

Christian Hunkler, Thorsten Kneip, Gregor Sand
and Morten Schuth

18 Growing old abroad: social and material deprivation among first- and second-generation migrants in Europe

-
- ▶ About a fifth of SHARE respondents aged 50 and over have a migration background
 - ▶ Migrants are significantly more deprived materially in late life, and to a lesser extent socially, compared to natives
 - ▶ Migrants are more disadvantaged in late life than those whose parent(s) migrated
 - ▶ SHARE provides an effective means for migration research in the older population
-

18.1 Studying older migrants in SHARE

Over the past 100 years, most European countries have experienced a considerable influx of immigrants from a wide range of countries. As a result, persons with a migration background have become an increasingly important part of society, both culturally and economically. Research on the social integration of young migrants in Europe is already fairly widespread, particularly on such topics as educational attainment and labour market placement. Little is known, on the other hand, about older migrants. Based upon the data from SHARE Wave 5, we know that about 21 per cent of the respondents aged 50 and older either migrated themselves or had at least one parent who migrated. Given the growing representation of people with a migration background within the ageing populations of Europe, studying this particular segment of the population is more and more relevant.

In previous waves of SHARE, respondents were asked where they were born and when they migrated. This facilitated the identification of first-generation migrants, i.e. those who relocated themselves. In order to identify second-generation migrants, that is, persons who were born in the receiving country but whose parents were born elsewhere, SHARE Wave 5 introduced new questions on the country of birth of the respondent's mother and father. The SHARE Wave 5 questionnaire also asked whether the respondent had the survey country's citizenship since birth or, if not, in what year citizenship was obtained. Using these new questions, we report in the *first* part of this chapter on the state of migration and naturalisation among the members of the SHARE sample.

Studying older migrants in a general population survey like SHARE raises the question as to whether such inquiry is, indeed, reliable or biased due to selective participation among potential respondents. Language may be a barrier to participation among migrants (the SHARE survey is administered in all official languages of each country and, in addition, in languages spoken by a considerable proportion of the population). Given this concern, in the *second* part of the chapter we present analyses that examine the coverage of the migrant population in SHARE and the possibility of selective participation. Toward this end we utilise information that was collected during the preliminary contact stage of the SHARE interview.

In the *third* part of the chapter, we compare the extent of deprivation among first- and second-generation migrants in relation to the respective native 50+ populations in each SHARE country. For this purpose, we employ the indices for material and social deprivation that are detailed in chapters 5 and 6 in this volume. Although there is substantial heterogeneity among migrants within each country and across countries, we nevertheless expect to find common patterns, i.e., long-lasting effects of the migration experience. Toward this end, we examine migrant status in relation to deprivation controlling for socioeconomic status and other sources of heterogeneity.

18.2 Identification and classification of migration background in SHARE

We define migration background according to three distinct – though empirically often overlapping – dimensions. The first dimension concerns the *generational status* of the respondents, namely, whether the respondents or their parents migrated. This information is obtained by asking the respondents about their own and their parents' country of birth and relating it to their current country of residence. In the current analysis we focus on this dimension and distinguish between natives, first-generation and second-generation migrants. The second dimension reflects the respondent's *citizenship status* in the survey country. SHARE Wave 5 allows distinguishing those who have citizenship in the survey country since birth, those who became naturalised and those who do not have citizenship in the survey country. Finally, migrants differ according to the *country of origin*, as a third dimension. Specific combinations of sending and receiving countries can be thought of as specific contexts with distinct effects on various outcomes.

Overall, 13,089 SHARE Wave 5 respondents (21.4 %) report a migration background. Only for about one per cent (n=575) of respondents it was impossible

to obtain sufficient information about their migration background. 5,610 respondents (42.9 %) are second-generation migrants, i.e. one or both of their parents were born in a different country. Moreover, about 90 per cent of the SHARE Wave 5 respondents are citizens by birth. A bit more than five per cent obtained their citizenship in the current country of residence by naturalisation. About four per cent of the sample population are non-citizens, i.e. they do not have citizenship in the survey country.

There is large variation between the countries with respect to the size of the migrant population (see Figure 18.1). We can roughly distinguish three different groups of countries in terms of immigration. First, the *Northern and Western European* countries (Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Italy) have rather strict immigration rules and nationality laws. Here the proportion of first- and second-generation migrants covers a range from about three per cent in Italy to 21 per cent in Germany. Note that in Germany this includes ethnic German repatriates.

The second group of countries is made up of the *Eastern European transformation states* (Czech Republic, Estonia, and Slovenia). The consequences of the independence of Estonia and the split of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia results in high proportions of migrants in these countries, when generational status is defined as having a *different* country of birth. For example, in the Czech Republic more than two thirds of all second-generation migrants describe themselves as Czechoslovakians. The effect is even stronger in Estonia, where the majority of all first-generation migrants and half of all second-generation migrants are of Russian descent. It is debatable to classify these respondents as migrants. The majority, especially in the Czech Republic, did not even have to move to the next town to technically be classified as a migrant. Since this situation applies to some 2,200 respondents in the two countries, we add a binary indicator for these special cases in the multivariate analyses that are reported on later in the chapter.

The third group can best be described as *special cases*: Luxembourg and Switzerland experienced a constant influx of labour migrants in the last two decades, with Luxembourg having the highest rate of non-citizens in the 50 plus population (about 27 %). Finally, Israel is a country the population of which originates from several migration waves since the founding of the state in 1948. Compared to all European countries in SHARE Wave 5, Israel has the highest share of naturalisations (about 55 %). It also has the highest number of second-generation immigrants (about 34 %).

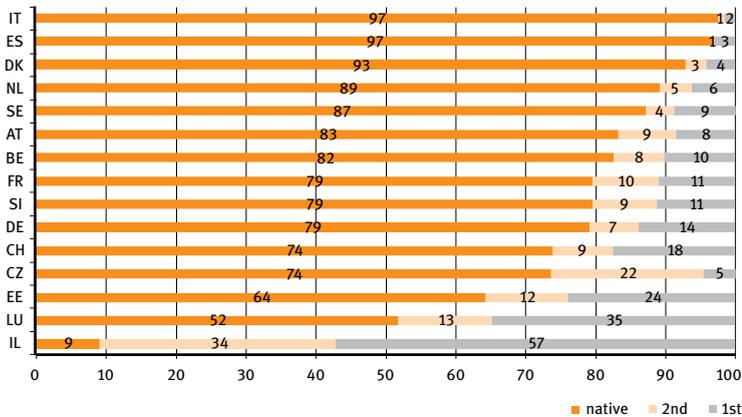


Figure 18.1: Generational status by country (per cent)

Notes: N=61,123

Source: SHARE Wave 5 release 0

18.3 Coverage of the migrant population

As noted, SHARE restricts its sample to respondents who are able to speak the majority language(s) in which the questionnaire is administered in each country. This practice may not only exclude migrants, but it might well lead to underrepresentation of *specific* migrants in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics. Since fluency in the dominant language is important for the labour market integration of migrants (e.g. Rumbaut 1997) one would expect that excluding persons with language barriers will particularly affect migrants of low socioeconomic status. In order to estimate the extent of this potential language bias, we examined data that were collected in the contact phase of the survey. These data, which also include information on households that did not answer the questionnaire, contain information on the type of building the (potential) respondent lives in. The retrieved information can be used as an indicator for socioeconomic status.

Figure 18.2 shows the percentage of households living in a “free standing 1 or 2 family house”, which is the housing category likely reflecting a high socioeconomic status. We limit this part of the analysis to Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, and Luxembourg, i.e. the countries that added new samples of households. We only consider samples in countries with at least five non-participants due to language barriers (DE (95), NL (49), DK (21), BE (69), LU (81)). The dark orange bars show the percentage of natives living in a high status house type; the two grey bars show the percentages for second- and first-generation migrants, respectively. The light orange bar shows the same information among households

that were not interviewed for reasons other than language barriers. Note that this group may also contain migrants. The peach-orange bars represent the households that were defined as ineligible for the interview due to insufficient language skills.

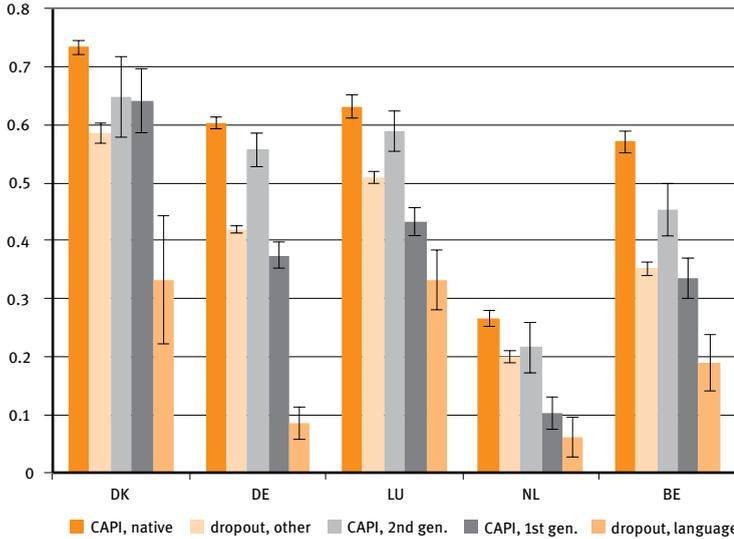


Figure 18.2: Percentage of households living in free standing 1 or 2 family houses by sample
 Notes: N=23,982
 Source: SHARE Wave 5 release 0

Comparing the peach-orange and dark orange bars in Figure 18.2, we see that non-participant households due to language barriers are significantly less likely to live in a “1 or 2 family house” than the average respondent. More importantly, when comparing the non-participants due to language barriers to those migrants who were interviewed, their housing type indicates significantly lower status (with the exception of first-generation migrants in the Netherlands). This shows that non-participants on the basis of language are a selective group of households with regard to housing status and, thus, probably also in terms of socioeconomic status when compared to migrants.

However, Figure 18.2 also reveals that the whole sample is selective in this respect: In all countries included in this analysis, respondents who participated in the survey (the dark orange bars) live significantly more often in “1 or 2 family houses” than those respondents from households that did not participate for other reasons (the light orange bars). In addition, the peach-orange bars reflect only a very small fraction of the newly sampled households (DE: 0.88%; NL 1.62%; DK: 0.66%; BE 1.98%; LU 1.85%). Although, underrepresentation of

low-status households seems more pronounced among migrants, the number of households actually excluded is so small that it hardly influences the results. Thus, even though SHARE was not designed to specifically survey migrants, we conclude that it is a viable dataset for analysing migrants aged 50 and older both within and across countries.

18.4 Generational status and deprivation

To analyse the extent of deprivation among the migrant populations in the SHARE countries, we use the two multidimensional indices that were developed to measure material and social deprivation. They are introduced in chapters 5 and 6. The material deprivation index measures the extent of material hardships of households with respect to the affordability of basic needs (e.g. foods for a healthy diet, payment of heating costs, or purchase of glasses, etc.) and financial difficulties (e.g. in the payment of rent and mortgages or loans, etc.). The social deprivation index measures the extent to which individuals are limited in socio-culturally “normal” interaction (e.g. live in an area with providing a nearby pharmacy, etc.; and items like number of rooms per person, social participation, loneliness, etc.). We use the hedonic versions of both indices and dichotomised them. Respondents with scores of below 0.3 on the index are considered as not deprived, and those scoring 0.3 and higher as deprived. The main reason to use 0.3 was that within each country and on each dimension this cut-off point is above the median of the distribution. Moreover, it provides reasonably balanced overall and within-country distributions of the resulting binary indicators.

Figure 18.3 provides an overview of the proportion of respondents who live in households that are classified as socially or materially deprived according to our definition. Setting aside the overall country differences in the level of deprivation on both dimensions – which are discussed in more detail in chapters 5 and 6 – the pattern with respect to generational status is surprisingly stable. First-generation migrants are significantly more often classified as deprived than native respondents. This is true on both the social and the material dimension, although the pattern is more pronounced for the latter. The second-generation respondents in some countries score between the natives and the first generation on the material dimension while, in other countries, e.g. Spain or Luxembourg, they are hardly distinguishable from the natives. This pattern only applies to the material dimension. Regarding social deprivation, second-generation migrants are classified significantly less often as socially deprived in some countries, e.g. Slovenia and Spain, in some countries they score even higher than the first gen-

eration, e.g. Belgium and the Netherlands; and there are also several countries in which they seem very similar to the native respondents, e.g. Switzerland and Austria. Respondents from Israel stand out especially on the social dimension. This reflects the low proportion of natives in that country, the concentration of the Arab minority among the natives, and the overall high deprivation scores for Israel.

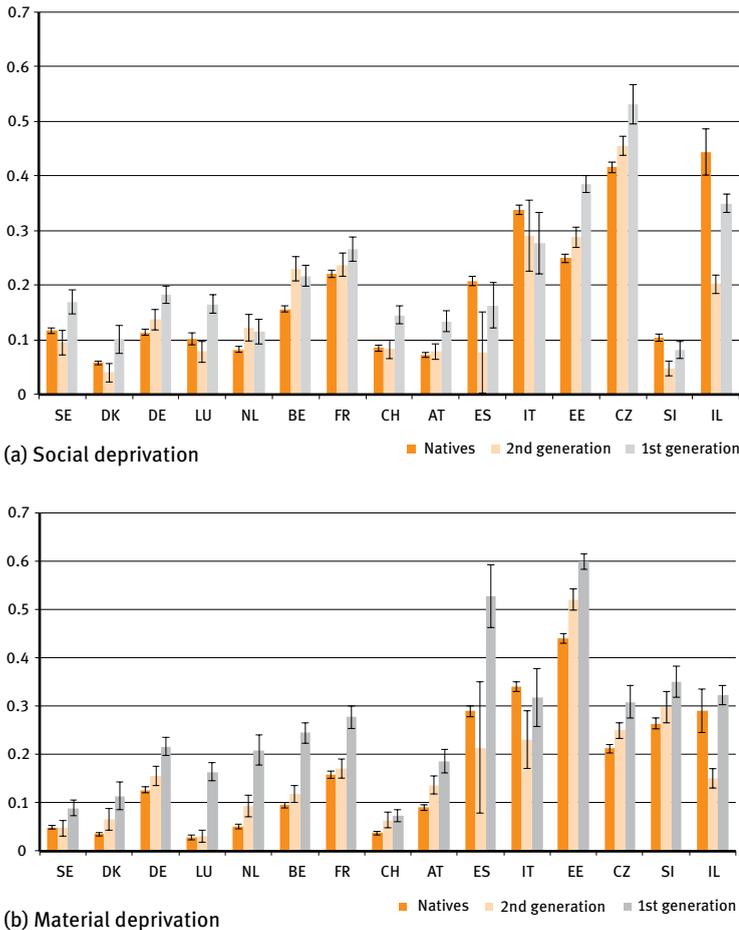


Figure 18.3: Social and material deprivation by country and generational status (percentages)

Notes: Marginal effects and standard errors estimated from logistic regression models with household level clustered robust standard errors (social deprivation: N=54,561; material deprivation: N=54,715). The models include binary country and generation indicators and all possible interactions.

Source: SHARE Wave 5 release 0

Several processes may cause the group and country differences just described and also generate the stable generational pattern in which the first generation usually stands out and the second generation scores much more like the natives. The most prominent explanation for the pattern is that immigrants integrate into the receiving society over time and we observe this in the SHARE sample when comparing the first and second generations (e.g. Rumbaut 1997). The same pattern can be caused, however, by heterogeneity in the influx of migrants over time. On average the first generation has spent less time in the receiving country than the second generation. Differences in average education or other resources may not only explain the generational pattern observed but also the differences between countries. For example, there is considerable heterogeneity with respect to the country of origin of migrants among the SHARE countries: while in Sweden the majority of first- and second-generation migrants originate from Finland, in France most first-generation immigrants are from Algeria and Morocco and most second-generation immigrants are from Italy and Spain. These country differences, and to a lesser extent the generational pattern, might be caused by variation in citizenship and naturalisation rules (e.g. Borjas 1999, Euwals et al. 2010). There is variation with respect to countries limiting the economic opportunities for non-nationals. Moreover, countries also differ with respect to who is eligible for naturalisation. In general, migrants from the second generation more often obtained their current country of residence's citizenship by birth or via naturalisation, which is probably the main reason why they score similarly to natives.

Using multivariate logistic regressions we examine the extent of social and material deprivation, taking into account the observed heterogeneity among migrant generations in the different countries. We control for basic demographics, i.e. age, household size, marital status, number of children and level of education. In addition, we hold citizenship status constant by distinguishing between having the receiving country's nationality since birth or by naturalisation versus those with foreign nationality. Finally, we add controls for health status. Figure 18.4 shows the average marginal effects for generational status based on the logistic regressions.

Model 1 is a summary of the descriptive country patterns shown in Figure 18.3, averaged across all the SHARE countries. As described above, the first migrant generation stands out in relation to social deprivation, while the effects for the second generation vary. The predicted margins based on Model 1 in Figure 18.4 show that, on average, the first generation scores significantly higher while the average effect for the second generation is similar to that of the natives. On the material dimension of deprivation, the generational pattern is more evident. Not only the first- but also the second-generation migrants are significantly more often deprived than the natives on this dimension. In the second model for social

and material deprivation (Model 2), we include the aforementioned controls. After adding these controls, the generational differences attenuate on both dimensions. This suggests that the first generation's disadvantages are partially explained by differences that we now control for. However, first-generation migrants still score significantly higher on both dimensions with the disadvantages on the material indicator still being more pronounced. For the second generation, the differences relative to natives are now statistically insignificant on both dimensions.

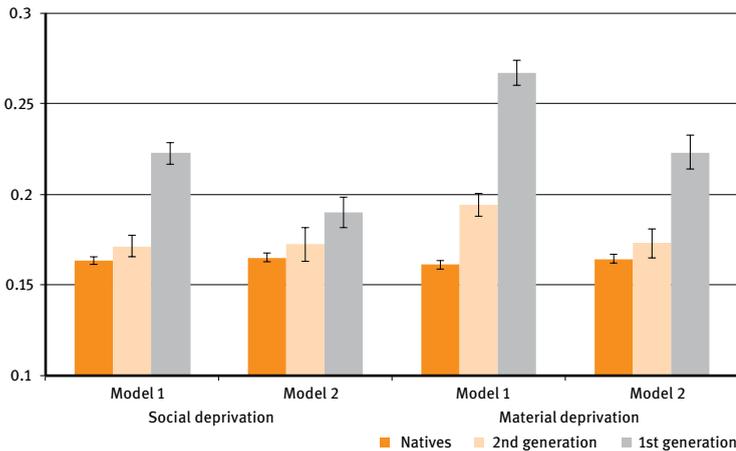


Figure 18.4: Predictive margins of social and material deprivation

Notes: Marginal effects and standard errors estimated from logistic regression models with household level clustered robust standard errors (social deprivation: $N=48,749$; material deprivation: $N=48,779$). Model 1 includes country and migration generation as well as an indicator for involuntary migration in Czech Republic and Estonia. Model 2 additionally includes citizenship status, gender, age, age2, household size, marital status, number of children, ISCED level of education, health (maximum grip strength and number of limitations with activities of daily living) and interactions of country and migration generation.

Source: SHARE Wave 5 release 0

18.5 Summary

To sum up, we showed first that the new questions introduced in SHARE Wave 5 allow for an inclusive identification and classification of migration background in terms of generational as well as citizenship status. Moreover, there is no indication for the concern that SHARE respondents had problems reporting their parents' place of birth. Only in a very few cases we were unable to classify generational status.

Second, a potential concern with research on migrants based on a general population survey like SHARE is selective coverage of this specific population. Using data collected by interviewers in the contact phase of the survey, we confirmed this concern to some degree, finding that the non-participants due to language barriers are a selective group of (most probably) migrants who are more likely to be disadvantaged in terms of housing status, and thus, also with respect to socioeconomic status. However, the number and proportion of non-participants due to language barriers in the SHARE Wave 5 baseline samples was very small, which indicates that SHARE can indeed be used for research questions targeting migrants.

Third, we compared natives and migrants on the social and material deprivation indices introduced in this volume and found a robust generational pattern. First-generation migrants appear more frequently amongst the socially or materially deprived, while the second generation's disadvantages are smaller, overall. After controlling for socioeconomic confounders, as well as for citizenship status and health indicators, this generational pattern attenuates slightly. However, the proportion of first-generation migrants classified as deprived on both dimensions is still significantly higher than among the other groups. A second stable pattern that emerged from the analysis reveals that disadvantage is more pronounced on the material dimension. These two patterns are in line with the view that migrants integrate into the host country's society over time and from one generation to the next. In most SHARE countries, it seems that this assimilation process takes longer with regard to material deprivation as compared to social deprivation.

References

- Borjas, George (1999): *Heaven's door: immigration policy and the American economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Euwals, Rob, Dagevos, Jaco, Gijsberts, Mérove, Roodenburg, Hans (2010): "Citizenship and labor market position: turkish immigrants Germany and the Netherlands". In: *International Migration Review* 44. No.3, p. 513–538.
- Rumbaut, Rubén (1997): "Assimilation and its discontents: between rhetoric and reality". In: *International Migration Review* 31. No.4, p. 923–960.