

Living arrangements of immigrants in Spain: strategies of support in times of economic crisis (?)

Introduction

What do we know about living arrangements of migrants in Spain?

Living arrangements of migrants are often characterized by:

- Social Networks in settlement process
- Intergenerational ties
- Cultural Norms

However, changing economic conditions may have an additional influence on living arrangements of settled immigrants.

In Spain:

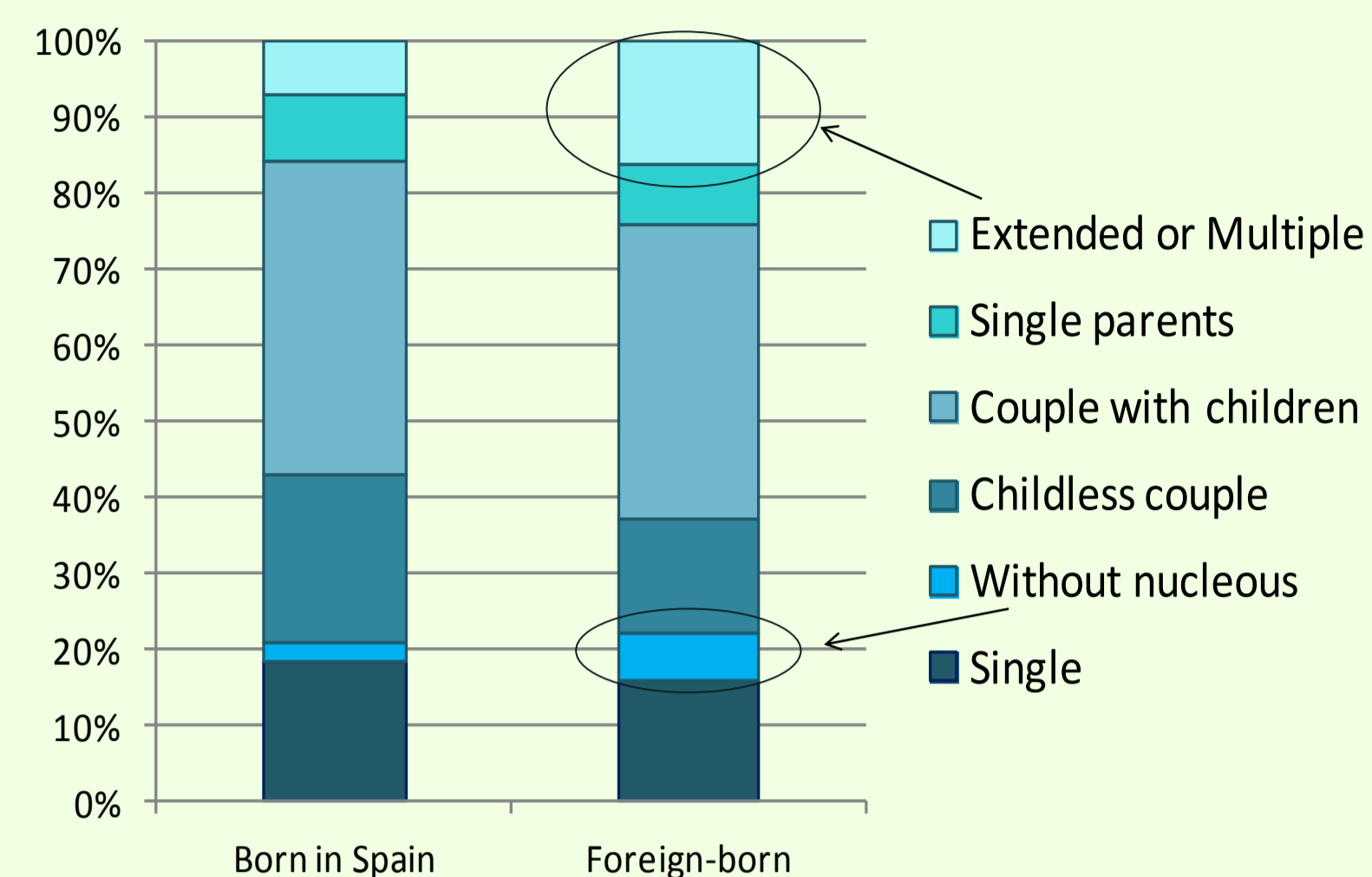
- Cultural preferences could explain the differences between migrant and natives in different European countries and the US (Giuliano 2006; Reher 1998).

- Earlier studies have found that living arrangements of migrants differ compared to non-migrants in which the economy of scale has been suggested as one of the explanatory factors (Glick & Van Hook, 2002; Goldscheider & Goldscheider 1989)

- Studies have revealed more complex structures of immigrant households explained by the social ties upon arrival (Bayona, 2007; Domingo & Bayona, 2010) and by differences in cultural and residential context when comparing with other countries (Arpino, et al., 2012; Domingo & Esteve, 2010).

- Previous findings highlighted how living arrangements provide indicators for the stage of the migratory project (Domingo & Parnau, 2006)

Distribution of households by type and origin of the reference person, Spain, 2005–2012



Source: own elaborations Spanish Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

What do we want to know?

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- How and to what extent have living arrangements and household structure of international migrants changed after the economic crisis in Spain?
- How do living arrangements differ by country of origin?

HYPOTHESIS:

The economic crisis results in a stronger reliance on the (family) network for support in providing housing which it would be translated in a larger number of extended and multiple households across all origin groups.

Data and Methods

SPANISH LABOUR FORCE SURVEY (LFS)

Best source for studying household composition in Spain in the inter-census years

Sample selection:

Foreign-born men and women older than 16 years old who were already in Spain before 2008.

Sample

LFS Year & Trimester	Foreign-born
2005 (1st T)	7.062
2006 (3rd T)	9.278
2009 (1st T)	11.650
2010 (3rd T)	12.656
2011 (1st T)	12.899
2012 (3rd T)	12.776
TOTAL	66.321

NOTE: Since sample is renewed every 6 trimesters, we selected one survey's trimester every six to avoid overlap

METHODS

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSES

- Distribution of households by year, type of household and origin
- Average households size (AHS) by year, type and origin

MULTI-VARIATE REGRESSION MODELS

Dependent Variable:

'Type of household': Likelihood of being in an extended or multiple household instead of other type of household.

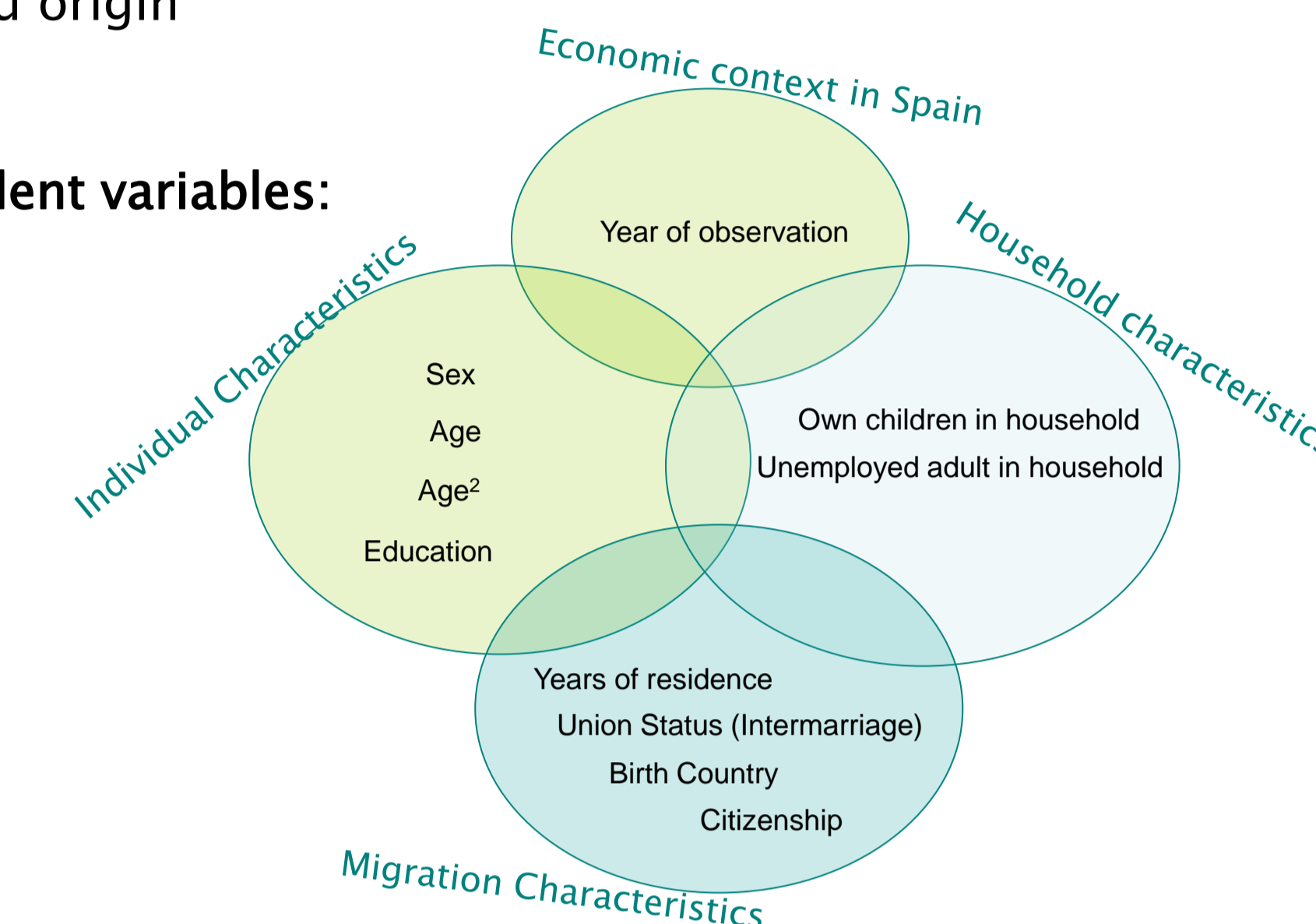
STEP 1: Pooled models

Logit regressions applied to main countries of origin together

STEP 2: Specific models by country

Logit regressions models for top countries of origin independently

Independent variables:

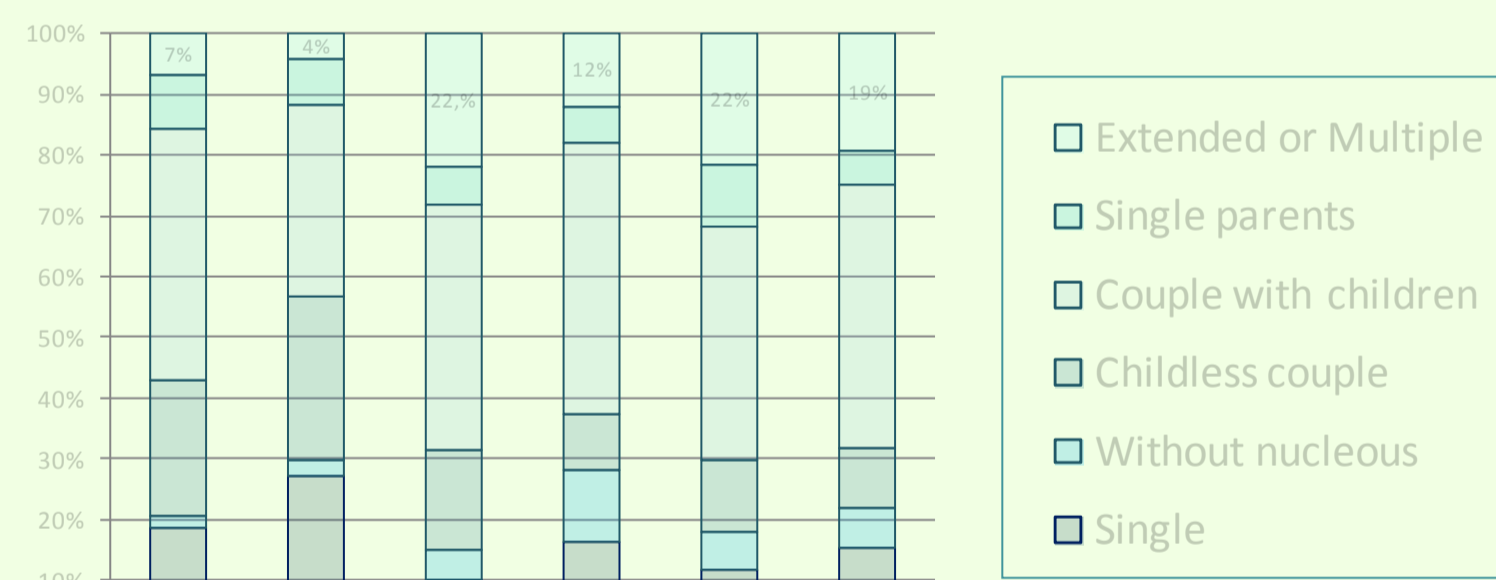


Results

Types of households over time

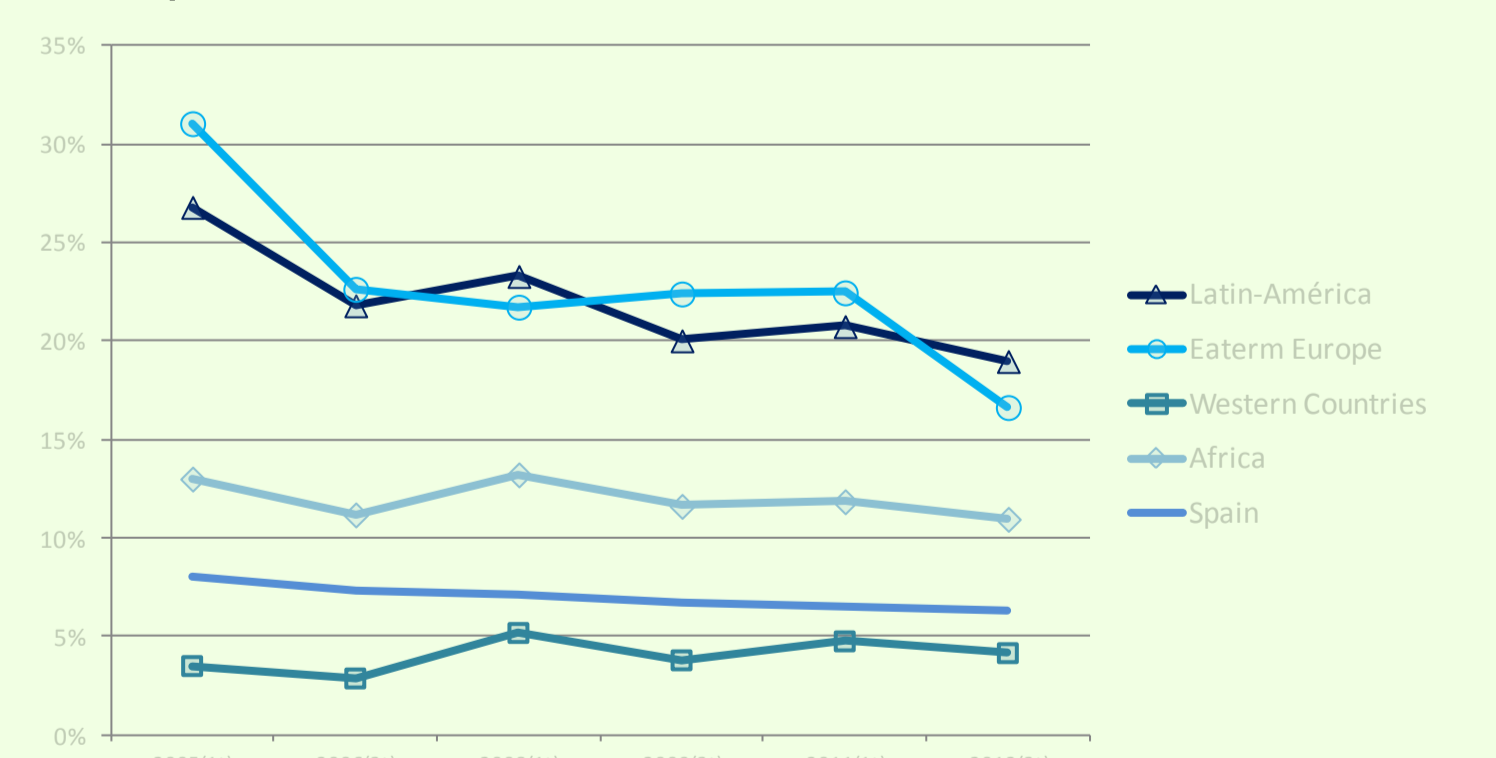
REGIONS OF ORIGIN

Distribution of households by its type and continent of origin of reference person, Spain, 2005–2012



Extended and multiple households are a more common living arrangement among immigrants, specially for Latin-Americans and Eastern Europeans

Percentage of extended and multiple households by continental region of reference person and year of observation, Spain, 2005–2012

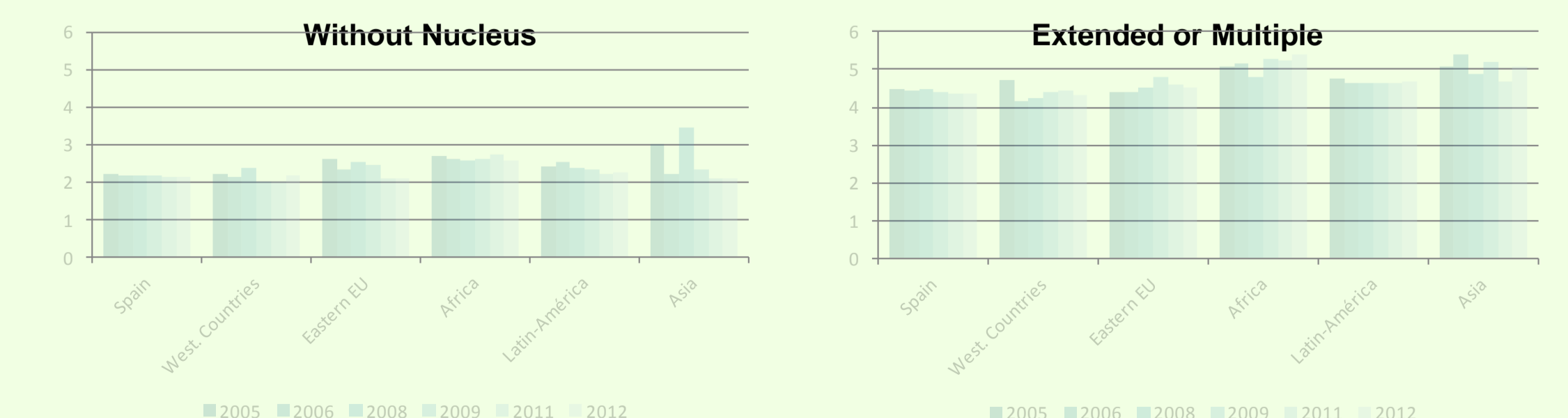


The economic recession stops the downward trend

All continents slightly increased their proportions of extended and multiple households in 2008 and 2011 (except for Spain).

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE



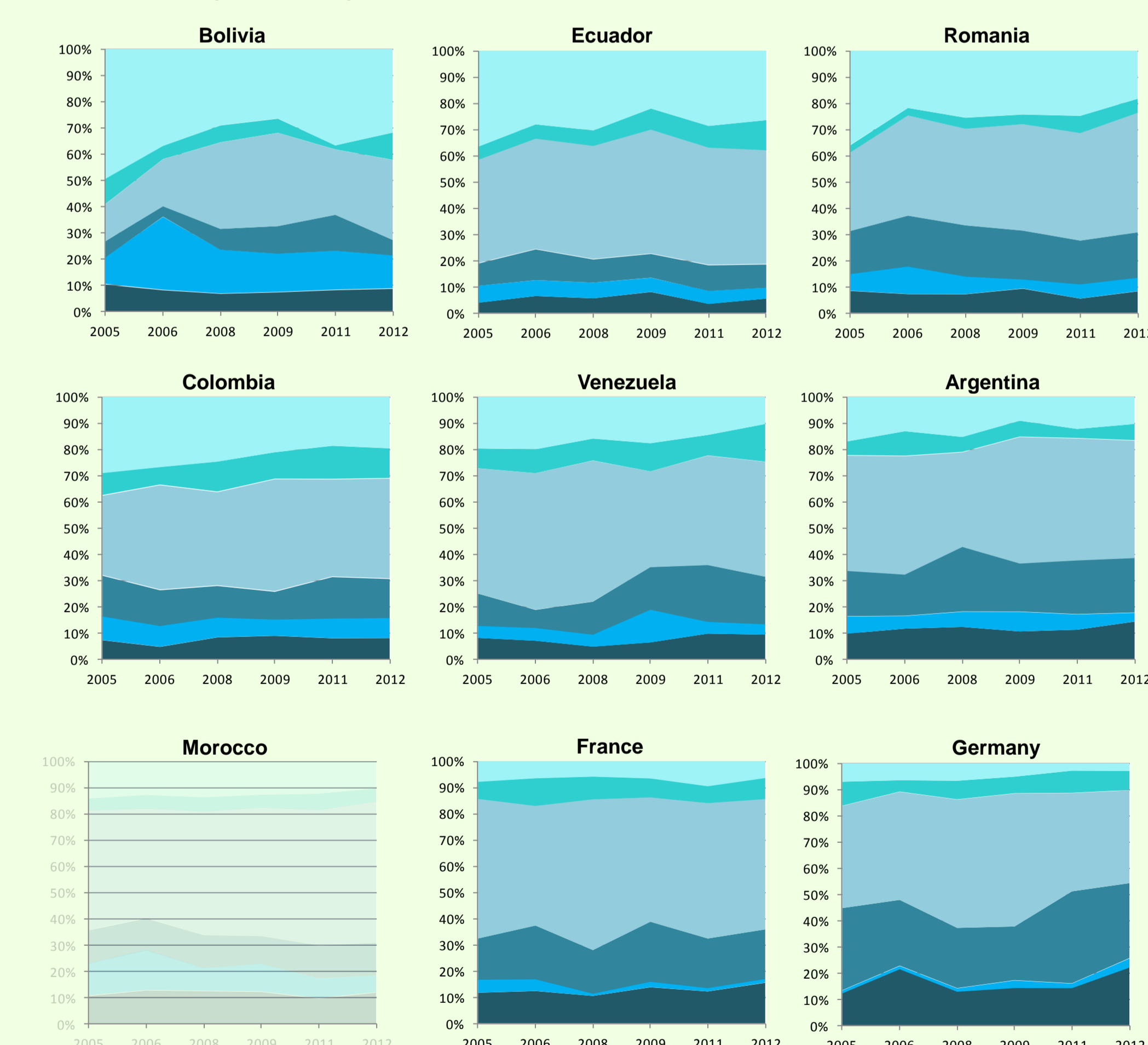
No significant variance is observed in the number of members in households without nucleus

The size of extended and multiple households increased for most origins during the economic recession.

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

MAIN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

Distribution of households by type, year of observation and country of origin of reference person, Spain, 2005–2012



Between 2008 and 2009 a slight increase of extended and multiple households is observed for BOL, ECU, VEN and ARG, as a possible effect of the economic conditions

Across time, immigrants from most countries of origin experience a stabilization or a slow down process in the likelihood of extended and multiple households indicating a de-nuclearization process after a period of settlement achieving better conditions.

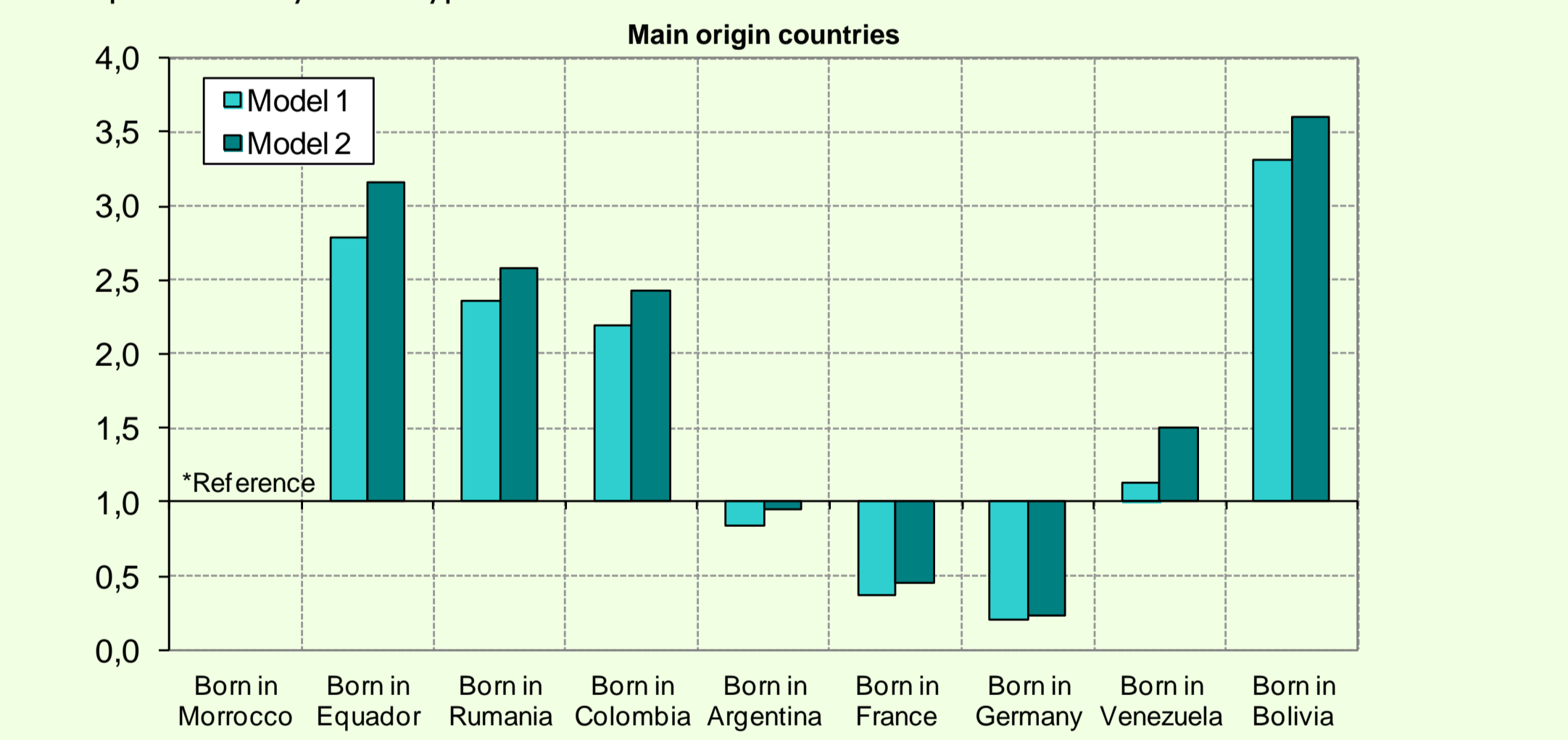
Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

Bolivian immigrants, representing one of the more recent immigrant inflows in Spain, have the household structure in line with that of an initial process of settlement with a larger number of extended and multiple households as well as without nucleus.

Multivariate Analysis

STEP 1: Pooled Models

Odds ratio of the likelihood of migrant adults being in an extended or multiple household compared to any other type of household.



Model 1: no control variables
Model 2: control variables: sex, age, age2, year of observation, education, years of residence, union status, own children in household, citizenship, unemployed members in household.

After controlling for different individual and households characteristics, the likelihood of an adult migrant to live in an extended or multiple household instead of other types varies significantly by origin, being the more likely Bolivia and Ecuador, followed by Colombia and Romania in comparison to Morocco..

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

STEP 2: Specific Models by country of origin

Odds ratio of the likelihood of migrant adults being in an extended or multiple household instead of any other type of household.

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-2012

	Bolivia	Ecuador	Romania	Colombia	Venezuela	Argentina	Morocco	
	N	exp(B)	N	exp(B)	N	exp(B)	N	exp(B)
Sex								
Male	650	ref.	2460	ref.	2414	ref.	1433	ref.
Female	975	1.115	2832	1.263***	2634	1.045	2228	1.222***
Age	1625	0.94***	5292	0.978**	5048	0.956***	3661	0.995
Age²	1625	1.001**	5292	1.1**	5048	1.001***	3661	1
Year of observation								
[2005(1t)]	64	ref.***	619	ref.***	406	ref.***	360	ref.***
2006(3t)	190	0.616**	783	0.64**	722	0.504**	447	0.762**
2008(1t)	345	0.431***	1008	0.73***	1030	0.705***	681	0.752**
2009(3t)	371	0.491***	970	0.427***	1037	0.706***	759	0.482***
2011(1t)	334	0.689**	946	0.578***	905	0.644***	749	0.527***
2012(3t)	321	0.567**	966	0.482***	948	0.481***	665	0.421***
Union Status								
[In union with Spanish]	99	ref.***	300	ref.***	344	ref.***	610	ref.***
In union with immigrant	779	1.882***	2994	2.604***	3286	1.731***	1448	1.508***
Separated, divorced, widowed	213	1.932***	545	3.855***	461	2.427***	476	2.546***
Single, not in union	534	1.678**	1453	2.785***	957	1.411***	1127	2.179***
Own children in household								
[No]	844	ref.	2197	ref.	2442	ref.	1752	ref.
Yes	781	0.866	3095	0.652***	2606	0.675***	1909	0.803***
Education								
[Primary or less]	335	ref.	1510	ref.***	744	ref.***	724	ref.***
Secondary	1123	0.857	3412	0.77***	3916	0.863**	2539	0.918
Tertiary	167	0.941	370	0.871	388	0.746**	398	0.576***
Years of residence								
[Recent migrant (0-1 years)]	161	ref.***	108	ref.	437	ref.***	162	ref.***
2 to 4 years	552	0.654***	897	0.929	1603	0.709***	628	0.78
Five or more years	912	0.586***	4287	0.895	3008	0.459***	2871	0.548***
Citizenship								
[Foreign]	1521	ref.	4122	ref.	4968	ref.	2706	ref.
Spanish	104	0.674**	1170	0.94	80	0.713	955	1.141
Unemployed members in household								
[Noone]	1014	ref.	3253	ref.	3137	ref.	2194	ref.
Someone	611	1.446***	2039	1.449***	1911	1.867***	1467	2.061***
Constante	3,567		0,660		1,674		0,511	
N	1,625		5,292		5,048		3,661	
-2 log likelihood	5128.4174		15841.1004		13785.2284		8646.9764	
df	18		18		18		18	

Concluding remarks

MAIN FINDINGS:

- Differences by origin:** This analysis for Spain suggests that even when extended and multiple households are more common among immigrants there are important differences by origin, related not only to their cultural patterns but also to the stage of the migratory process.
- Strategies of support in time of crisis (?):** We do not find an overall increase of extended and multiple household as a consequence of the economic recession in Spain among all immigrant origins. Although all regional origins experienced a slight increase in their extended and multiple households, at the country level it is especially some Latin-American countries and Romania where a clear stabilization or slow down process is observed after the economic crisis started. Over the observed period we however find a decrease of these type of households.
- Determinants of the likelihood of living in extended or multiple households:** The multivariate analysis show: (1) overall women are more likely to live in extended or multiple households than men, whereas the older the person is the less likely it is; (2) The likelihood to live in extended or multiple households decreases over the observed years (2005–2012) but in particular for the Andean countries and Romania. In line with this, results suggest that the more years of residence, the lower the likelihood to live in these type of households; (3) In comparison to intermarried couples (with an Spaniard): **immigrant couples** (especially ECU) are clearly more likely to live in extended households except for ARG and MOR; the same holds for those who are separated, divorced and widowed among all groups are; for individuals not in union the likelihood is higher but seems less important for ARG, VEN and MOR; (4) For ECU, ROM and COL when own children live in the household, the likelihood to live in an intergenerational household is significantly higher; (5) The higher the educational level, the lower the likelihood to live in an extended household, although its not always reaching significance; (6) having acquired Spanish citizenship is an important determinant for Moroccans resulting in lower odds to live in an extended household; (7) Finally, compared to households where all members work those who have unemployment in the household have a higher likelihood of living with relatives.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH:

The particularities of immigrants in Spain in terms of living arrangements in relation to the economic crisis remain to be more fully captured. Studying living arrangements is complex and includes different factors that may act in opposite ways. On the one hand it is expected that after the settlement process families tend to un-nuclearize their households, as it is possible to observe among the different origins according to how old their inflows are. On the other hand, family reunification and the difficult economic conditions as a result of the crisis would be two reasons to expect an increase of shared households among relatives, once is rejected a significant impact of return migration and re-emigration at least so far in Spain according to official data about out-flows. Further research would benefit from following household composition and change among immigrants from a longitudinal perspective as well as over a longer period of time.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Giuliano, P. (2006). Living Arrangements in Western Europe: Does Cultural Origin Matter? IZA Discussion Paper No. 2042; Glick, J.E. & J. Van Hook (2002). Parent's Coresidence with Adult Children: Can Immigration Explain Racial and Ethnic Variation? Journal of Marriage and the Family, 64, 240-253.; Goldscheider, F.K. & C. Goldscheider (1989). Ethnicity and the New Family Economy: Living Arrangements and Intergenerational Financial Flows. Boulder: Westview Press.; Reher, D. S. (1998). Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrasts. Population and Development Review, 203-234.; Arpino, B., Mutrarak, R. & Vitali, A. (2012). Living Arrangements of Children of Immigrants in Spain and the United States: The Role of Cultural Heritage and Residential Context. Paper presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of Population Association of America.; Bayona, J. (2007). La estructura del hogar como reflejo de una primera etapa del proceso migratorio: el caso de la ciudad de Barcelona. Papeles de Geografía, Vol. 45-46, pp. 5-26.; Domingo, A. & Bayona, J. (2010). Los hogares de la población de nacionalidad extranjera en España en el año 2001. Papeles, Vol. 95/3 pags. 731-754.; Domingo, A. & Esteve, A. (2010). Género, ocupación y estructura el hogar de la migración dominicana y ecuatoriana en España y Estados Unidos. America Latina Hoy, Vol. 55, pp. 41-60.; Domingo A. & Parnau, M. (2006). Familia y estructura del hogar de la población de nacionalidad extranjera en España, 2001. Papeles de Demografía, Num.278. Working paper.