00*	–	–	0.75	0.00	–	–	–1.11	0.00	–	–
Area of destination												
Northwestern Europe	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Southern Europe	1.93	*0.00*	2.25	0.00	–1.52	0.00	–1.67	0.00	–0.81	0.00	–0.45	0.04
Generation*Area of destination												
Majority*Northwestern	*ref.*				*ref.*				*ref.*		*ref.*	
Mix*Southern Europe	0.31	*0.01*			–0.06	0.66			0.42	0.01		
G2*Southern Europe	–0.93	*0.00*			0.75	0.00			1.47	0.00		
G1.5*Southern Europe	–0.79	*0.00*			0.85	0.00			–0.01	0.97		
G1*Southern Europe	–0.23	*0.03*			1.14	0.00			0.34	0.00		
Area of origin												
EU15+EFTA			*ref.*				*ref.*				*ref.*	
EU New Member States			0.06	0.76			–0.13	0.54			–0.12	0.62
Other Europe			0.29	0.04			0.06	0.67			–1.50	0.00
Africa and Middle East			0.36	0.01			–0.19	0.21			–0.72	0.00
Sub-Saharan Africa			0.27	0.08			–0.62	0.00			–0.19	0.33
South and East Asia			0.85	0.00			–0.58	0.00			–1.30	0.00
America and Oceania			–0.13	0.59			–0.33	0.27			–0.47	0.17
Latin America			0.45	0.05			–1.45	0.00			0.11	0.80
Area of origin*Area of destination												
EU-NMS*South E.			–0.46	0.15			0.51	0.15			–0.09	0.85
Other Europe*South E.			–0.78	0.00			0.56	0.03			–0.41	0.32
Africa and Middle E*South E.			–0.53	0.04			0.66	0.02			–0.66	0.10
Sub-Sah. Africa*South E.			–1.09	0.00			0.96	0.00			0.54	0.13
South and East Asia*South E.			–1.02	0.00			1.37	0.00			–0.59	0.39
America and Oceania*South E.			0.96	0.11			–1.47	0.17			0.58	0.51
Latin America* South E.			–0.69	0.02			1.74	0.00			0.11	0.83
Age at the interview												
20–24 years old	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
25–29 years old	–1.34	*0.00*	–1.29	0.00	1.36	0.00	1.33	0.00	–0.91	0.00	–0.69	0.00
30–34 years old	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–1.74	0.00	–1.34	0.00
Gender												
Men	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Women	–0.71	*0.00*	–0.93	0.00	0.83	0.00	0.83	0.00	–0.23	0.00	–0.31	0.00
Higher educational level												
Lower secondary	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Primary or lower level	–0.44	*0.00*	–0.25	0.21	0.49	0.00	0.22	0.26	–0.09	0.19	0.15	0.61
Upper secondary	0.10	*0.00*	0.08	0.35	–0.22	0.00	–0.15	0.12	–0.11	0.00	–0.11	0.41
Tertiary first stage	0.29	*0.00*	0.36	0.00	–0.34	0.00	–0.46	0.00	–0.15	0.00	0.02	0.89
Tertiary second stage	0.39	*0.00*	0.37	0.02	–0.48	0.00	–0.48	0.01	–0.03	0.60	–0.38	0.05

Table A-2:

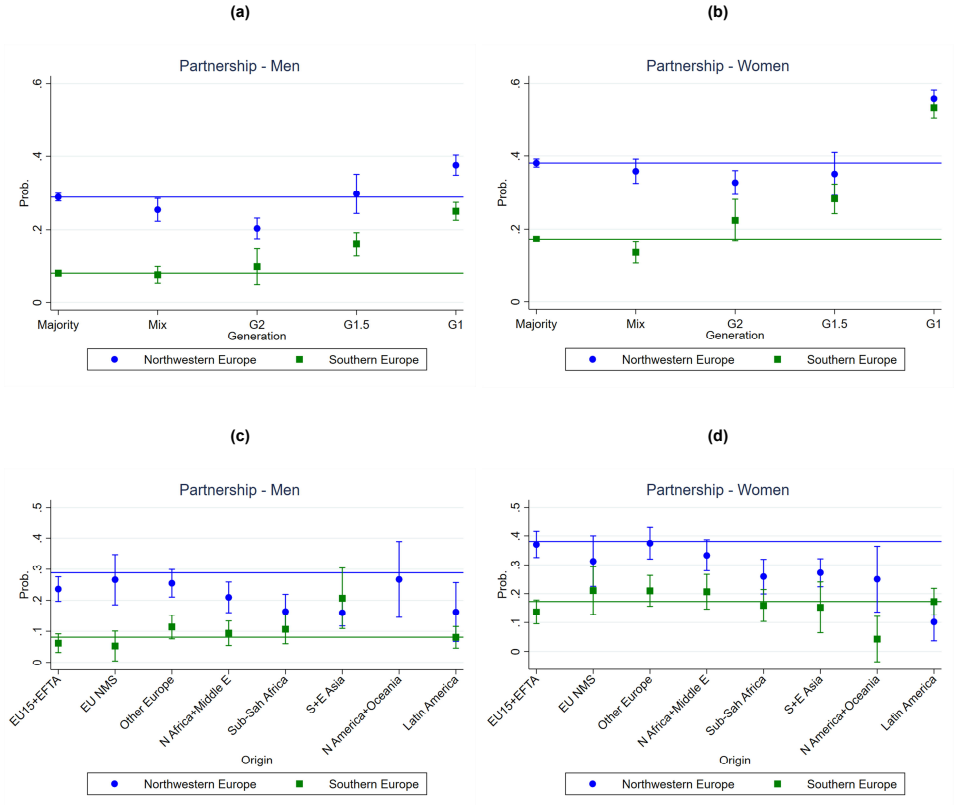
	Living with parents				Partnership				Nonmarital cohabitation			
	(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)		(a)		(b)	
	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*	Beta	*p-val*
Educational enrollment												
No	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Yes	0.31	*0.00*	0.65	0.00	–1.14	0.00	–1.33	0.00	0.43	0.00	0.40	0.05
Occupational status												
Employed	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Unemployed	0.46	*0.00*	0.46	0.00	–0.51	0.00	–0.69	0.00	0.06	0.18	0.13	0.43
Inactive	0.16	*0.00*	0.32	0.00	–0.26	0.00	–0.32	0.00	–0.65	0.00	–0.54	0.00
Parents' educational level												
Primary or lower sec.	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
Upper secondary	0.34	*0.00*	0.29	0.00	–0.41	0.00	–0.31	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.26	0.03
Tertiary	0.31	*0.00*	0.22	0.02	–0.47	0.00	–0.42	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.12	0.38
Missing	–2.79	*0.00*	–1.62	0.00	1.23	0.00	0.68	0.00	0.36	0.00	–0.01	0.95
Constant	0.32	*0.00*	0.33	0.01	–1.07	0.00	–1.06	0.00	1.63	0.00	1.69	0.00
Number of observation	49,629		5,662		49,629		5,662		27,458		2,435	
LR chi2(21)	17,724		1,632		13,520		1,289		4,508		528	
Prob > chi2	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00	
Pseudo R2	0.28		0.23		0.26		0.22		0.12		0.16	

Figure A-1: Living with parents by generation and gender (a and b) and by area of origin and gender (among children of immigrants) (c and d) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities



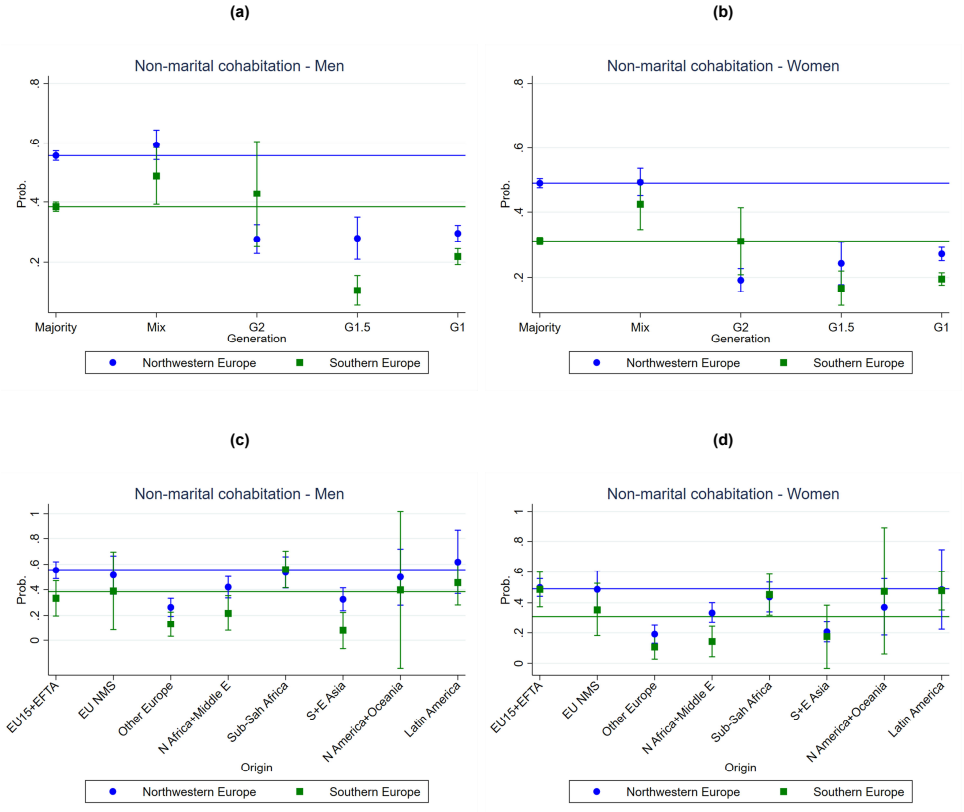
Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parent's level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group, respectively, in northwestern and southern Europe.

Figure A-2: Living with partner by generation and gender (a and b) and by area of origin and gender (among children of immigrants) (c and d) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities.



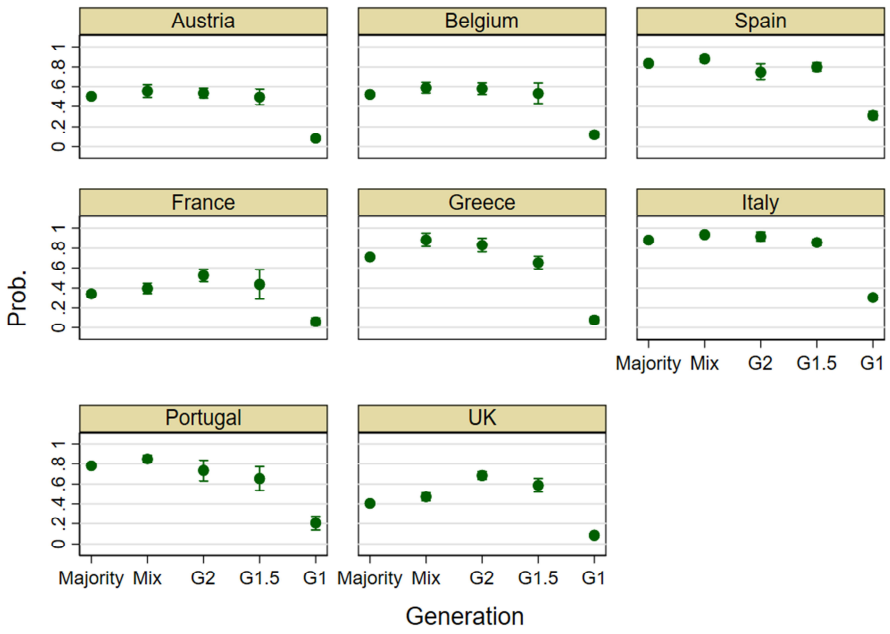
Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group, respectively, in northwestern and southern Europe.

Figure A-3: Nonmarital cohabitation by generation and gender (a and b) and by area of origin and gender (among children of immigrants) (c and d) in northwestern and southern Europe. Young adults aged 20 to 34. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



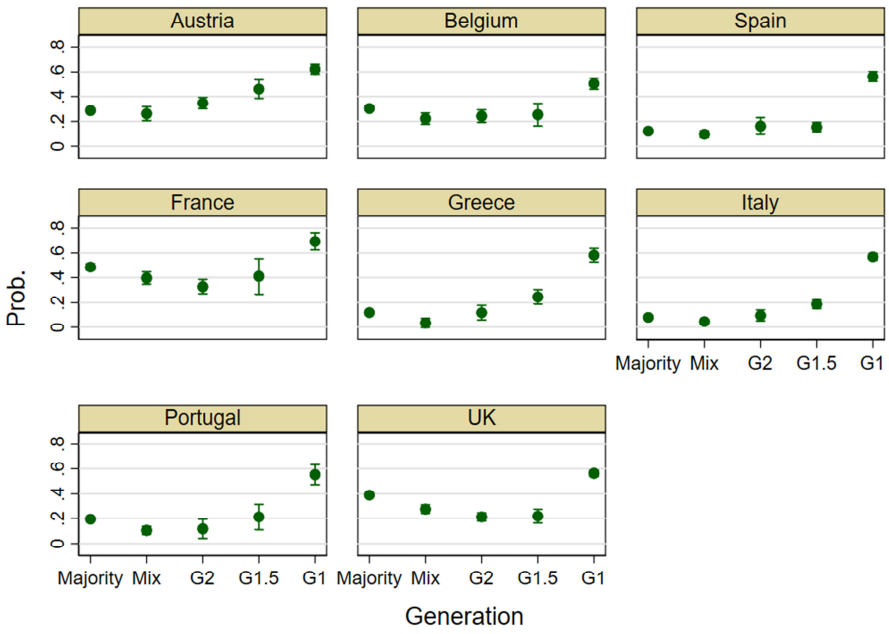
Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education. Blue and green lines are the level of probability estimated for the Majority group, respectively, in northwestern and southern Europe.

Figure A-4: Living with parents by generation and country of destination. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



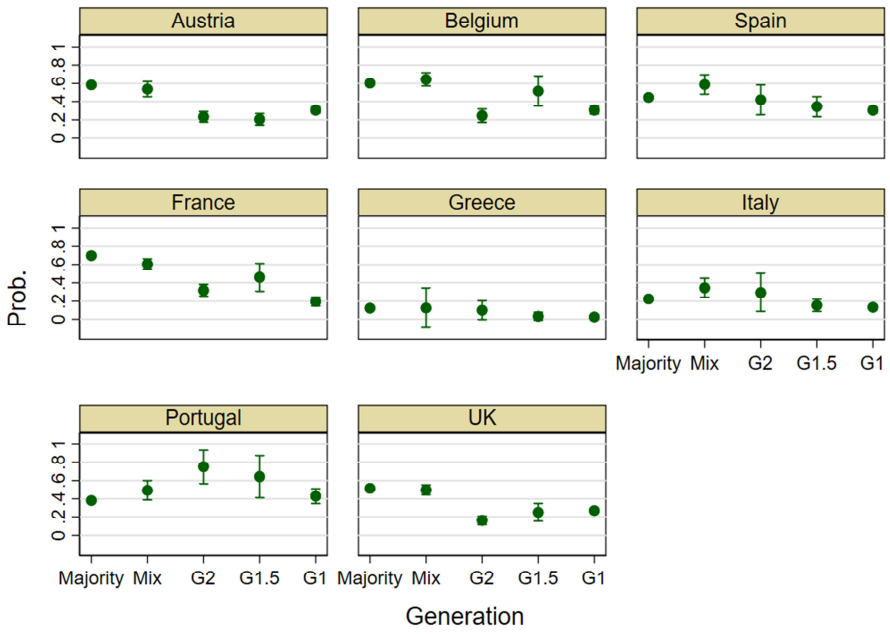
Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, gender, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education.

Figure A-5: Living with partner by generation and country of destination. Young adults aged 20 to 29. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



Source: EU-LFS 2014.
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, gender, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education.

Figure A-6: Nonmarital cohabitation by generation and country of destination. Young adults aged 20 to 34. Predicted probabilities (logistic model)



Source: EU-LFS 2014
Notes: Control factors included in logistic regression models: age, gender, level of education, educational enrollment, occupational status, and parents' level of education.