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Family Migration and Integration

A Literature Review

Helga Eggebø
Jan-Paul Brekke

NF-report 4/2018



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FAMILY MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

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Published: May 2018
Authors: Helga Eggebø and
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NF-report: 4/2018
ISBN nr: 978-82-7321-738-7 (print)
ISBN nr: 978-82-7321-739-4 (digital)
ISSN-nr: 0805-4460

REPORT

TITLE: Family Migration and Integration: A Literature Review	PUBLICLY AVAILABLE: YES	NF-REPORT: 4/2018
AUTHORS Helga Eggebø Jan-Paul Brekke	PROJECT LEADER (SIGN): Helga Eggebø	
PROJECT: "Kunnskapsstatus om familieinnvandring og integrering" (Previous research on family migration and integration)	COMMISSIONED BY: The Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security	
AIM: The aim of this literature review is to give an overview of existing research on the relationship between family migration and integration, including main findings from 1) Norwegian research, 2) research from other national contexts that may be relevant for comparison, and also to 3) identify topics for future research.	KEYWORDS IN NORWEGIAN: Integrering, familieinnvandring, familiegjenforening, familieetablering, regulering av familieinnvandring, innvandringsregulering. KEYWORDS: Family migration, integration, marriage migration, regulation of family migration, immigration regulations, integration effects of immigration regulations.	
	NUMBER OF PAGES: 76	



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security and written by Nordland Research Institute (NF) and Institute for Social Research (ISF). The aim of this literature review, as specified by the Ministry, is give an overview of existing research on the relationship between family migration and integration, including main findings from 1) Norwegian research, 2) research from other national context that may be relevant for comparison, and to 3) identify topics for future research.

We would like to thank Anne Staver, Anika Liversage and Christian Lo for valuable comments on earlier versions of this report. We also thank Jon Haakon Hustad at ISF for assistance with systematic literature searches. Moreover, we would like to thank Espen Thorud and Elisabeth Taubøll at the Ministry of Justice and Public Security for commenting on a draft.

Bodø and Oslo

April 27, 2018

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Citation:

Eggebø, Helga and Jan-Paul Brekke 2018 "Family migration and integration. A literature review". Report 4/2018, Bodø: Nordland Research Institute.

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ISBN: 978-82-7321-739-4 (digital)

ISBN nr: 978-82-7321-738-7 (print)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this literature review is to give an overview of existing research about the relationship between 1) family migration and integration and 2) family migration regulation and integration. With regard to the first issue, outlined in chapter 3 of this report, we have identified three main streams of literature on family migration and integration: First, there are studies comparing the integration of family migrants to other admission categories. These are mostly based on quantitative data, and focus on integration outcomes in terms of labour market participation and educational achievements. Second, there is a stream of literature focusing on intra-ethnic marriages between a second-generation immigrant and a spouse from their parents' country of origin. Finally, there are also some case studies investigating challenges and opportunities for integration for other family migrants, for example intra-European migrants and mixed marriages between a native and a third country national.

Most of the existing studies on family migration and integration focus on labour market participation, and, to a certain extent, on educational achievements. Concerning the three dimensions of integration – that is, system integration, social integration and value integration (see “Dimensions of integration”) – there is very little research focusing on the two latter dimensions. In studies of labour market participation across admission categories, the performance of family migrants is often compared to that of labour migrants as well as refugees. Quantitative analyses reveal lower labour market participation and educational achievements for family migrants than for labour migrants. However, results vary greatly between different sub-groups of family migrants. For example, some studies from Southern Europe show that migrants arriving through family formation with a native-born sponsor have lower rates of labour market participation than those reunifying with another migrant. A Norwegian study, however, finds the opposite pattern. Thus, different studies point in different directions and it is difficult to establish whether these are real national differences or a result of different data and methods.

Moreover, gender, educational level, country of origin and length of stay are crucial factors explaining different levels of labour market participation. For example, male marriage migrants have significantly higher rates of labour market participation than female marriage migrants. Across countries, the majority of family migrants are women, and women's generally lower labour market participation contributes to explaining the lower levels of labour market participation among family migrants. Most studies show that labour market participation improves over time. However, two recent Scandinavian studies find that the initial increase in family migrants' labour market participation halts, and eventually reverses, in the long run. This seems to be a result of precarious, low-skilled work and insecure labour market status on the one hand, combined with access to welfare benefits that reduce labour incentives on the other hand. There is also considerable evidence of underutilisation of highly qualified family migrants. Family migrants experience barriers to labour market participation such as discrimination and lack of recognition of their education and skills. Research indicates that both the individual family migrant and the national economy would benefit from preventing the de-skilling and unwanted domesticity experienced by many female family migrants.

There has been considerable scholarly interest in studying the marriages of immigrant descendants in Europe who marry a person from their parent's country of origin. For

example, the marriage patterns of Turks in Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands, Pakistani and Indians in the UK, Pakistanis in Norway have been subject to much attention. On the one hand, this research is a part of a more than 50-year long scholarly interest in intermarriage and integration, where marriage patterns have been subject to great scrutiny because they are viewed as a test case for revealing societal structures and social boundaries. On the other hand, the scholarly interest in intra-ethnic transnational marriages may also mirror a tendency among policy makers in Europe to understand such marriages as a barrier to integration, and intermarriage as the litmus test of minorities' assimilation. Similarly to the general pattern, empirical studies of intra-ethnic transnational marriages and integration mostly focus on labour market integration. A notable exception is a recent study of integration among British Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis investigating six dimensions of integration.

Existing research on the regulation of family migration and integration, outlined in chapter four of this report, documents how integration concerns function as political justifications for regulations, and how family migration is portrayed (in media and policy debates and proposals) as a barrier to integration. This research also critically interrogates regulations, policy arguments and their underlying assumptions. The fact is that there is a lack of empirical evidence underpinning the assumptions that a) family migration is a barrier to integration and that b) family immigration regulations may be effective measures for integration. Providing such evidence, however, is a complicated task because integration is a multi-dimensional and long-term process, and family immigration regulations are only one factor that may or may not influence migrants' integration. Many requirements have been introduced in quick succession without any intervening evaluation of their effects. Given the centrality of the integration argument for new restrictions, there is a striking lack of effort to evaluate measures and investigate their effects.

An indisputable effect of increasingly restrictive measures on family migration, such as income requirements, pre-entry language and integration tests, and age limits, is a reduced number of applications and residence permits granted for family migrants. This decrease causes a relative decrease in this admission category as compared to other admission categories and consequently changes the composition of the migration inflows. Family migrants have lower average rates of labour market participation and educational achievements compared to labour migrants, though often higher than refugees. Even though results vary greatly between different sub-groups of family migrants, a change in the composition of migrant inflows towards a relatively higher share of labour migrants in relation to family migrants is expected to contribute to higher average labour market participation among the migrant population as a whole.

A main finding is that regulations affect applicants differently according to the gender, country of origin, age, and educational level of the applicants, as well as the sponsor. For example, the family members of female and ethnic minority sponsors are affected more negatively by strict income requirements due to the fact that these groups on average have a weaker position in the labour market than native-born men.

Some studies indicate that family migration regulations may have positive effects on some aspects of integration. Other studies show that the integration effects of such measures are modest at best, that migrants experience these tests as a burden and that families are separated as a result of restrictions. Restrictive family migration regulations that target the migrant population may cause resentment amongst established ethnic minority groups, and

possibly threaten social cohesion. Post migration access to rights, language courses and labour markets in the host country probably have a stronger effect on integration than immigration regulations.

A central aspect of family immigration regulations is that they presuppose and further the family migrants' dependency on the sponsor. Family migrants are subject to waiting periods before they can achieve a permanent residence permit independent of their relationship to the sponsor. During the waiting period, marriage migrants will lose their residence permit if the couple divorces. This legal dependency adds on to the situation of social and economic dependency on the sponsor that marriage migrants commonly face. Research shows that family migration regulations create and promote different forms of dependency (legal, economic, social) that may function as barriers to integration.

Stricter regulations that increasingly make family immigration unattainable will unavoidably lead to family separation. Existing research clearly shows that family separation has harmful effects, such as severe negative effects on refugees' mental health, heavy financial and practical burdens on spouses, distress, anxiety and negative behaviour for children, amongst others. While strict requirements for family migration, such as the income requirement, may be an incentive for the sponsors' labour market participation, such measures inevitably cause family separation that has a serious negative impact on the mental health, well-being and integration of family migrants, and notably on children.

1. INTRODUCTION

Family migration is the main channel of (legal) migration to OECD countries, and this category of migrants constitutes between a quarter and half of the migration inflows population across different countries. Relative to other admission categories, family migration inflows has become less prevalent over recent years due to the growth in other admission channels, most importantly intra-European migration (OECD 2017: 108-13). The arrival of one million refugees crossing into Europe in 2015, known as “the refugee crisis”, also changed the composition of migration flows. The administrative separation of migration flows in to the main categories of labour migration, family migration and refugees often does not capture the realities of migrants’ lives: labour migrants have families; many family migrants are highly qualified and bring expertise to labour markets in host countries; and refugees seek to work and reunite with family members. Nevertheless, administrative categories are important tools for migration regulations and structure migration research.

Until the beginning of the 2000s, research on family migration was scarce, as migration research had focused primarily on labour migrants and refugees (Kofman 2004). Over the past 10-15 years, however, family migration research has flourished. Currently, there is a considerable scholarly interest in family-related migration that has resulted in a substantial body of literature about family migration from a wide range of different national contexts. On the one hand, this literature includes a number of studies of policies, laws and regulations and case law (some recent examples are Block 2014b; Block and Bonjour 2013; Bonjour and Vink 2013; Granados Moreno et al. 2017; Milios 2015; Morris 2014; Mustasaari 2017; Neuwahl 2014; Pellander 2016; Schweitzer 2015; Sirriyeh 2015; Wray et al. 2014). On the other hand, there are numerous studies investigating the practices of transnational or mixed marriages, and the lives and experiences of family migrants (e.g. Casier et al. 2013; Charsley and Liversage 2015; Charsley 2005a; b; Constable 2005; 2012; Gopalkrishnan and Babacan 2007; Grillo 2008b; Panitee 2011; Williams 2010).

The international scholarship on family migration intersects with the scholarship on gender and migration (see for example Benhabib and Resnik 2009; Kraler et al. 2011; van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007). Many women migrate as family members, and most family migrants are women (Kofman 2004). While acknowledging these patterns, it is important not to overlook the fact that women also migrate as providers and workers, and that men migrate as spouses and family members. Analysing family migration and the regulation of family migration, it is important to investigate the gendered aspects of migration flows, regulations and family practices. This has indeed been a central focus in research on family migration, combined with a focus on other aspects of social inequality such as class, race and ethnicity (e.g. van Walsum 2008; Wray 2008). In addition, migrants arrive in host countries characterised by specific gender and welfare regimes that set the structural and social premises for integration (Anthias et al. 2013a; Eggebø 2010; Kofman et al. 2000; Lister 2009; Sainsbury 2006).

Migrants’ integration in host countries has long been an important field of research and the issue of integration is also subject to considerable political interest and dispute. Bonjour and Kraler have pointed out that the European Commission considers family migration to be an important right in order to promote immigrant integration. However, the presumption that family reunification with family members promotes integration has increasingly been problematised among European politicians. In fact, family migration is now predominantly

conceptualised as an obstacle to integration, with the possible exception of Portugal (Bonjour and Kraler 2015: 1409-10). Forced marriages, “mail order brides”, marriages of convenience, cousin marriage, and the assumed economic dependency of family migrations have been high on the political agenda and served as justifications for increasing restrictions on the right to family migration (Grillo 2008b). In fact, the perceived problems of integration serve as a main argument behind many restrictions on family migration (Bonjour and Kraler 2015; Charsley et al. 2016b; Eggebø 2013b: 9; Grillo 2008a; b; Sirriyeh 2015) and the political trend is to introduce more barriers and requirements for family migration (Bonjour and Kraler 2015; Staver 2014). However, as Charsley et al. (2016a) have noted in a recent publication on family migration and integration, there is a striking lack of empirical research underpinning the various expectations about integration and family migration (see also Bonjour and Kraler 2015; OECD 2017: 135).

1.1. AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this report is to systematically review existing research on family migration and integration, focusing particularly on integration effects of family migration regulations. The report has been commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security. The task was to give a systematic overview of main findings from existing research in Norway on the relationship between family migration, the regulation of family migration and integration, a systematic overview of main findings on this issue from other countries relevant for comparison, and to present recommendations for future research. For this purpose, we ask the following three research questions:

1. What can insights from existing bodies of research tell us about the integration process and outcomes for different groups of family migrants?
2. What may the existing research tell us about the (integration) effect of regulations of family migration on integration?
3. With regard to family migration, regulation of family migration and integration, what are the most important topics for future research?

1.2. METHODS

This report is based on a systematic review of existing research. We have applied two procedures in order to identify relevant literature: First, we have used snowball sampling; that is, pursuing references of references starting out from key publications (Greenhalgh and Peacock 2005). Two recent publications – by Charsley et al. (2016a; 2016b), and Bonjour and Kraler’s (2015) introduction to a special issue on family migration and integration – served as a useful starting point. Furthermore, snowball searching was facilitated by the authors’ extensive knowledge about the research on family migration. Further, both researchers and members of the reference group are affiliated with the international research network Marriage and Migration, and thereby have access to information about recent publications within the field.

The next step in the process of investigation was systematic literature searches in Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and international databases – ProQuest¹, Web of Science², DANBIB³, LIBRIS⁴ and Oria⁵. Systematic searches in the databases were limited to the period 2006–17. While pursuing references of references proved to be by far the most effective strategy for this literature review, systematic searches also included a few publications that we were not already familiar with. Even though many irrelevant references appeared in database searches, some key publications also appeared, thus validating the relevance of search key words.

While systematic searches were limited to research published between 2006 and 2017, we also included older publications identified by the snowballing method. However, most relevant publications proved to be more recently dated. We have included studies published in English or the Scandinavian languages. Both systematic searches and the process of pursuing references in references revealed that most publications on family migration and integration analyse laws, policies and policy arguments. We have not systematically reviewed all these policy analyses. We have chosen to focus on two main topics of research:

1. Empirical studies of integration processes and outcomes for family migrants.
2. Research that focuses on the consequences of family migration regulation.

1.3. THE REGULATION OF FAMILY MIGRATION IN NORWAY AND THE EU

As with other migrant groups, family migrants will be affected by general immigration regulations. In addition, individual countries and the EU have established separate legislation regulating family migration. Throughout the report, we will discuss some of these regulations in more detail, but some introductory remarks will be made here.

The regulation of family immigration includes legislation and practices with regard to *scope* (who is eligible), *requirements* (attachment, attainment, age), *integration potential* (tests), *fees* and *access to rights* after approval. In other words, rules on family migration pertain to conditions pre-entry, the processing of cases, and post-entry entitlements. The overall trend in Norwegian and European family immigration regulations is that they have become more restrictive over the past 15 years (Eggebø 2010; Leerkes and Kulu-Glasgow 2011; Sirriyeh 2015; Staver 2014).

In Norwegian legislation and statistics, a distinction is made between *family reunification* and *family formation* (e.g. Dzamarija and Sandnes 2016; NOU 2004: 20). As the concepts indicate, the first regulates situations where pre-established families are reunited, whereas the second typically regulates the establishment of new families (spouses) (see Eggebø 2013b: 11-4 for a discussion of concepts). In the international literature, EU law and

¹ Search: ALL(integrat* AND ("family migration" OR "family reunification" OR "family formation" OR "marriage migration")).

² Search: TS=(integrat* AND ("family migration" OR "family reunification" OR "family formation" OR "marriage migration"))

³ Search DANBIB: familieinnvandring ELLER familiesammenføring ELLER familiegenforening ELLER Familiemigration og (ma=bå eller kat=ana eller ma=dp) og år>2006

⁴ Search LIBRIS: Søkestreng: anhörginvandrare OR Familjemigration OR familjeåterforening OR tredjelandsmedborgare.

⁵ Search ORIA: (familiesammenføring ELLER familiegenforening ELLER familieinnvandring ELLER familieetablering).

Norwegian everyday language, the term family reunification is often used interchangeably with family migration to refer to both reunited families and family establishments. Other subdivisions are also used. For example, in the OECD-report *International Migration Outlook 2017*, family migration is divided into four subcategories: Family formation, accompanying family, family reunification and international adoption (OECD 2017: 110). In this report, we primarily use the terms family migration, and when we need to make the distinction between reunification and formation, this is made explicit. However, some key reports use the term family reunification synonymously with family migration, and reviewing these contributions, we will use the terms applied in the publication in question.

In 2003, Norway reintroduced an income requirement that had been absent for a six-year period. This reintroduction marked the start of a restrictive trend (NOU 2011: 7 ; Staver 2014). From around 2008, further restrictions were added, many of which came into effect in 2010 with the new Immigration Act (Ot.prp. nr. 75 (2006-2007)). Immigration of EEA (European Economic Area) nationals is regulated in a separate section of the Immigration Act.

Among the changes introduced in 2010 was an increase in the income requirement along with a *four-year rule*, which states that the sponsor must have worked or studied full time in Norway for at least four years before an application for family formation may be granted. Refugee sponsors seeking to reunify with existing family members are exempted from these requirements, provided that they apply within a certain period after gaining residency. As in many European countries, imposing an *age requirement* for spouses has been a recurring topic in the Norwegian debate on family migration regulation (Fair 2010; Myrdahl 2010; Schmidt et al. 2009). Starting in 2003, different age limits have been suggested in Norway, and different arguments have been put forward supporting such a limit (Staver 2014).

Politically, these changes were motivated by what was seen as a list of potential benefits. These included reducing the incentives for seeking asylum in Norway, furthering integration and self-sufficiency among immigrants, and the prevention of forced marriages and marriages of convenience (Brekke and Grønningsæter 2017). In addition, previous exemptions were removed, including the subsistence requirement in cases where the sponsor was a Norwegian citizen or where the sponsor and the applicant had had children together. As in Norway, many European countries have pointed to the prevention of forced marriages, and marriages of convenience have been among the rationales behind family migration regulations (De Hart 2006; Econ Pöyry 2010; Eggebø 2013a; Foblets and Vanheule 2006; Myhrer 2006; Williams 2010; Wray 2006b).

1.3.1. POST-2015 RESTRICTIVE MEASURES

The record high number of asylum seekers in 2015–16 led to a new wave of restrictive measures on family migration in Norway and other European countries. In 2015, the number of asylum seekers who came to Norway almost tripled in comparison to the year before. The influx of more than 31,000 asylum seekers led to the proposal of a list of restrictive measures (Prop. 90 L (2015–2016)). The stated political goal was to ensure that Norway did not appear disproportionately lenient compared to other destination countries in Europe. Most countries in (Western) Europe were affected by the 2015 crisis, and many reformed their family migration regulations in the aftermath in an effort to “regain control” (Brekke and Staver 2018). Notably, the two largest recipient countries of asylum seekers, Sweden and Germany, took steps to limit access to family reunification for persons who received

permits other than Convention status, reverting to the minimum rules allowed under the EU Family Reunification Directive. Sweden for instance, introduced severe restrictions on family migration for refugees, granting temporary permits with no right to family migration (Bech et al. 2017).

As part of the post-2015 restrictions, the Norwegian government decided to increase the income requirement from approximately 250,000 NOK to 300,000 NOK. By the time of the Parliamentary handling of the proposal in June 2016, however, the Parliamentary opposition forced the government to reduce the requirement back to its previous level.⁶ A key argument, uniting both the left and the parties in the centre, was that one could now work full-time in the public sector and still not qualify for family migration. On the same list of suggested measures in Norway following the 2015 arrivals (Security 2015), we find a lower age limit of 24 years old.⁷ The stated purpose of this restriction was to prevent forced marriages, while contributing to reducing asylum arrivals (Prop. 90 L (2015–2016)). In 2017 the 24 years-old limit was implemented in Norwegian legislation (OECD 2017).

Also on the list, we find an *attachment requirement*. This allows Norwegian authorities to reject applications for family immigration in cases where family life may be exercised in a safe third country to which the family as a whole has a stronger attachment than Norway. This change came into effect in 2017. In Denmark and the UK, similar attachment requirements have been in place since the mid-2000s (Charsley et al. 2016b; Schmidt et al. 2009). Finally, the Norwegian government also reduced the grace period for refugees with regard to family reunification as part of the post-2015 list of measures. Under the new rules, refugees may be granted an exemption from the income requirement, as long as the application for family reunification is submitted (or registered online) within six months after having been granted protection in Norway (previously 12 months)(Prop. 90 L (2015–2016)).

1.3.2. PRE-ENTRY, PROCESS, POST-ENTRY

Looking for European trends in the regulation of family immigration over the last ten years, we find the introduction of pre-entry tests, thus far implemented in Germany and the Netherlands. These are taken by the family migrant in their home country as part of the application process, and typically test language skills and factual knowledge of the host country. These tests highlight the link between immigration control and integration.

Another trend is the introduction of procedural requirements that increase the threshold for applying for family reunion. These include personal interviews in the home countries and the use of fees. In Norway, these fees have increased substantially over the last few years.⁸ In Britain, the application fee for some types of family migrants has now passed the 3000 GBP (3400 Euro) mark.⁹ A third trend is the extension of the period of dependency of the family migrant on the sponsor after arrival. Most European countries have introduced laws that put the migrant in a situation of dependency, and the time before independent residency can be achieved has been extended in several countries (Charsley et al. 2016b; OECD 2017). This

⁶ The amount will be adjusted annually in that it follows the income levels (*lønnstrinn*) set for civil servants. The amount as of May 2017 was NOK 256,256. It is calculated as 88 per cent of income level 19.

⁷ According to this rule regulating family formation, both parties must be 24 years or older. Exceptions are made when it is proved beyond doubt that the marriage is voluntary.

⁸ <http://helgaeggebo.no/blogg/#skyhoge-soknadsgebyr>

⁹ <https://www.freemovement.org.uk/another-massive-increase-immigration-nationality-application-fees-2017-18/>

trend has occurred despite research showing the negative consequences that such dependency may pose for victims of domestic violence (Eggebo 2007; Lidén 2007; Madsen et al. 2005; Nadim and Tveit 2009; Patel 2002; Thunem 2007; Tyldum and Tveit 2008; Williams 2010).

1.4. READER'S GUIDE

In the next chapter, we want to provide a conceptual introduction to the migration–integration nexus. We do so by developing what we believe is an analytically fruitful framework for studying the intersection of family migration and integration. The category of family migration is heterogeneous and the concept of integration is complex. In chapter 2, we aim to illustrate and systematise this complexity leading up to the review of the often empirically based literature.

In chapter 3, we then review the literature on integration processes and outcomes for family migrants. First, we present studies focusing on the integration outcomes of family migrants as compared to other admission categories. These studies are mostly based on quantitative analyses of register or survey data and measure integration in terms of labour market participation and educational achievements. We start by accounting for some key comparative studies and then present findings from Norway and a number of other OECD countries. Second, we present literature that focuses on the integration of a specific subgroup of family migrants – that is, couples consisting of a second-generation immigrant and a spouse from the parents' country of origin.¹⁰ Such intra-ethnic transnational marriages have received considerable political as well as scholarly attention and there is a substantial body of research. We present some key findings from different countries in Europe. Third, we have also identified examples of qualitative studies investigating the integration of other groups of marriage migrants, for instance intra-European migrants and mixed marriages between a European native sponsor and a third country national. Chapter 3 also ends with a summary of findings.

In chapter 4, we review literature about the consequences of regulation of family migration. In the past ten years, there has been a good deal of scholarly interest in the regulation of family migration. The research tells us that many restrictive immigration regulations have been put into effect relatively recently. A number of studies investigate empirically the material effects of regulations, including integration effects. In this chapter, we first present main findings from comparative studies. Thereafter, studies are presented country by country. Our main focus is on Norwegian and other European studies, but some particularly relevant findings from the North American and Australian context are also included. Chapter 4 ends with a summary of findings and some points for discussion. In the final chapter (5), we provide suggestions for further research.

¹⁰ In Norway, the term 'second-generation immigrant' is no longer used in official statistics, replacing it with 'Norwegian-born with immigrant parents'. In line with Nadim (2014a: 14), we acknowledge the problematic aspects of the term 'second generation immigrants', i.e. using the label 'immigrant' for a group who have never migrated and who were born and raised in the country; but we have nevertheless chosen to use it because it is commonly used in migration research.

2. THE FAMILY MIGRATION–INTEGRATION NEXUS

In this chapter we discuss the relationship between family migration and integration at a conceptual level. The literature presented in this report all points to the intersection of family migration, or the regulation of such migration, and integration. However, the category of family migration is highly heterogeneous and the concept of integration is very complex. Consequently, one may question whether it is possible to establish any clear relationship – or identify the underlying mechanisms – between family migration and integration. Nevertheless, in this chapter we will distinguish some different connections between the two phenomena in order to provide a more solid basis for discussing both existing empirical research and research gaps. We first look to the wider “migration–integration nexus”, before moving on to the connections between family migration, family migration regulation and integration. The chapter ends with a compact conceptual model of the main components involved in studies of family migration and integration.

2.1. THE MIGRATION–INTEGRATION NEXUS

Both migration and the integration of migrants are extensive fields of research with a long history and academic branches covering a wide range of migration-related social phenomenon (see for example Brubaker 2001; Castles 2017; Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016). While there is a long tradition of studying integration as a social consequence of migration, focusing explicitly on the combination of migration and integration is more recent (Entzinger et al. 2011).

Highlighting the migration–integration nexus allows for seeing a multitude of connections between the two social phenomena (Entzinger et al. 2011). While migration can influence integration, the opposite may also be true; integration can influence migration. On the one hand, the volume and composition of migration to a country may impact the integration of migrants. On the other hand, migrants’ integration may in turn lead to further migration. In addition, the nexus approach allows for analysis of the meeting point between the two phenomena from different perspectives, including how migration policies impact integration and how actual integration, or the lack thereof, impacts migration policies.

Discussing migration and integration in combination may appear challenging; connections and causal impact can go both ways and the types of migration, migration regulations and integration will vary. Migrations flows, regulations and individual experiences influence and are influenced by integration processes every day in our societies. The interaction between migration and integration shapes policies and public discourses on immigration (Kofman and Vacchelli 2012). Despite these challenges, it is worth trying to untangle the nexus of migration and integration. Here, we tackle the complexity by looking at the sub-field of family migration and integration, before zooming in on the connections between the regulation of family migration and integration.

2.2. FAMILY MIGRATION–INTEGRATION NEXUS

In the literature, we find a few contributions that directly conceptualise the connection between family migration and integration. For example, Spencer and Charsley (2016) discuss

marriage migration and integration in their article “Conceptualising integration: a framework for empirical research”. Here they see integration as a set of interactive processes and identify factors that may help or hinder these processes (social, structural, cultural, civic/political and identity) (Spencer and Charsley 2016). Their conceptualisation of integration in the context of family migration builds on a research project on integration and marriage migration (Charsley et al. 2016a). As in other areas of migration research, scholars on family migration agree on integration being a multi-dimensional process (Bech et al. 2017; Entzinger 2000; Entzinger et al. 2011; Wagner 2015).

In another study, Kofman and Vacchelli (2012) focus directly on the link between family immigration and integration and find that the link played a key role in political debates on immigration in the UK (Kofman and Vacchelli 2012). They found that in these debates, the “women who join their husbands through family reunification, who usually do not speak English and hence pose economic strains on existing social services”, were important elements in policy-makers arguments for stricter regulation of migration (Kofman and Vacchelli 2012: 4). The study illustrates a broad tendency to treat migrant integration as a key argument in the political debate on immigration. In other words, integration outcomes can influence family migration regulations and thereby family migration. At the same time, family migration and its regulation will provide parameters for integration of family migrants. So, the influence between family migration and integration goes both ways. As such, the Kofman and Vacchelli example serves well as an illustration of the two-way causal link between family migration and integration (figure 1).

Figure 1. The effects of family migration on integration and vice versa.



It is a challenging task to gain a structural overview over the total body of research on family migration and integration. One reason is that the research covers a range of empirical phenomena; another is the multitude of actors involved (sponsors, family migrants, politicians, bureaucrats, agents of integration); a third is the analytical (flows, policies, strategies and experiences) and empirical levels (national, local, family, couples) that are represented in the studies. Add to this the different types of sponsors and family migrants, aspects of integration and types of regulations, and the diversity of the research field is evident.

In order to sort out the multitude of elements of the research on family migration and integration, some basic distinctions need to be made regarding:

- Levels of analysis
- Dimensions of integration
- The sponsor
- The family migrant(s)
- Subjects of integration

- Types of regulations
- Effects of family migration regulation on other types of migration
- The effect of family migration rules on integration

2.2.1. LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

The family migration–integration nexus can be studied from a multitude of perspectives. The research questions that arise will be different according to whether we look at:

- Policies (e.g. family migration policy, integration policies, welfare state policies)
- Family migration flows
- Integration processes
- Integration outcomes
- Migrants’ strategies and experiences

These levels of study will often be combined in pairs, such as family migration policies and integration outcomes, or family migration flows and migrants’ experiences.

These perspectives can be studied at different empirical levels, including at the:

- Supra-national
- Transnational
- National
- Regional
- Local
- Community
- Family
- Individual level

Along with these perspectives and levels, a list of relevant actors can be added, including sponsors, family migrants, politicians, civil servants, agents of integration and civil society actors. In the literature presented in this report, we see myriad combinations of actors, perspectives (topics, levels, processes and outcomes) and levels of analysis.

2.2.2. DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

In order to study the family migration–integration nexus, clarity is needed on what type of integration is being studied. A broad way of describing immigrant integration could be as a two-way process where societal actors and institutions as well as individuals and groups “take part in” and “become part of” society.¹¹ Above, we referred to Spencer and Charsley’s (2016) five dimensions of integration: social, structural, cultural, civic/political and identity. For our purposes in this chapter – i.e. providing a basic conceptual basis for analysis of the family migration–integration nexus – we will suggest a typology consisting of three

¹¹ See Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx (2016) for discussion on integration. At a deeper level, integration of migrants may be seen as a key element in securing overall societal cohesion (Kofman and Vacchelli 2012).

dimensions (Brekke and Moen 2018). The five dimensions of the Spencer and Charsley (2016) typology can be subsumed under the three dimensions of integration.¹²

The three-dimensional typology is easy to use in discussions on migration and integration, while it is complex enough to capture a substantial part of the breadth of the underlying phenomenon. The three dimensions of integration are:

- **System integration**
 - Labour market participation
 - Legal status
 - Education
 - Housing
 - Access to political participation
- **Social integration**
 - Networks
 - Civil society participation
 - Sense of community
- **Value integration**
 - Sharing of core values
 - Loyalty to national interests
 - Cultural adaption
 - Identity

If we, for example, are to study the effects of regulation of family migration on integration, we should be clear about whether we are looking at the effect on a systemic level (labour market participation, legal status, education, housing, political participation), on a societal level (networks, civil society participation, sense of community, bonding, bridging) or at integration at a yet deeper value level (sharing of values, loyalty to national interests, feeling of belonging, cultural adaption, identity).

One should also take note of the fact that the concept of integration covers both the integration process (motivation, participation, qualification, increasing language skills, social networks etc.) and the integration outcomes (attained levels of qualification, labour market participation rates, income assimilation etc.). Both integration processes and outcomes may depend on the timeframe we apply. Migration regulations may, for instance, have different effects on integration depending on whether we study their short, medium or long-term effects. Interestingly, the literature presented in this report shows that integration will not necessarily increase over time in a simple linear manner.

The national and local labour market and societal contexts are key to understanding integration processes. In Scandinavia, for example, the high entry-level wage in the labour market (and hence high skill demands) is a severe challenge to lower skilled migrants. Similarly, the high female employment rate in Scandinavia will make female migrants that do not work stand out as underemployed, and more so than if they were outside the labour market in receiving countries with lower female participation rates.

¹² Spencer and Charsley's (2016) "political integration" may be subsumed under our "system integration"; their "cultural integration" and "identity integration" both fit under our "value integration" .

2.2.3. THE SPONSOR

Both formal status and social traits of the sponsor are key when analysing the link between family migration and integration. These traits may elicit different sets of regulation and rights (admission, integration support, and others). They must also be expected to influence the integration of both the sponsor and the family migrant(s).

Using the example of a sponsor residing in Norway, there are a series of different possibilities. The formal status of the sponsor can be:

- Norwegian citizen with a majority background
- Norwegian citizen with minority background (first-generation or descendant)
- Refugee (UN Convention status)/subsidiary protection, third country national (TCN)
- Humanitarian grounds (TCN)
- Family migrant (TCN)
- Expert/highly skilled (separate category in Norway)
- Citizen of a EU/EEA country (separate legislation)

Moreover, the migrant sponsor, regardless of admission category, may have a temporary residence permit, a permanent one, or have gained citizenship. The access to family migration and access to welfare rights and integration programs for family members will vary according to the sponsor's formal status.

In addition, the sponsors will differ with regard to social, economic and personal traits. These will influence both their chances of achieving family reunion/formation and integration (their own and their family's). These will include:

- Gender
- Age (adult, child, elderly)
- Education
- Income
- Nationality
- Time spent in the country
- Language skills

In addition, there may be children involved already living in the host country. In a range of ways, the sponsor provides a basis for the person(s) coming to the country. The sponsor may provide a solid basis of well-established and integrated life, or it may be one in the making.

2.2.4. THE FAMILY MIGRANT(S)

As for the sponsor, the formal status and informal characteristics of the family migrant(s) are key when discussing both migration and integration. The formal status, their corridor for admission and their path to integration will depend on whether the family migrant is a:

- EU/EEA citizen (then separate legislation applies)
- Third country national
- Family relation of the sponsor (spouse, child, parent, other)

To the last point on this list: is the family migrant coming as a spouse, child or parent? The family link to the sponsor may influence both admission possibilities and later integration. The family migrant(s) will also vary with regard to social, economic and personal traits, e.g. gender, education, age. These background variables, listed below, are highly relevant for understanding later integration processes and outcomes.

- Gender
- Family already in country
- Age
- Education
- Income
- Nationality
- Language skills

In the research covered in this report, we see a wide range of combinations of these formal and informal qualifications and prerequisites for integration. All of these traits and characteristics of both the sponsor and the family migrant are important when analysing family migration, as well as the regulation of family migration, the effects of such regulations and the integration of both parties.

2.2.5. SUBJECTS OF INTEGRATION

Regulations of family migration may affect the various members of the family unit differently. In Europe, family migration has been centred around the nuclear family – parents and children under 18.¹³ This leaves us with four main categories of family members whose integration is influenced by migration regulations and the act of migration:

- Adult sponsor
- Adult family migrant
- Child sponsor¹⁴
- Child family migrant

For example, changes to the income requirements and waiting periods (e.g. the four-year rule in Norway) are often put forward as measures to secure the integration of the sponsor.

¹³ There are exemptions to this pattern, as additional groups may qualify under certain conditions in some of the European countries (Brekke and Grønningsæter 2017). Outside Europe, national practices differ. For example, until recently, Canada had liberal programs that also allowed reunification with grandparents and parents of independent adults (Bragg and Wong 2016).

¹⁴ It is not common that children function as sponsors. This is due to them already being with family, or coming as unaccompanied minors, often barring them from reunification. Cases where they do function as sponsors include children of divorced parents, where one parent is reunited with the child as a family migrant.

Some measures may be directed at the family migrant only, such as language courses. If children are involved, delayed reunification may impact their integration, whether they are already in the host country, or come as family migrants.

We could also widen our perspective to also include group, local and societal levels. For example, one could argue that societal integration effects of family migration regulations must be expected to vary according to group characteristics. Nationalities with lower levels of education would be more heavily affected by requirements for educational, income or labour market attainment. If requirements are viewed as close to unobtainable to certain nationality groups, the impact on that group's system, social and value integration may be at risk. On the other hand, the same requirement may motivate persons within other groups to find work, having consequences for the integration of that group.

2.2.6. TYPES OF REGULATIONS

There is a range of immigration regulations that can impact the integration of family migrants and their families. Family migration regulations are always a part of a larger set of migration regulations covering both immigration and integration. When studying the effects of family migration regulation, for example on integration, this has to be taken into account. The integration of sponsors and family migrants will be affected by regulations pertaining to all migrants, such as duration of residence permits, access to welfare services and naturalisation regulations. Isolating the effects of specific family regulating measures from the overall migration regimes may be challenging (Bratsberg and Raaum 2010).

Looking at family migration, the long list of regulations can be categorised in different ways. A first line of separation can be drawn between three categories of regulations that point to the:

- Pre-migration phase (e.g. income/attainment requirements, pre-entry tests)
- Processing of cases (e.g. application fees, in-person interviews), and
- Post-migration phase (e.g. integration programs, welfare rights, path to naturalisation)

In principle, all three categories may hinder migration or stimulate migration.

However, we have to go beyond the three broad categories when studying family migration and the effects of migration regulations. A second way of organising the diverse field of family migration regulations would be to distinguish between the types of regulations in table 1.

Table 1. Categories and types of family migration regulations.

Phase	Type of regulation
PRE-ENTRY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scope (determines who are eligible as family migrants) • Sponsors' formal status (e.g. determines who can serve as sponsor) • Attainment requirements (sponsor, e.g.: income, education, employment), • Attachment requirements (both parties, e.g. years spent in the country) • Age requirements (age of spouses, children, parents) • Waiting period (sponsor: e.g. years of residency needed to qualify)
PROCESS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration potential (family migrant: pre-entry tests (some countries)) • Procedural barriers (e.g. fees, in-person interviews, apply from home country, six-month grace period for refugees)
POST-ENTRY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right to temporary or permanent stay (including dependency on sponsor) • Social rights and access to qualifications (e.g. language courses, training, health care, social security)

As we see in table 1, we are still left with relatively broad sub-categories, or types of family migration regulations. We also see that there are more pre-entry regulations listed in the table. This reflects that family regulations, as with other migration regulations, has a focus on the pre-entry phase. However, one could argue that after family migrants arrive in a country, other parts of legislation that are not listed here become relevant (access to welfare, education and more). Most of the types listed in table 1 can again be divided into separate elements, which may be analysed either in isolation or as part of a larger complex.

2.2.7. THE EFFECT OF FAMILY MIGRATION REGULATIONS ON OTHER ADMISSION CATEGORIES

As mentioned in chapter 1, governments increasingly see family migration regulations as a key part their migration policies and as a useful tool in their efforts to manage migration (Fair 2010; Scholten et al. 2012). While the primary targets for family migration regulations may be family migrants themselves, changes in this policy area are believed also to have consequences for other admission categories.

Staver (2014) has documented the Norwegian government's strategic use of family migration regulations in order to reduce the number of asylum arrivals after the last peak in asylum inflows in 2009. She described how the Labour-led government saw generous family immigration rules as a pull factor for asylum seekers (Staver 2014: 132-3). Interestingly, Staver points out that seeing family regulation regulations as a pull factor for asylum seekers was a part of the Norwegian political debate, while it was not emphasised in British and Danish debates (Staver 2014: 158). Over the last three years, however, the link between

family migration regulations and asylum arrivals has been central in a range of national contexts. It was, for example, an important element in the new immigration regimes introduced by Germany and Sweden following the record numbers of asylum seekers in 2015 (European Parliament 2018).

The regulation of family migration will also affect other categories of migrants than asylum seekers and refugees, along with the sponsors already residing in the country. Expert migrants, labour migrants, entrepreneurs and students may all be groups of migrants that governments want to attract. Strict regulations on family migration may counter these ambitions in that attractive migrants may instead choose to go to destination countries with less strict regimes (Staver 2015). The result of this dual functionality of family migration rules is that governments tend to diversify their regulations to filter migrants' access according to how attractive they are seen from the point of view of the national government. Their attractiveness may, for instance, be related to their ability to integrate, attain employment and make a long-term economic contribution.

Changes in family migration regulations should be expected to have a direct effect on the number of family migrants coming to one country. However, it may not be easy to isolate the effect of such changes from other factors (such as number of eligible reference persons, conditions in the labour market etc.) that may impact the number of applications from specific nationality, in specific categories, and so on. Numbers from a recent study in Norway indicate that despite a number of restrictive measures being introduced over a five-year period, family migration involving third country nationals as both reference person and applicant has been remarkably stable (Brekke and Grønningsæter 2017). Other studies referenced in the current report indicate a short-term reduction in family applications, followed by an uptick.

2.2.8. THE IMPACT OF FAMILY MIGRATION REGULATIONS ON INTEGRATION

Above, we have isolated different key elements of studies of family migration and integration. The role of regulations is a core element in the following discussion. Conceptually, the family migration–integration nexus encompasses much more than merely the impact of family migration rules. However, in political discourses, as well as in academic discussions, there is most often an element of regulations driving or colouring the topic at hand. By holding the impact of regulations up to the light, we find that the migration–integration nexus brings into play all the elements mentioned above (the levels of analysis, dimensions of integration, the status of the sponsor/family migrant(s), the subjects of integration, the types of regulations and the effects of regulations on other categories of migrants). In figure 2 at the end of this chapter, we present these elements within one coherent conceptual framework.

2.3. DISCUSSION: REGULATION, IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

As noted in chapter 1, there has been a shift in Europe from seeing family migration as an individual right (to family life) to putting more emphasis on national immigration regulatory

considerations. Yet, the balance between regulations and rights in the field of family immigration is nothing new (Staver 2014).¹⁵

Today, however, individual rights are more often being weighed against national interests in other areas, such as integration and immigration regulation. All European governments have to relate to this balance through the proportionality assessment in ECHR art. 8. European governments have to simultaneously secure the individual's rights with regard to family life, control migration and optimise integration. How these considerations are balanced will vary across countries and over time. The balance will be affected, for example, by changes in migration pressure, economic cycles, government compositions, national political contexts, and over time. Moreover, a distinction can be drawn between migrants the receiving countries want to attract, such as students and certain (highly skilled) labour migrants, foreign companies wanting to invest on the one hand, and migrants groups that many governments aim to reduce and restrict, such as asylum seekers.

In the contemporary Norwegian policy debate, the concept of “sustainable immigration policies” has become a buzzword. It points to the link between regulation of immigration (including family migration) and integration outcomes. According to this somewhat contested concept, countries should adjust the volume and composition of immigration to its ability to absorb immigrants (NOU 2017:2). Absorption is to be understood as “successful integration”, assimilation or gradual disappearance of “cultural differences” (Collier 2013). It could be argued that the use of the concept of sustainability in this context serves as a useful political tool for governments wanting to legitimise restrictive immigration policies. However, discussions on the level and composition of migration are a constant part of national political agendas across the world. How this link is conceptualised may be of less importance than acknowledging that the relationship between migration regulations and integration remains grossly underexplored.

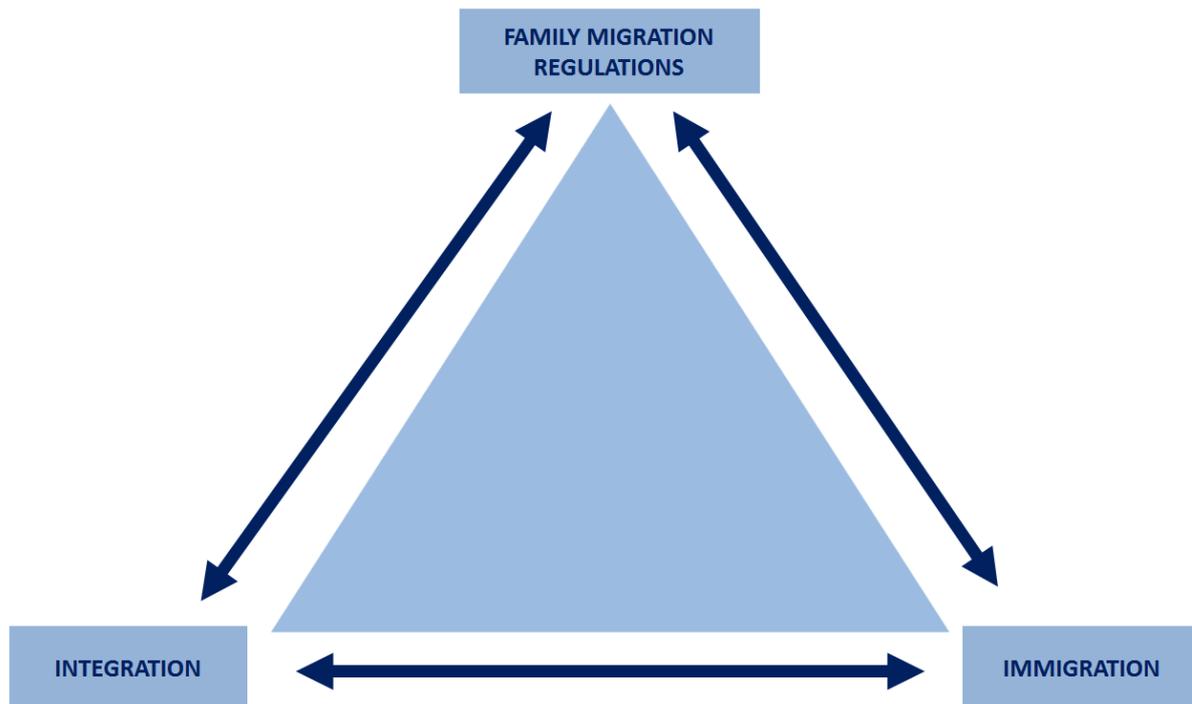
2.3.1. FAMILY REGULATION, IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

Starting out with the link between family regulation and integration, immigration is clearly relevant and should be included in an analytical model, thus leaving us with a triangle of family migration regulation, immigration and integration (see figure 2).¹⁶

¹⁵ See *Abdulaziz vs UK* in ECHR 1985 <http://swarb.co.uk/abdulaziz-etc-v-the-united-kingdom-echr-28-may-1985/>

¹⁶ The 2015 special issue of *Family Issue* (Vol. 36/11), discuss similar dimensions, focusing on “the axis between “family migration”, “policy” and “integration” (Bonjour and Kraler 2015: 1408).

Figure 2. Triangle of related analytical concepts, family migration regulations, immigration and integration.



The triangle in figure 2 between the three concepts indicates three separate relationships, that between family migration regulations and immigration, family migration regulations and integration, as well as between immigration and integration.

The first link, between family migration regulations and immigration (all types) is illustrated with a two-way arrow. This indicates that such regulations may have an effect on immigration (both volume and type of migration – family, asylum, student, labour), but that the causality also may be reversed. The Norwegian case from 2009 mentioned by Staver (2014), where high asylum numbers led to restrictive changes to family migration rules, is a good illustration here. Another example would be the restrictions on family migration introduced in many European countries, including Sweden and Germany, following the massive inflow of asylum seekers in 2015 (Bech et al. 2017).

The second link, between family regulations and integration, is also illustrated by a two-way arrow: Family regulations may influence integration (types, process, outcome, short term and long term). At the same time, integration processes and outcomes may influence the regulation of family migration.

The third link depicted in figure 2 is that between immigration and integration. We are back to the migration–integration nexus. Successful integration, for example of family migrants, may lead to greater acceptance for such migration. Integration of sponsors that are third country nationals may also lead to further immigration. The other way around, the volume and composition of migratory flows will potentially influence the integration of migrants and their sponsors.

2.3.2. FAMILY AS PREREQUISITE OR INCENTIVE FOR INTEGRATION

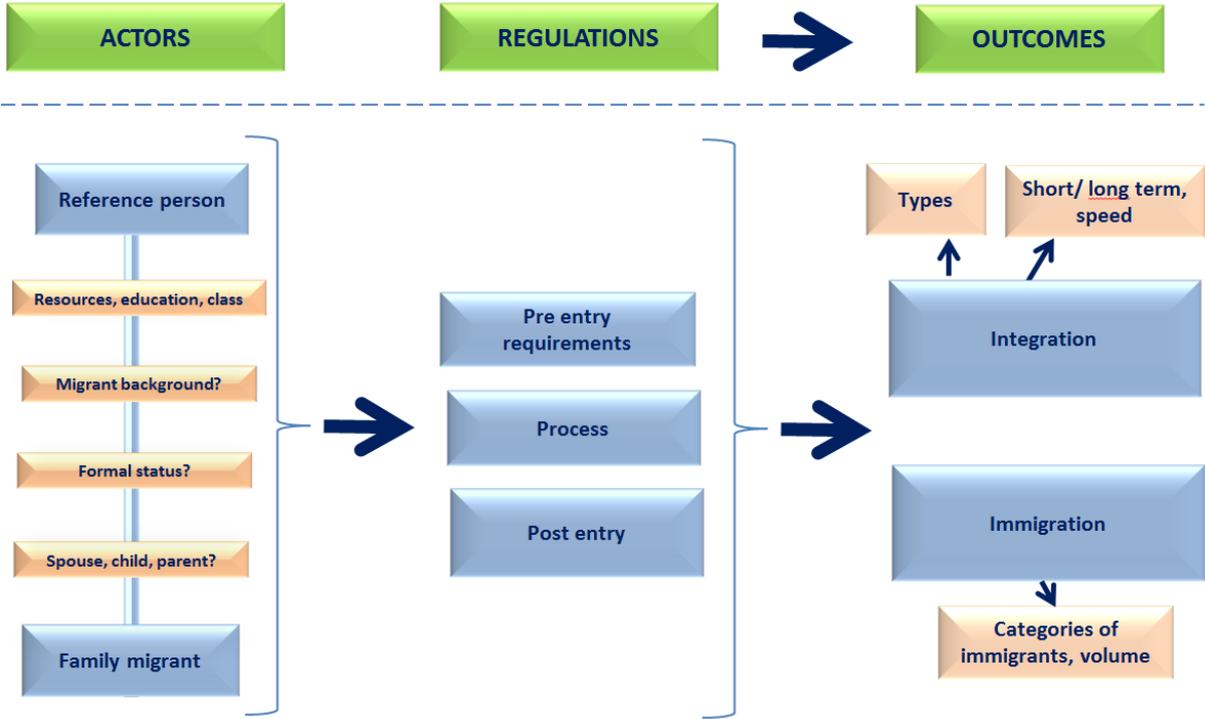
The discussion on the effects of the presence of family for migrant integration has a long history. A main dispute has centred on the effect of family unity for the reference person's motivation. What spurs integration more, having a safe stable family situation while qualifying and training in the host country, or having some level of skills or economic platform in order to be in a position to apply for family reunion? The EU Commission promotes the first view, that family is a "vehicle to integration" (Block and Bonjour 2013). This view is also reflected in the preamble to the EU Family Reunification Directive.¹⁷ Bonjour and Kraler (2015) noted that although all have member states nominally endorsed this view through accepting the Directive, Portugal was the only country that encouraged migrants to bring their families (Bonjour and Kraler 2015: 1411). On the other hand, it could be argued that making family reunion dependent on a certain degree of successful integration motivates the individual sponsor to seek education, employment, and so on. One finding in this report is that these claims have not been sufficiently studied. The negative mental health effects on family members of being separated have found support in empirical studies. However, there are also studies that appear to support the incentive hypothesis – that the prospect of family reunification has a motivational effect (Bratsberg and Raaum 2010).

2.3.3. IMPLICATIONS FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

In the model below, we list (non-exhaustively) the elements involved in discussions on the regulation of family migration and integration. By combining them in different patterns, we can identify a range of research topics that can be explored further.

¹⁷ Directive 2003/86/EC, preamble, paragraph 5.

Figure 3. Elements in research on family migration regulation and integration.



In figure 3, we see the complexity of the family migration–integration field of research. Although the elements and categories included in the model are reduced to a minimum, the diversity of possible angles and topics are still evident. Despite its complexity, we believe the model gives a compact overview of the elements involved in the discussion on family migration, its regulation and outcomes with regard to further immigration and integration.

To the left of the figure (3), we recognise the key element of the character of the family relationship (spouse, parent, child or other). We also see the main characteristics of the actors involved, influencing the family relationship to be (re)established: For the sponsor these characteristics include their formal status (citizen, refugee status, EU/EEA citizen, permanent residency, other), whether they have a migrant background or not, and social characteristics (gender, age, education, resources, income, skills). For the applicant/migrant, their social characteristics can be of importance.

In Norway, successive governments have emphasised a division between family reunification (already established family bonds) and family formation (new bonds). This distinction may colour discussions on the effects on integration. In the Norwegian context, family reunification will have a stronger legal position than family formation. Family formation has also been the object of the most heated political debates in many European countries, referring to descendants of migrants marrying partners from their parents’ home country. Such binational marriages have been seen by some political parties as a result of failed “integration” of the “second” and “third” generation immigrants (Bonjour and Kraler 2015: 1414).

As we move to the right in the model (figure 3), we see the list of regulations presented under the categories presented above. When deciding on a strategy for analysis or selecting

a topic for political discussion, there should be clarity regarding which of these (pre-entry, process or post-entry measures) that is under scrutiny.

Having established the actors involved (sponsor, family migrant or both) and the types of regulation to be studied, we next move to the two main areas affected by family migration regulations: immigration and integration. As stated above, governments argue that changes in family migration rules would affect not only family migration, but also other types of migrants, such as students, asylum seekers and (low/highly skilled) labour migrants. The actual effects of changes in family migration regulations on the arrival of asylum seekers are currently being studied using data from nine European countries.¹⁸

And finally, changes in family migration regulation can be expected to have consequences on integration, here divided into three separate aspects: System, social and value integration. We also point to the important distinction between short, medium and long-term integration effects of family policy changes. Above we also mentioned the need to consider whether we are looking at effects on integration processes or integration outcomes.

Using the model, moving from left to right, one can choose to look at sponsor and/or applicant, select the type and number of regulations to be studied, and then choose which of the following effects one wants to study: immigration or integration. An example would be looking at asylum seekers with a humanitarian status (reference person), four-year waiting requirement and outcome on social and value integration.

The concepts we have introduced and the distinctions we have made in this chapter are meant to sharpen the reading of the literature reviewed in the two following chapters. They may also be useful in designing future research projects.

¹⁸ Commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security, this is a European comparative study conducted at Institute for Social Research in Oslo (follow up of Jan-Paul Brekke, Marianne Røed and Pål Schøne (2017)).

3. INTEGRATION OUTCOMES AND PROCESSES FOR FAMILY MIGRANTS

In this chapter, we will present research that sheds light on the integration of family migrants into host countries within the OECD area. One important stream of relevant literature is studies focusing on the integration outcomes of family migrants as compared to labour migrants and refugees. These studies are mostly based on quantitative analyses of register or survey data, and measure integration in terms of labour market participation and educational achievements. Key research questions in this literature concern the levels of employment, salaries, education, language acquisition or social insurance use among migrants across admission categories and compared to the native population (see for example Bratsberg et al. 2017; Chiswick et al. 2006; Elrick and Lightman 2014; Oliver 2013b). Analyses are based on national register or survey data, and national comparison is made difficult by nation-specific approaches to data gathering and categorisations (Oliver 2013b: 51). This said, an overall finding is that family migrants' rates of labour market participation and educational achievements tend to be lower than for labour migrants. However, there is considerable variation according to the family migrants' gender, age, country of origin, and length of stay, as well as to characteristics of the sponsor. In this context, it is important to recall that family migrants are a highly heterogeneous group, and in many countries, there is little available data differentiating between groups of family migrants.

Another central stream of literature focuses on the integration of a specific sub-group of family migrants – that is, couples consisting of a second-generation immigrant and a spouse from the parents' country of origin. In public debates and policy documents, such intra-ethnic transnational marriages have come to be seen as a sign of poor integration, while inter-ethnic marriages between second-generation immigrants to a native are seen as the ultimate sign of integration. Moreover, intra-ethnic transnational marriages are assumed to hinder integration, as they may be viewed as constantly recreating the first generation. A series of studies empirically investigate integration among these intra-ethnic transnational marriages, and some studies critically discuss the underlying assumptions about integration and intermarriage. Finally, we have also identified examples of qualitative studies investigating the integration of other groups of marriage migrants, for instance intra-European migrants and mixed marriages between a European native sponsor and a third country national.

3.1. INTEGRATION OUTCOMES FOR FAMILY MIGRANTS COMPARED TO OTHER ADMISSION CATEGORIES

3.1.1. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OUTLOOK 2017

The OECD report "International Migration Outlook 2017" includes the chapter "A portrait of family migration" (OECD 2017). It presents data on family migration inflows and how this category of migrants fares in different OECD countries. The overall picture across countries is that the educational attainment and labour market participation of family migrants are

lower than for labour migrants. Unsurprisingly, as family migrants, contrary to labour migrants, usually have no pre-arranged job waiting.¹⁹

Family migrants' labour market participation varies considerably according to length of stay in the country of settlement. Female family migrants' labour market participation reaches the level of native-born women after 15–19 years of stay, and for family migrant men labour market participation is in fact higher than for natives after a few decades. For both genders, family migrants labour market participation varies by country of origin. The relatively slow labour market participation of family migrants is likely to be related to the fact that many family migrants are women migrating in a life phase of child raising, and that spouses are likely to divide breadwinner and carer roles according to gendered patterns (OECD 2017: 151-4).

The language skills and educational attainment of family migrants are on average lower than for labour migrants, but have improved over recent years, and there has been a sharp increase in female family migrants with high education. Marriage migrants who join native-born sponsors tend to possess higher educational attainment than the family members of foreign-born persons. Moreover, natives married to a foreign-born person tend to have a higher level of education than native-born persons married to another native. This is due to the fact that young people with higher education are more mobile and have higher likelihood of meeting and marrying a foreigner. Consequently, there is a correlation between higher education and the probability of being in a mixed marriage (OECD 2017: 142-6).

The International Migration Outlook 2017 report presents some challenges and dilemmas with regard to the regulation of family migration. On the one hand, family migration constitutes a large share of permanent migration to the OECD and states may want to regulate inflows in order to increase the share of highly qualified people in order to improve overall integration outcomes. On the other hand, strict requirements may only delay family migration and consequently detain the eventual integration of spouses and children. Moreover, strict conditions for family migration also target the increasing share of family migrants married to native sponsors, and such constraints on citizens' family life may be difficult to implement and sustain. Finally, limiting family migration can also limit a country's ability to attract highly skilled migrants (OECD 2017: 133-4, 60).

3.1.2. IMPACIM: THE IMPACT OF RESTRICTIONS AND ENTITLEMENTS ON THE INTEGRATION OF FAMILY MIGRANTS

The COMPAS project "The Impact of Restrictions and Entitlements on the Integration of Family Migrants" has analysed stock data in order to analyse family migrants' educational level, integration into labour markets and use of welfare benefits as compared to other migrants (Oliver 2013b: 51-68). For detailed analyses from the different countries, see Oliver and Jayaweera for the UK (2013), Brey and Stanek (2013) for Spain, Entzinger et al. (2013) for the Netherlands and Lüken-Klaßen and Heckmann (2013) for Germany.

The statistics show that family migrants are in general a little less likely to be employed than other categories of migrants. There are substantial gender differences, with female family

¹⁹ In some cases, however, marriage migrants may have a job waiting. Jakobsen and Liversage (Jakobsen and Liversage 2017) have investigated employment rates among marriage migrants from Turkey and found high employment rates among marriage migrant men who arrived in Denmark during the 1990s. The authors suggest that immediate entrance into the labour market was facilitated by tightly knit Turkish community networks arranging low-skilled jobs for newcomers.

migrants having considerably lower levels of labour market participation than male family migrants. However, when factors such as age, gender and length of stay are controlled for, there are no marked differences in labour market participation between family migrants and other migrants. Thus, a main finding is that integration outcomes for family migrants are in general not very different from other migrants, and that observed differences are not statistically significant in multiple regression analyses where factors such as age and gender are controlled for (Oliver 2013b: 51-68).

With regard to educational achievements, family migrants are less likely than labour migrants to be highly qualified. However, one of the most striking findings in their data, according to the authors, is what they call an “educational occupational mismatch”. This refers to the observation that many highly qualified family migrants work in unskilled occupations and that such mismatches are more widespread among family migrants than other migrants. In Spain, for instance, 17 per cent of highly qualified family migrants work in unskilled occupations as compared to 3 per cent among other migrants (Oliver 2013b: 68). In the case of Spain, this is likely to be a result of the formal barriers to labour market participation faced by family migrants until 2009. However, data from the other countries suggests that there are also other barriers to labour market participation, such as difficulties with having qualifications recognised (Oliver 2013b: 68).

3.1.3. NORWAY – IMMIGRANT LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION

In 2010 Statistics Norway published a report on labour market participation among family migrants in Norway (Aalandslid and Tronstad 2010; see also main findings in Tronstad 2010). Based on register data from 1990–2008, they find that female marriage migrants have an average employment rate of 53 per cent and male marriage migrants 65 per cent. All in all, marriage migrants have a lower employment rate than labour migrants, but the employment rates increase and reach about 60 per cent for women and 70 per cent for men after about five years of stay. Moreover, employment rates vary considerably between sub-groups of marriage migrants. For example, female marriage migrants reuniting with a refugee have an employment rate of only 38 per cent as compared to 55 per cent for refugees. Female marriage migrants married to a native male sponsor, on the other hand, have relatively high employment rates (67 per cent). Male marriage migrants married to a second-generation sponsor have the highest rate of employment (81 per cent), while female family migrants married to a second-generation sponsor have an average employment rate similar to those reuniting with refugees (38 per cent) (Aalandslid and Tronstad 2010).

Bernt Bratsberg, Oddbjørn Raaum and Knut Røed (2017) have studied migrants’ labour market participation in Norway across admission classes. Based on population-based administrative register data linked to detailed information about admission categories, they have investigated long-term labour market participation among migrants in Norway. They find the highest level of labour market participation among migrants from “old EU countries”. Thereafter, in descending order, follow migrants from new EU countries, family migrants married to a Norwegian sponsor, and family migrants married to migrant sponsors. The lowest labour market participation is found among refugees.

The overall picture for family migrants is that they experience an initial increase in labour market participation, but that this process halts after five to seven years. After five years, there is an observed decline in employment rates, and the immigrant–native employment gap actually increases in the long run. There are, however, considerable differences with

regard to family migrants' gender, country of origin, educational attainment and age at entry, as well as the sponsors' citizenship. Family migrants with a Norwegian-born sponsor have higher employment levels, which increase more rapidly over time. Also, family migrants from high income countries and those arriving before the age of 30 have higher employment rates (Bratsberg et al. 2017). Moreover, results differ greatly between men and women. Men have relatively high levels of labour market participation a short time after arrival, but thereafter employment rates decline relatively quickly. For women, initial levels of employment are low, but increase rapidly during the first five years in Norway. After five years, female family migrants employment rate also fall, and the decline is stronger for migrants from low-income countries (Bratsberg et al. 2017: 12-8).

A main conclusion in this study is that migrants from low-income countries experience declining employment rates after only a few years in Norway. This finding stands in contrast to the findings in other European countries where immigrant–native employment differentials decrease over time. The authors suggest some possible explanations for the reversing process of labour market participation. First, business cycles may play an important role, as migrants are far more sensitive to changes in labour market conditions and are over-represented in precarious firms with a high probability of downsizing. Second, educational level is a strong predictor for labour market participation: Low-skilled migrants generally have a weaker attachment to the labour market. Three, declining employment rates are mirrored by increasing reliance on social insurance, primarily disability insurance. This suggests that deteriorating health is an important factor causing labour market exit and reflects the fact that migrants are over-represented in demanding and marginal jobs. Additional education acquired in Norway significantly increases employment rates. This is particularly the case for female family migrants. Therefore, the authors argue that there is a case for increased early human capital investments. Policies that make the individual able to improve language skills and provide marketable qualifications would reduce the tendency towards reversed processes of labour market participation. Low levels of labour market participation among some groups of migrants suggest that there is an underutilised labour supply potential, and that there is room for policy to improve employment rates (Bratsberg et al. 2017: 31-3).

3.1.4. DENMARK – EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME PATTERNS FOR BINATIONAL COUPLES

In Denmark, Jens Bonke and Marie Louise Schultz-Nielsen (2013) have used register data to establish patterns of employment and income for different couples where one or both partners have ethnic minority background. These couples' achievements with regard to labour market participation and income are systematically compared to native Danish couples. The analyses include all non-western immigrants, non-western descendants (children of immigrants), and majority Danes, who were aged 25–54 in 2011, utilising annual data going back to 1980.

The authors provide an economic analysis of the correlation between employment and income, seen in relation to couple type and the duration of the marriage. When controlling for the factors of age, education, number of children, unemployment rates in given years, and more, the analysis shows substantial differences in female employment rates depending on type of spouse: The odds of a marriage migrant women being in employment is thus 27% higher when they are married to majority Danish men, as compared to with men who are themselves immigrants (Bonke and Schultz-Nielsen 2013: 98). For marriage migrant men, however, the differences in employment relative to type of spouse are much smaller. To

conclude, the authors claim that “the integration of non-western immigrants in Denmark takes a generation, understood in the way that both [spouses] should be born / raised in Denmark in order to achieve considerable parity with Danish couples’ participation in the labour market” (Bonke and Schultz-Nielsen 2013: 110).

3.1.5. AUSTRALIA – LANGUAGE SKILLS BY VISA CATEGORY

Barry R. Chiswick and colleagues have published extensively on immigrant language skills in Australia, the United States and Canada (see Chiswick et al. 2006 for an overview). In a study based on data from the “Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia”, they find that there is indeed a relationship between language proficiency and visa category. Labour migrants and skills-tested migrants have stronger English language proficiency compared to other visa categories. With regard to family migrants, the Concessional Family category, which is partially skills-tested, has better language skills than the untested Preferential Family category. Both groups of family migrants have better language skills than refugees. The differences persist when controlled for other variables, but diminish with length of stay and virtually disappear 3.5 years after immigration. However, further analysis shows that the skill-based point system for immigration to Australia is the primary determinant for language proficiency and that visa category in itself has very little explanatory power (Chiswick et al. 2006: 441-3; Chiswick and Miller 2004). Other important determinants of language proficiency are age at migration, educational attainment, gender, having culture contact in the former home country, having previously visited Australia, presence of family and friends as the main factor influencing location decisions, and expectation of staying in Australia, duration of residence and living with other family members. The authors conclude that points based skill-testing policy is an effective policy instrument for improved language skills among arriving migrants (Chiswick and Miller 2004: 40-1).

3.1.6. CANADA – CONSEQUENCES OF DEPENDENT RESIDENCE STATUS

Residence permits for family migration are by definition dependent on the relationship to the sponsor. Two interesting empirical studies from Canada examine the effect of such dependent resident status on occupational status and earnings (Banerjee and Phan 2014; Elrick and Lightman 2014). In the article “Sorting or Shaping? The Gendered Economic Outcomes of Immigration Policy in Canada”, Elrick and Lightman (2014) question the “realist” assumption underpinning much quantitative research on immigration flows. From a realist perspective, admission categories such as labour, family and humanitarian migrants simply denote different types of persons who exist independently of receiving state policies. Immigration policy then, is assumed to affect integration outcomes by regulating who arrives. According to a nominalist view on immigration policy on the other hand, admission categories are social constructions that shape social processes and has a real effect on integration outcomes (Elrick and Lightman 2014: 2-5). Based on data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrations to Canada, they compare labour migrants (primary migrants) and family migrants (secondary migrants) and show that being a family migrant has an independent long-term negative effect on earnings for both men and women, even when controlled for personal and human capital characteristics, as well as for household and spousal characteristics. Thus, the distinction between being primary (the labour migrant) and secondary migrant (family migrant) did not simply reflect pre-existing differences in the relative employability of family members. Rather, immigration policy categorisations were shown to have an independent effect on earnings. The authors discuss two possible

mechanisms that may explain their results. On the one hand, the dependent residence status of family migrants puts them in a precarious situation on the labour market and vis-à-vis the sponsor. On the other hand, the statistical patterns identified in this study may be an indirect result of gendered breadwinning strategies within households amplified by couples' integration into gendered structures of work family reconciliation in Canada (Elrick and Lightman 2014).

Another publication from the Canadian context identifies similar results. Based on analyses of the same survey, Rupa Banerjee and Mai B. Phan (2014) find that dependent application status (family migrant) is associated with significantly lower occupational status than principal applicant status (labour migrant). In order to investigate the mechanisms behind these patterns, qualitative interviews were conducted and analysed. They find that sponsors (principal migrants), who are primarily men, tend to devote more time and energy to their careers while dependent applicants, being primarily women, tend to spend more time on household activities, regardless of their educational and occupational background. Moreover, family migrants face barriers to having their education recognised. Based on these findings, the author argues that the national economy suffers from an underutilisation of highly qualified family migrants and that immigration policy should shift focus from the individual to the family unit (Banerjee and Phan 2014).

3.1.7. SOUTHERN EUROPE – MIGRATION CATEGORY, GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT

Amparo González-Ferrer has published extensively on gender, family and labour market participation among migrants to Southern Europe (see for example Baizán et al. 2014; González-Ferrer 2010; Vickstrom and González-Ferrer 2016). In an article about labour market participation among immigrant women in Spain, González-Ferrer et al. (González-Ferrer 2010) critically investigated the common assumption that family migrants are economically inactive and dependent. They found considerable differences in labour market participation among different categories of women and different categories of family migrants. Unsurprisingly, married women migrating prior to their husbands are most likely to be employed. More surprisingly, however, reunified wives are more likely to be employed than single women. Further, reunified wives are also more likely to be employed than “imported wives” – that is, migrant women arriving through family formation with a person already living in the host country. The authors conclude that it seems to be the extent to which women are able to participate in their husbands' migration decision as part of their household economic strategy that is the most crucial factor in predicting the employment patterns of female migrants at destination.

In a study of the interplay between legal status, gender, and labour market participation of Senegalese migrants in France, Italy, and Spain, Vickstrom and González-Ferrer (2016) found that women who migrate as family migrants were more likely to be economically inactive during the first year of arrival than other categories of migrants. The results also show, however, that family migrants eventually also take up economic activity. In Spain and Italy, the initial economic inactivity of family migrants was explained by regulations that directly preclude labour market participation. Yet in France, where there are no formal barriers to take up employment, family migrants face economic and administrative dependency that may make them less likely to work. The legal dependency of family migrants on their sponsor may serve to reproduce gendered hierarchies and divisions of labour. Thus, family immigration policies produce different constraints and opportunities for men and women (Vickstrom and González-Ferrer 2016).

In another study of labour market participation among Senegalese women in Europe, Toma Sorana investigates the ways in which the type of migration influences women's labour market outcomes. He finds that women migrating independently are the most likely to work, even after controlling for social and human capital. Similarly to Vickstrom and González-Ferrer (2016), he finds that women migrating at the same time as their partner, and women who reunite with their spouse in the destination country, are more likely to be employed than migrant women arriving through family formation with a native-born person. Somewhat surprisingly, educational level and having young children do not significantly influence labour market participation in this study. Based on the findings of this study, Sorana makes a case for deconstructing the category of "family migrant" due to the fact that it covers diverse migrants and couples characterised by different levels of labour market participation. These differences are probably related to different intra-household power dynamics and gender attitudes. Moreover, the determining factor may not be admission category, but patterns of family formation (Sorana 2016).

3.2. INTERMARRIAGE AND INTEGRATION

A major concern among policy-makers with regard to family migration and integration is that native-born children of some migrant groups show a tendency to choose a spouse from their parents' country of origin. In the public debate and among policy-makers across Europe, such marriage patterns are generally perceived as a sign of poor integration, in addition to a hindrance to integration for both partners, as well as their children. While such intra-ethnic transnational marriages are problematised as a handicap for integration, inter-ethnic marriages between second-generation immigrants and natives tend to be viewed as the ultimate sign of integration. A good deal of empirical research has been conducted on the marriage patterns of migrants and their descendants in Europe (Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Casier et al. 2013; Kulu and Hannemann 2016). Some immigrant groups have been subject to particular interest due to their tendency to engage into intra-ethnic transnational marriage, for example Turks in Denmark (Çelikaksoy-Mortensen 2006; Jakobsen and Liversage 2017), Pakistanis in Norway (Daugstad 2006; 2008a; b; 2009; Dzamarija and Sandnes 2016; Henriksen 2010; Huifieldt and Kavli 2004), Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in the UK (Dale 2008; see Dale and Ahmed 2011: 903-4 for an overview) and Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (Sterckx 2015: 1552) and in Belgium (Casier et al. 2013; Timmerman 2006; Timmerman and Wets 2011). In this section of the report, we will review some key studies investigating integration outcomes among intra-ethnic transnational couples in Europe.

Before proceeding, we will briefly relate the recent research interest in intra-ethnic transnational marriage to the broader issue of intermarriage and integration. According to Dan Rodríguez-García's (2015) useful introduction to a special issue on intermarriage and integration, marriage patterns among minority groups have been subject to broad scholarly interest for the past 50 years or so. From early anthropological studies and the sociological classics of the Chicago school to present day research on marriage migration, intermarriages across racial, ethnocultural, religious and class boundaries have been subject to great interest because they are seen as a test case for revealing societal structures and social boundaries. (Rodríguez-García 2015: 8-9). While some scholars see intermarriage as the litmus test of minorities' assimilation into the mainstream, others have questioned the link between intermarriage and integration: First, groups may be delimited according to a range of different dimensions – for example nationality, ancestry, race, ethnicity, religion, and

class – and consequently it is not straightforward to determine whether a union counts as an intermarriage or not. Second, studies of mixed marriages show that these couples and their children experience group prejudice and discrimination from their families as well as societies. Thus, the lived reality may be far from the idealised notion of intermarriage as eroding social boundaries. Third, empirical studies of intermarriage and integration point in different directions and indicate that the causal relationship varies and that intermarriage may have a positive effect on some aspects of integration, while not for others (Rodríguez-García 2015: 10-4). In summary, Rodríguez-Garcías concludes, “the link between intermarriage and integration is still very unclear” (Rodríguez-García 2015: 17).

Finally, it must be noted that intra-marriage is still the predominant marriage pattern globally, among majority as well as minority groups. But while mixed unions have traditionally been unconventional and even forbidden, such as inter-racial marriages in the United States, mixed unions are becoming more common in an area of globalisation (Rodríguez-García 2015: 8-9). Whatever the relationship between intermarriage and integration may be, such unions are to an increasing extent a part of social reality. Moreover, marriages across national borders, whether they are intra- or inter-ethnic, are subject to the national and international regulations on family migration.

3.2.1. NORWAY – LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Idun Brekke and Jon Rogstad (2011) have compared employment rates between women who are married to a Norwegian-born person with women who are married to a migrant from outside the OECD area. Their point of departure is the fact that young Norwegian-born women with parents from Turkey and Pakistan have significantly lower employment rates than young majority women. In this paper, they looked into whether marriage to a person from a country outside OECD can explain these women’s lower levels of labour market participation. Analysing register data, they found that the spouse’s country of origin had no significant effect on labour market participation among female descendants of migrants from Turkey, India, Pakistan and Vietnam. The analyses also showed that responsibility for young children under 3 years old did not explain the lower rates of labour market participation among second-generation women. However, the negative effect of having children between 3 and 6 years old did have a stronger negative effect on employment rates for second-generation women than majority women. Thus, the authors suggest that different ideas about motherhood might explain differences in labour market participation. Interestingly, they also found that for majority women, marriage to a person from outside the OECD area did have a certain negative effect on labour market participation, but they suggest that this might be explained by negative selection and small group size (Brekke and Rogstad 2011).

Marjan Nadim has studied labour market participation for second-generation women of Pakistani descent in Norway. The study is based on qualitative interviews and explores the micro-context for transnational couples’ work-care decisions. The analysis does not have a direct comparative design where transnational marriages are compared with same-background marriages (Nadim 2014b: 100). Nadim identifies three important features of transnational marriage that shape women’s attachment to work. First, these transnational marriages bring together spouses from very different cultural contexts, and they may have conflicting expectations and desires with regard to motherhood and labour market participation. Second, the different migration status of the spouses can potentially give women of the second generation bargaining power in relation to their migrant husbands in

decision-making processes concerning the family's work-care practices. Third, migration can entail economic instability and economic obligations to the family-in-law, making economic considerations particularly pressing in work-care decisions (Nadim 2014b: 104). These mechanisms, Nadim suggests, can create incentives for second-generation women's work. Furthermore, economic considerations, such as income requirements for family migration and risk of poverty, may lock women in a dead-end segment of the labour market because they may not be able to afford more education. Additionally, the migrant men tend to be positioned in unstable and marginal parts of the labour market, thus creating a stronger pressure on their wives to work (Nadim 2014b).

Ferdinand Mohn (2016a) has investigated how marriage patterns influence the labour market participation of immigrants and children of immigrants. The study systematically compares "spouse importers" – that is, people who marry someone from their own or their parents' country of origin – to those who marry someone of the same ethnic background already residing in Norway. Analyses of register data show that spouse import has negative effects on employment and earnings, particularly so for women sponsoring a foreign husband. Earning penalties are larger for women than for men. During the first year after marriage, female spouse importers decrease their employment rate by about 20 per cent and it continues to drop by about 50 per cent ten years after marriage. Based on these results, Mohn challenges the idea that spouse import is positive for women's labour market participation and concludes that "spouse import, and particularly husband import, in all probability represents an impediment to economic integration" (Mohn 2016b: 22). With regard to explanations, findings show that spouse importers have higher fertility and lower educational achievements than non-importers, and also experience stronger labour market penalties for motherhood. When controlling for these factors, the negative effects of spouse import are reduced. Thus, the mechanisms behind the spouse import penalty may be that spouse importers invest less in education and have more children.

3.2.2. UNITED KINGDOM (UK) – INTEGRATION ALONG VARIOUS DIMENSIONS

Similarly to Mohn's Norwegian study, Dale and Ahmed (2011) have conducted a quantitative study of the effects on economic activities of marrying transnationally for British-born citizens of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi background as compared to those married to a UK-born/raised partner. The study was based on survey data from the UK Quarterly Labour Force Survey combined with qualitative interviews. Results show that Indian women and men are less likely to engage in transnational marriage than Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, probably due to the former's lower frequency of arranged marriage. Women and men from India and men from Pakistan and Bangladesh are also less likely to marry transnationally if they are highly educated. While the qualitative data suggests that transnational marriage may negatively affect women's labour market participation, the survey data now show evidence of such patterns. The factors that have the biggest impact on a woman's likelihood to take up employment are her level of qualifications, whether she has young children, and whether she, herself, was born or brought up in the UK (Dale and Ahmed 2011).

Another British study focused on highly educated Indian women marrying less educated UK-born men (Qureshi 2016). Statistics show that 18 per cent of UK-born Indian Sikh men marry women who are more highly qualified than themselves. Based on qualitative interviews with highly educated Indian women, Kaveri Qureshi find that these women faced huge constraints with regard to labour market participation. Similarly to other groups of highly educated marriage migrants, they faced problems with having their qualifications recognised

in the country of settlement. High tuition fees made them unable to upgrade their qualifications by pursuing further studies in the UK. Moreover, they also lacked support from their in-laws to pursue further education. Eventually, however, these women were able to find jobs, and found this fulfilling as it fitted with their self-conceptions as successful working women. Earning money also raised their status within the home and gave them greater decision-making powers (Qureshi 2016: 1226).

A recent and very relevant study of family migration and integration has been conducted by Katharine Charsley, Marta Bolognani and Sarah Spencer (Charsley et al. 2016a). They have studied integration among British-born people with migrant background from the Indian subcontinent (British Pakistanis and British Sikhs) who marry someone from their parents' country of origin (India/Pakistan). They systematically compared 1) intra-ethnic marriages where one partner is a migrant with 2) intra-ethnic marriages where both partners are British born/raised. Moreover, they studied five dimensions of integration: 1) structural integration, 2) social integration, 3) cultural integration, and 4) civic/political integration, as well as 5) identity. The project was designed as a multi-method study involving quantitative data (UK Quarterly Labour Force Survey with data from 2004 to 2011) and qualitative data (semi-structured interviews with couples).²⁰ With regard to the focus of this literature review, it is worth noting that all migrants included in this study arrived before the introduction of the income and language requirements in 2012.

With regard to education, the most common pattern was for the spouses to have the same level of education. Yet for couples with different educational levels, the migrant spouse was more likely to have a lower level of education. However, migrant wives were generally more likely to have higher education than the average woman in their country of origin. Among British spouses, lower level of education correlates with higher levels of transnational marriage. Comparing siblings, the sibling with the lowest level of education was more likely to be married transnationally. Even though British families often valued an educated wife, they did not necessarily expect her to pursue a career. Migrants also faced structural barriers with regard to education: Their education is not recognised, they are not entitled to student loans and family finances are difficult due to the cost of setting up a new household and the costs of migration. Moreover, the life-course events of family establishment and becoming parents may restrict educational opportunities because they have to prioritise child care and financial responsibilities (Charsley et al. 2016a: 14-8).

With regard to employment, migrant spouses were more likely than British counterparts to work in low-skilled employment, even after taking their educational level into account. This suggests barriers to higher status employment. British Pakistani women married to a migrant are less likely never to have worked than other British Pakistani wives. British Pakistani men married to migrants are slightly less likely to be in employment than their British Pakistani counterparts married intra-nationally. Pakistani migrant wives are least likely to work, and Sikhs are generally more likely to be employed. Among women who worked, perceived

²⁰ In a forthcoming article based on this study, the authors explore the experiences of Pakistani men migrating to the UK through marriage and show how combinations of socio-economic position, time poverty, social marginalisation and family relationships can constrain the available options of these men (Charsley and Ersanilli Forthcoming 2018). In another paper, they analyse sibling pair case studies to explore the logics and consequences of contrasting marriage choices dynamics. Based on these analyses, the authors question simplistic assumptions about «difference» and «sameness» based on ethnicity, religion, kinship and nationality and illustrate a «contextual brightening and dimming of a variety of boundaries of similarity and difference» (Charsley Forthcoming 2018).

economic need was an important motivation. The quantitative data showed high levels of employment for migrant husbands, and qualitative interviews suggested over-working due to heavy economic responsibility and low-paid work. Many described encountering discrimination and racism in the labour market, in particular working with the majority population. Working with co-ethnics to some degree offers protection against discrimination. Migrant wives reported less discrimination and higher work satisfaction than migrant husbands, even though many were clearly over-qualified for their position (Charsley et al. 2016a: 19-27).

With regard to social integration, family connections proved to be important for social and employment opportunities, in particular since marriage and childrearing commonly lead to a stronger emphasis on family ties. Workplace, community groups and children's schools were important sites for developing social networks. Co-ethnic relationships and family networks were important for migrants' spouses. For some, these networks were also essential to finding work. Men report more discrimination than women, and some limited their social engagement due to experiences of discrimination (Charsley et al. 2016a: 28-34).

With regard to cultural integration, the authors of this report have investigated the existence of extended living arrangements. Indeed, they found that living with parents or in-laws was significantly more common among the groups studied as compared to other parts of the population. Extended living was more common for migrant wives and among British Pakistanis. However, women married to a migrant man proved to be more likely to live with their own family than other women. The qualitative data showed that extended family living may improve a family's economic situation and allow for investments in education and better housing. With regard to gender roles, couples consisting of a migrant wife and a British-born husband seemed to reinforce traditional gender norms, while couples consisting of a migrant husband and British-born wives may challenge traditional gender norms. British families seemed to expect migrant wives to be more traditional, but many migrant wives did not fulfil this stereotype and this tended to be a source of conflict (Charsley et al. 2016a: 35-45).

With regard to civic and political integration, British participants reported higher levels of civic engagement than migrants, but marrying transnationally did not effect participation. Migrant wives were more active than migrant husbands, who report time poverty as an explanation for lack of participation. Migrant wives also reported higher engagement in democratic processes than British-born participants. For the British participants in this study, an integration paradox was evident: Their social integration lead to greater awareness of discrimination and this sometimes resulted in political disillusionment and withdrawal from political participation (Charsley et al. 2016a: 46-52).

Migrant spouses kept an Indian/Pakistani identity over the life course, but this did not have any negative effect on other domains of integration. British born/raised participants took for granted a self-identification as British. Sometimes, however, this identity was challenged due to foreign policy and experiences of discrimination (Charsley et al. 2016a: 53-7). Moreover, migrant spouses keep close contact with family overseas, but economic constraints limit the possibility to visit. Migrant men remit more, while British women engage more in the overseas family than British men, reflecting a general tendency for women to engage more in family (Charsley et al. 2016a: 58-60).

The authors concluded with an overall discussion about family migration and the various dimensions of integration. They underscore that integration is not necessarily a linear

process, and the different areas of integration do not necessarily reinforce each other. Sometimes integration in one area may impede integration in another. On the one hand, participating in the labour market may foster social integration and network. But on the other hand, working long and unsocial hours may indeed limit other forms of integration. The authors conclude by listing a series of 30 positive and negative effectors on integration and a list of policy recommendations for facilitating the integration of family migrants. With regard to labour market participations, the authors stress that economic burdens, lack of education and discrimination may lock people into low paid and insecure jobs with unsociable hours, leaving little room for important language training and human capital investments (Charsley et al. 2016a: 61-71).

3.2.3. DENMARK AND SWEDEN – LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Aycan Çelikaksoy has studied the integration of second-generation immigrants in Denmark and Sweden in terms of labour market participation and educational achievement (Çelikaksoy-Mortensen 2006; Çelikaksoy et al. 2006; Çelikaksoy 2007; 2016; Nielsen et al. 2009). Similarly to Mohn's study from the Norwegian context, Çelikaksoy found that spouse import had a negative effect on labour market participation, as compared to those who married someone already residing in Denmark (Çelikaksoy 2007). Another study, based on register data from Statistics Sweden, shows that there is a positive relationship between education and inter-ethnic (exogamous) marriage. However, highly educated people belonging to ethnic groups that have high average educational levels are more likely to marry someone from the same ethnic group. Consequently, educational levels matters at the individual level as well as group level. Based on these findings, Çelikaksoy argues for challenging the idea of a linear, simple relationship between education, integration, and intermarriage (Çelikaksoy 2016: 563).

Vibeke Jakobsen and Anika Liversage (2017) have used a mixed method approach, combining register data from 1994–2006 and qualitative interviews in order to investigate the labour market participation of Turkish marriage migrants and sponsors in Denmark. They find highly gendered patterns of employment: Marriage migrant men tend to be employed very quickly after arrival, with the level of employment dropping over the next four years. This pattern is explained by unstable employment and entitlement to unemployment benefits. Subsequently, employment rates increase again, yet in the studied seven-year-period never come to exceed the level in the first year after arrival. Marriage migrant women, on the other hand, display low rates of employment, starting at only 20 per cent in the first year and rising gradually to 30–40 per cent seven years after arrival. Female sponsors have higher employment rates than marriage migrant women, but significantly lower than male migrant spouses. According to Jakobsen and Liversage, these patterns are explained by cultural differences with regard to work-family reconciliation combined with barriers to accessing the labour market: Women with Turkish background “come from a society in which mothers without educational skills more often wish to be homemakers than wage earners and [then come] to a society that offers them very limited employment possibilities” (Jakobsen and Liversage 2017: 26).

It is evident that the patterns of employment of marriage migrants often are strongly associated with gender. A qualitative study amongst female Turkish marriage migrants in Denmark points to how the low level may be partially explained by a strong gendered division of work in some ethnic minority families which may also impede such women's ability to learn the Danish language (Liversage, 2009). From the same context, another study

combining register data and qualitative interviews documents how the gender of the marriage migrant may strongly condition the living arrangements for the first years after arrival. Thus, the vast majority of young female (but not male) marriage migrants from Turkey who arrived in Denmark in the mid-1990s began life in Denmark in extended family co-habitation with their parents-in-law (Liversage and Jakobsen, 2010). Larsen and Lauritzen (2014) and Danckert and Jakobsen (2014) also describe patterns of employment, education and marriage among children of immigrants in Denmark. See the section “The effects of family migration regulations” for a further discussion.

3.2.4. THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND GERMANY – TURKISH DESCENDANTS AND MIGRANTS

As in other European countries, marriage patterns and labour market participation among Turkish descendants in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany have been subject to considerable political attention and scholarly interest. One example is the article “Marriage Migration and the Labour Market” by Timmerman and Wets (2011). They have studied labour market participation among marriage migrants in Belgium, as well as their spouses. Data show that marriage migrants from Turkey are primarily married to persons of Turkish and Moroccan descent. Analyses show that both spouses generally have low labour market participation and low salaries (Timmerman and Wets 2011).

Since most studies of integration and intra-ethnic marriages tend to focus on the spouses, it is worth mentioning a study from the German context that focuses on children. Becker has investigated cognitive and German language skills of children of Turkish descent. According to the study, children of inter-ethnic marriages outperform other children. Children with a marriage migrant mother and a second-generation father have lowest scores. The identified differences in performances are primarily explained by differences in parents’ socio-economic resources. Parents’ German language proficiency also has some effect (Becker, 2011).

Another study by Gonzalez-Ferrer (2006) documents considerable differences depending on gender constellation. According to this German study, the more educated men of Turkish descent are, the less often they marry wives from Turkey. The opposite is the case for women, with rates of marrying spouses from Turkey increasing with rising levels of education (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2006). These findings on gender, education, and partner choice have also been confirmed for Turkish descendants in other European countries (Carol, Ersanilli, and Wagner 2014).

As we have seen throughout this section of the report, marriages between a descendant of immigrants to a person from the parents’ country of origin are generally considered an endogamous marriage or intra-marriage. Despite the fact that these couples are born and raised in different countries and have different citizenship, it is considered an intermarriage on the basis of ethnicity. In an interesting case study from the Netherlands, Leen Sterckx (2015) problematises the division between intra-ethnic marriage and mixed marriage. Based on qualitative data, the author analyses couples that do not easily fall into these dichotomous categories. Two cases, that of a daughter of a mixed Moroccan–Dutch couple, married to a Turkish man, and the marriage between a native Dutchman who has converted and a second-generation Moroccan–Dutch Muslim, clearly show how both these couples are faced with negative reactions from family, friends and even strangers because they are considered “mixed”. As a reaction, these couples stress the similarities and veil the

differences between them. “While mixed couples in theory provide a context for divided social groups to come together and mingle – and thus to act as a catalyst for assimilation – this turns out to be highly problematic ‘in real life’”, Sterckx (2015: 1563) argues.

3.3. THE INTEGRATION PROCESS – BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MARRIAGE MIGRANTS

Our analyses of previous research on marriage migration and integration show that much research focuses on a specific group of marriage migrants and sponsors, namely second-generation immigrants that marry someone from their parents’ country of origin. This focus in research mirrors national policy-makers’ strong concerns about these marriages as a sign of poor integration and an impediment to integration. However, we have also identified studies of marriage migration and integration focusing on other groups of marriage migrants. In this section, we will briefly discuss some of these studies, focusing primarily on some case studies from the Norwegian context.

3.3.1. NORWAY – MARRIAGE MIGRANTS FROM RUSSIA, THAILAND AND THE PHILIPPINES

In Norway, women from Russia, Thailand and the Philippines constitute a large share of family migrants to Norway, and these women are predominantly married to ethnic Norwegian men (Daugstad 2008b; Eggebø 2013b). There are a few studies investigating the lives of these groups of marriage migrants (Flemmen and Lotherington 2009; Lotherington and Flemmen 2007; Nadim and Tveit 2009; Ndure 1991; Tyldum and Tveit 2008).

Marjan Nadim and Marianne Tveit (2009) find that social networks are important for integration, and most women in this study had access to them, primarily through other marriage migrants from the same country, and through their husband’s family. The family migrants in this study saw language skills as important for integration, and most appreciated the mandatory language course for family migrants. Informants also underscored the importance of on-the-job language training. Such training is offered to refugees and family migrants reunifying with refugees through the comprehensive “Introduction Program”. Marriage migrants from Russia, Thailand and the Philippines, however, are offered language courses but do not have access to the program.

Many of the family migrants in this study experienced economic hardship. First, they were economically dependent on their husband and many find that difficult. Moreover, their family expect remittances and this obligation may be a source of conflict between spouses. Finally, many feel the pressure to find a job rather than prioritise language skills and education. Consequently, they are locked in insecure, low-pay and low-skilled parts of the labour market. Whether to prioritise work or education is a constant dilemma. The women in this study depended on their husband to a large extent for information about Norwegian society. Women married to Norwegian men are in many ways better positioned for integration than other groups of marriage migrants. However, they are very dependent on their husband for integration and this puts them in a vulnerable situation; for example, if the husband cannot or will not take responsibility to facilitate the integration process. Dependency and different expectations about the organisation of household finances, gender roles and child raising is a source of tension (Nadim and Tveit 2009).

The issue of dependency and conflict is also prominent in another study of marriage migrants from Russia and Thailand to Norway (Tyldum and Tveit 2008). Conflicts arise due to

diverging opinions about gender roles, and some women experience that they are expected to conform to patriarchal gender roles that they see as outdated. The women are in a situation of dependency and vulnerability due to insecure residence status. Moreover, they are also economically and socially dependent on their husbands. Some men do not help their wives integrate, either because they do not have the capacity or because they see it in their interest to sustain and increase their wives' dependency. An overall finding is that female marriage migrants' integration process is very dependent on their husband's ability and willingness to help them integrate, and some face situations where "in order to stay married, they had to embrace the traditional old-fashioned gender roles offered by their husbands, and make sure they did not integrate or adapt too much to Norwegian society" (Tyldum and Tveit 2008: 124).

3.3.2. SOME OTHER CASE STUDIES – FAMILY LIFE AND LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Föbker and Imani (2017) have studied integration among highly skilled accompanying migrants to Germany and the UK. The study highlights some major differences between the German and the UK context: First, language requirements tend to be higher in Germany. Secondly, in the UK there is a large voluntary work sector that offers a low-threshold labour market entry. In Germany, on the other hand, there is a lack of low-threshold employment and the labour market is characterised by strong professional protectionism (Föbker and Imani 2017: 2733-4). Another case study focuses on Polish EU migrants in Scotland (Moskal 2011) and examines the presence and participation of families and children in the process of migration. It is a common pattern for Polish families that one or more adults migrate first, and that children follow later. It may take a few years for the families to be reunited. Children are important in adults' decisions to stay, settle, or return, and children's schooling and education in particular acts to integrate migrant parents into the country of settlement (Moskal 2011: 45).

Isaakyan and Triandafyllidou (2014) have studied the integration of female anglophone migrants married to Italian and Greek men. They find that these women often find it extremely difficult fully to learn and integrate to the new cultures of Southern Europe (Isaakyan and Triandafyllidou 2014). Examining cross-national marriages between migrant women and Greek Cypriot men in the Republic of Cyprus, Fulas-Souroulla (2010) explores patterns of socioeconomic, cultural and legal integration and/or exclusion, and prejudice against international migrant spouses.

Anika Liversage (2009) has studied the work trajectories of highly skilled women from Eastern Europe immigrating to Denmark for reasons other than work. Analysing qualitative interviews, Liversage show how these migrant women struggle to enter the labour market and regain their professional identities. The ability to do so is strongly tied to their type of qualification. Doctors, dentists, engineers and information technology professionals usually find it easier to move between countries and have their professional skills recognised. Many of the women in this research project struggled to have their qualifications recognised and experienced periods of unwanted domesticity. Despite their high qualifications, some were stuck in unemployment or jobs requiring low-level skills. Others found work after retraining in Denmark, by becoming "cultural brokers" for other immigrants, or by eventually returning to their home country (Liversage 2009). The process of de-skilling through non-recognition of qualifications is also found in other studies of highly skilled female migrants. In a study from Switzerland focusing on the integration of skilled female marriage migrants from Latin America, the Middle East and South-eastern Europe, Riaño highlights that these women

often face the undervaluing of their credentials and work experience, which results in their underemployment (Riaño 2012).

3.4. SUMMARY

- Most of the existing studies on family migration and integration focus on labour market participation, and to a certain extent educational achievements. Concerning the three dimensions of integration – that is, system integration, social integration and value integration (see “Dimensions of integration”) – there is very little research focusing on the two latter dimensions. Moreover, the studies identified in this report focus on marriage migration, while hardly any focus on children or other family members.
- We have identified three main streams of literature about family migration and integration: First, there are studies comparing the integration of family migrants to other admission categories. These are mostly based on quantitative data, and focus on integration outcome in terms of labour market participation and educational achievements. Second, there is a stream of literature focusing on intra-ethnic marriages between a second-generation immigrant and a spouse from their parents’ country of origin. Finally, there are also some case studies investigating challenges and opportunities for integration for other family migrants, for example intra-European migrants and mixed marriages between a native and a third country national.
- In studies of labour market participation across admission categories, the performance of family migrants is often compared to that of labour migrants as well as refugees. Quantitative analyses reveal lower labour market participation and educational achievements for family migrants than for labour migrants. However, results vary greatly between different sub-groups of family migrants. For example, some studies from Southern Europe (Sorana 2016; Vickstrom and González-Ferrer 2016) show that migrants arriving through family formation with a native-born sponsor have lower rates of labour market participation than those reunifying with another migrant. A Norwegian study, however, finds the opposite pattern (Bratsberg et al. 2017). Thus, different studies point in different directions and it is difficult to establish whether these are real national differences or a result of different data and methods.
- Moreover, gender, educational level, country of origin and length of stay are crucial factors explaining different levels of labour market participation. For example, male marriage migrants have significantly higher rates of labour market participation than female marriage migrants. Across countries, the majority of family migrants are women, and women’s generally lower labour market participation contributes to explaining the lower levels of labour market participation among family migrants.
- Most studies show that labour market participation improves over time. However, two recent Scandinavian studies (Bratsberg et al. 2017; Jakobsen and Liversage 2017) find that the initial increase in family migrants’ labour market participation halts and may eventually reverse in the long run. This seems to be a result of precarious, low-skilled work and insecure labour market status on the one hand, combined with access to welfare benefits that reduce labour incentives on the other hand.

- There is considerable evidence of underutilisation of highly qualified family migrants. Family migrants experience barriers to labour market participation such as discrimination and lack of recognition of their education and skills. In the Norwegian context, for example, most family migrants lack access to the comprehensive integration programs that are in place for refugees and remain reliant on their spouses for integration purposes. Research indicates that in order to promote integration, policy-makers should take measures to prevent the de-skilling and unwanted domesticity experienced by many female family migrants.
- There has been considerable scholarly interest in studying marriage between second-generation immigrants in Europe and spouses from their parents' country of origin. For example, the marriage patterns of Turks in Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands, Pakistani and Indians in the UK, and Pakistanis in Norway have been subject to much attention. On the one hand, this research is a part of a more than 50-year-long scholarly interest in intermarriage and integration where marriage patterns have been subject to great attention because they are viewed as a test case for revealing societal structures and social boundaries. On the other hand, the scholarly interest in intra-ethnic transnational marriages may also mirror a tendency among policy-makers in Europe to understand such marriages as a barrier to integration, and intermarriage as the litmus test of minorities' assimilation. Given the attention drawn to this particular group of family migrants, it is worth noting that they constitute only a small share of family migrant inflows. In Norway, for example, this group of family migrants counts for less than 200 persons every year, or less than four per cent of marriage migrants over the past three decades. Spouses of Norwegian citizens with no migrant background constitute the majority of marriage migrants, counting for 55 per cent, while 42 per cent are married to a migrant (Dzamarija and Sandnes 2016: 2, 11, 4).
- Empirical studies of intra-ethnic transnational marriages and integration mostly focus on labour market integration. A notable exception is a recent study of integration among British Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshi investigating six dimensions of integration (Charsley et al. 2016a). Findings from studies of labour market participation, however, point in somewhat different directions and it may be difficult to establish whether different findings are a result of different methods and measures or real differences across groups and national contexts.
- Gender and family norms are prominent issues in studies of intra-ethnic transnational marriages. These marriages are commonly expected to be more traditional concerning gender norms than intermarriages and marriages between natives. Some studies confirm such assumptions, while other show that there may be conflict and diverging opinions among different family members and that transnational marriages may not easily fall into the assumptions of traditional gender norms.

4. THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY MIGRATION REGULATIONS

During the past ten years, there has been quite some scholarly interest in the regulation of family migration. Some publications trace the historical development of national regulations, while most tend to focus on the range of restrictive measures introduced more recently, such as the Danish attachment requirement, income requirements and pre-entry language and integration requirements. Most attention has been drawn to the most restrictive regimes, such as Denmark, the UK and the Netherlands. Less is written about the comparatively least restrictive regimes such as Portugal and, until recently, Sweden.²¹ According to our investigations, most publications analyse national and European laws and regulations, case law, policies and political arguments for the introduction of new measures. Scholars are also preoccupied with the aims and consequences of policies, and critically discuss the discursive and material effects of regulations for individuals, groups and for the number of migrants admitted as family migrants. Studies of the regulation of family migration tend to focus on pre-entry requirements directed specifically at the admission category of family migrants. It must be noted, however, that general immigration rules and processes affect all migrants, family migrants included. And with regard to integration effects, post-entry regulations such as integration policies and the regulation of access to economic, political and social rights may indeed be more important for integration than pre-entry immigration regulations.

Many restrictive immigration regulations have been put into effect relatively recently, and in many European countries there are on-going processes of introducing new restrictive measures, even though the consequences of policy measures are not known. So far, only a few studies have sought to empirically investigate and measure the material effects of regulations. Moreover, only very few recent studies specifically look at the effects that regulations have on the societal integration of family migrants and their families. Therefore, we will include studies illuminating the effects of family migration regulations, regardless of whether they focus explicitly on integration effects, in order to answer the following question: *What can existing research reveal about the consequences that regulations of family migration have on migrants' short and long term integration process?* In the following, we present main findings from existing research. First, we present findings from comparative studies. Thereafter, studies are presented country by country. Our main focus is on Norwegian and other European studies, but some particularly relevant findings from the North American and Australian context are also included.

4.1. KEY COMPARATIVE STUDIES

4.1.1. IMPACIM: THE IMPACT OF RESTRICTIONS AND ENTITLEMENTS ON THE INTEGRATION OF FAMILY MIGRANTS

The IMPACIM project aimed to explore the impact of admission criteria on the integration of third country national family migrants in the European Union (Oliver and Spencer 2013), more specifically Germany (Lüken-Klaßen and Heckmann 2013), the Netherlands (Entzinger et al. 2013), Spain (Brey and Stanek 2013) and the UK (Jayaweera 2013; Oliver 2013a; Oliver

²¹ In the wake of the refugee crisis in 2015, Sweden decided to temporarily bring asylum policies to the EU minimum (see Bech et al. 2017: 16-7).

and Jayaweera 2013). These countries have imposed restrictive conditions of stay, relating to jobs, services, benefits and voting, and the project has investigated the effects of these conditions on the economic, social, cultural and political integration of family migrants. The IMPACIM project was conducted between 2012–13 and coordinated by the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society at the University of Oxford (COMPAS). The study combined both existing quantitative data and original qualitative data in order to understand family migrants' integration and, specifically, the impacts of restrictive conditions of stay on their integration.

A literature review from the IMPACIM project concludes that there is not much research focusing on the integration of family migrants, and even less on how regulations and entitlements affect integration (Heckmann and Lüken-Klaßen 2013). The project's final report concludes that employment rates for family migrants are generally low, and in particular for women. However, when controlling for important factors such as gender and length of residence, family migrants' labour market outcomes are not significantly different from many other migrants. Findings also show that employed family migrants tend to work far below their educational level due to non-recognition of foreign diplomas, lack of networks, an insufficient knowledge of the native language, and discrimination. Access to free-of-charge language courses, as in Germany, facilitates family migrants' labour market participation. Cuts in integration programs and expensive language courses, which family migrants face in the Netherlands and the UK, negatively impact on integration and may prove costly in the long term. A common concern in all four countries is the negative effect of the fact that spouses' continued residency relies on their relationship to the sponsor. These regulations, combined with the lack of access to welfare support, have detrimental effects on families and leave migrant spouses vulnerable to exploitation (Oliver 2013b: 87-93). With regard to integration effects, the final report focuses primarily on post-entry regulations such as access to welfare, language courses and conditions for permanent residence permits. Even though pre-entry regulations are described and discussed (Oliver 2013b: 36-9), the conclusions drawn do not relate to the integration effect of pre-entry regulations.

FAMILY REUNIFICATION: A BARRIER OR FACILITATOR OF INTEGRATION

The project "Family Reunification: a barrier or facilitator of integration" (Final report: Strik et al. 2013) compared regulations in Austria, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United Kingdom combining quantitative and qualitative data. The project was coordinated by the Immigrant Council of Ireland and funded by the Integration Fund Community Actions Programme. The study is limited to four main types of requirements: income, integration, age and housing. It provides a detailed overview of the specific regulations in place in each country, and EU regulations and case law. It also outlines main policy arguments and assumptions underpinning policy changes.

The findings of this project, as outlined in the final report, show that the number of applications and granted permits for family reunification have dropped dramatically during the past years, varying between the countries studied from one-third to more than half. In Austria, Germany and the Netherlands falling numbers of family migrants are closely related to the introduction of restrictive regulations. In Ireland and Portugal, on the other hand, the decline in numbers of family migrants is partly explained by national economic contraction (Strik et al. 2013: 107). Income requirements affect people differently on the basis of age, gender and ethnicity. Women, ethnic minorities and young people are most heavily affected

due to their more marginal position in the labour market. In the Netherlands, for instance, applications with female sponsors of Turkish background have dropped by 57 per cent, while with male sponsors of Dutch background it dropped only by 22 per cent (WODC 2009 (in Dutch) quoted in Strik et al. 2013: 94). Pre-entry integration tests also have selective effects: Poorly educated people, illiterate people, people who speak a mother tongue with another alphabet and older people fail more frequently and are thus prevented from reuniting with their families. Also, people who fear or expect to fail will less frequently attempt to pass the test, or even sign up for the tests in the first place. After requirements were raised, more candidates have higher education. The selective and disproportionate effect of income requirements and pre-entry tests are, according to the researchers, most likely intended by policy-makers (Strik et al. 2013).

The report also shows that member states learn from other national policies by copying them, at least as far as they imply restrictions. Across countries, it has become more difficult to gain permanent residence permits. The result is that the detrimental effects of the dependent and insecure residence status of marriage migrants will last for longer. Moreover, the way immigration procedures are organised is also important in order to understand family migration regulations. Migrants are required to apply and wait in home country, or, if there is no embassy in their home state, travel to the nearest Foreign Mission Station. In some cases, this involves travelling long distances and through war zones. Procedures related to the verification of relationships, for example, may also hinder access to family migration. Moreover, such procedures cause delays, frustration and many applicants feel treated with suspicion. However, it is important to note that stricter regulations are not imposed on all groups: Turkish nationals are granted more protection due to an EU treaty with Turkey. Moreover, highly skilled workers and their family members have gained a more privileged position (Strik et al. 2013).

According to this report, restrictive rules create long-term separation, make family migration costly, frustrate people and further tensions between the spouses and families. Faced with restrictive immigration policies, family migrants and their family members develop a range of strategies: 1) They give up and remain separated, sometimes splitting up for good; 2) They reunite in the country of the family member(s); 3) they become irregular migrants; 4) they keep on trying to meet the requirements at any cost; or 5) if the sponsor is a citizen, they can move to another member state in order to apply for their mobility rights. Those who finally meet requirements after all may have to give up better opportunities in the labour market through education. Those who move to another member state give up social networks and stable living conditions that could have smoothed integration (Strik et al. 2013).

In the final part of the report, the authors discuss to what extent the family reunification rules promoted or hindered the integration of sponsors and their families. They conclude that this is a very difficult issue to measure due to the fact that integration is a long-term process determined by many other factors, such as the national economy, discrimination in the labour market, educational policies and the personal background of family migrants. Nevertheless, they argue that restrictive measures primarily function to exclude people from access to family life and benefits. Exclusion does not promote integration. Rather, family members are separated and children are badly affected. They grow up with only one parent and their language learning and integration process are delayed. Most importantly for the purpose of this literature review, the authors conclude that “restrictive measures on the

admission and residence of family members *have not furthered integration* and in many cases may have actually impeded it” [...] and these conclusions contrast with the objective of integration, formally used by governments to introduce restrictive admission rules” (Strik et al. 2013: 24 our emphasis).

4.1.2. PRE-ENTRY LANGUAGE AND INTEGRATION TESTS

Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, the UK and France are among the European countries that have introduced pre-entry language and integration tests as requirements for family migration. There are several studies outlining and analysing these requirements in a comparative perspective (Berglund et al. 2012; Bocker and Strik 2011; Goodman 2011; Groenendijk 2011; Scholten et al. 2012; Strik et al. 2013). While the main objective of pre-entry integration tests, according to policy-makers across Europe, is to create better incentives and conditions for integration, the existing research suggests that these measures primarily serve to exclude certain groups of migrants and, thereby, to reshape and discourage immigration flows (Goodman 2011; Groenendijk 2011; Scholten et al. 2012; Strik et al. 2013). A comparative study of language and integration tests for immigration, permanent residence permit and/or naturalisation concludes that “notwithstanding the official aim of facilitating migrants’ integration into host societies, language and integration requirements prevent migrants from accessing a more secure residence status or naturalisation and hence serve as a mean for prolonging their exclusion” (van Oers et al. 2010: 325).

In the article “Pre-departure Integration Strategies in the European Union: Integration or Immigration Policy?” Kees Groenendijk (2011) analyses the political debates, legal constraints and the effects of language requirements for family migrants across European countries. With regard to effects, there is an observed correlation between the introduction of these restrictive measures and a considerable short-term decrease in the number of family migration visas granted. Young and more educated persons both take and pass the test more frequently than older and less educated persons. On the one hand, pre-entry language courses appear to stimulate continued language training, create opportunities for building useful social relations and networks, and strengthen the self-confidence of those who pass. On the other hand, the language skills of those passing the test are only marginally better than those who were not required to take it. For applicants and their families, these tests are stressful, time-consuming and expensive. People pay large amounts of money in order to attend courses, and many have to quit their job in order to have time for language training. Moreover, restrictive regulations have severe consequences for parents and children, because it causes long-term family separation. For those who eventually pass the test and are granted a visa, the long-lasting application process disrupts language training and may delay the integration process of family migrants. On the basis of these results, the author questions the proportionality of requirements and recommends serious cost-benefit analyses of these immigration and integration measures (Groenendijk 2011).

In a report from the research project “Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration (PROSINT)” Scholten et al. (2012) analyse the impact of pre-entry tests integration tests in Europe. In line with Groenendijk, they conclude that “integration effects appear modest at best”. Some positive effects are found with regard to practical knowledge of host societies, motivation, preparation for migration as well as some modest improvements in language competences. From the perspective of migrants, the tests are commonly seen as

burdensome, paternalistic and ritualistic more than useful. However, test requirements have had significant effects on immigration as the number of visa applications and granted visas has dropped considerably. As a result, migrants adopt and tend to find other routes for migration and, on a more long-term basis, the number of visas has increased again. In all countries, there is a lack of clear data on integration effects of pre-entry testing. Thus, it is difficult to provide clear evidence of integration effects due not only to the lack of data but also to some extent the lack of effort to evaluate these policy measures (Scholten et al. 2012).

4.2. NATIONAL CASE STUDIES

4.2.1. NORWAY – INCOME REQUIREMENT

Helga Eggebø (2010; 2012; 2013a; b) and Anne Staver (2013; 2014; 2015) have published extensively on the regulation of family migration to Norway. Their work traces policy developments and analyses political arguments for the introduction of a high-income requirement for family migration. They find that the assumed dependency and economic burdens on welfare budgets caused by family migrants, as well as concerns about integration, serve as the main arguments for new regulations on family migration (see also Bech et al. 2017 for a comparison of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish family migration regulations; Eggebø 2010; Staver 2015). In 2008, Norway introduced a high income requirement for family migration (NOU 2011: 7: 74). The required level of income is the highest in Europe and has been raised several times since its introduction.²² The income requirement caused a marked increase in the number of rejected applications and, moreover, the rejection rate is significantly higher for applications with female sponsors and for applicants from Somalia and Afghanistan, as compared to male sponsors and applicants from Thailand, Russia and the Philippines (Eggebø 2013b: 20-2). These differences are likely to be related to the fact that women and ethnic minorities on average earn significantly less than men of majority background. Eggebø has also investigated the effects of regulations and application processes from the perspective of marriage migrants and their families. She found that the application process caused stress, fear of rejection, and a feeling of being treated unjustly by the state. Sponsors struggled to meet the income requirement and avoid and counter suspicion of forced marriages and marriages of convenience. For Norwegian-born sponsors with no previous experience with immigration authorities, the hardship of application processes and requirements were highly surprising and made some lose their trust in the Norwegian state (Eggebø 2013a). However, Eggebø and Staver's work does not include any direct assessment of the integration effects of family migration regulations. There are, however, a few reports investigating or evaluating specific family migration regulation measures (e.g. Bratsberg and Raaum 2010; Econ Pöyry 2010; Lidén 2005; Lidén et al. 2015).²³

²² In 2017, the Norwegian requirement was an annual income of 26,500 Euros, while in the UK it is 21,000 Euros. In the UK, however, the requirement is raised by 4,300 Euros for the first child and 2,700 for additional children. Thus, the UK requirement would be higher than the Norwegian one for sponsoring a partner and two children. Moreover, the UK requirement is probably the highest relative to income levels.

²³ Quite a few Master's theses from the Norwegian context have focused on binational marriage or the regulation of family migration (e.g. Berg 2011; Chaudhry 2015; Egeland 2001; Finsæther 2008; Ghauri 2008; Grimen 2015; Grytting 2000; Haddeland 2015; Hagesæther 2004; Halvorsen 2008; Horsbøl 2008; Klausen 2013;

In 2010, Bratsberg et al. (2010) published a study of the labour market effects of a previously introduced income requirement. The study was commissioned by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration and based on register data from 1997–2007 on persons who had applied for asylum and been granted a residence permit on humanitarian grounds, as opposed to refugee status. From 2003, this group had to fulfil an income requirement. The results showed that the income requirement had led to a marked decrease in the number of applications for family reunification, as well as a decrease in the number of approved permits. Moreover, there were some differences in results according to the sponsors' gender. With regard to labour market participation, the income requirement caused higher labour market participation and salaries among this group of migrants. The authors conclude that the income requirement had served as a clear incentive for work. Nevertheless, they also identified factors limiting work incentives, such as access to welfare benefits, lack of knowledge about the requirement, possibilities for waiving the requirement, and lack of job opportunities. Finally, the authors highlight that the study cannot establish the long-term effects of the income requirement. This study identifies two effects of the income requirement: 1) On the one hand, it has caused a short-term increase in labour market participation for the affected group of sponsors. 2) On the other, it has caused a reduced number of applications and higher number of rejections that are likely to cause family separation and stress on the families that are unable to fulfil the requirements for family migration. In 2018, Bratsberg et al are conducting a new study of the effects of the income requirement, also commissioned by the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration.

There has been substantial academic interest in evaluating integration policies in Norway (see for example Blom and Enes 2015; Djuve et al. 2011; Djuve and Kavli 2015; Enes 2014). Refugees, people with residence permits on humanitarian grounds, and their families, have the right and duty to participate in a comprehensive integration program. Moreover, family migrants have the right and obligation to participate in language and integration courses after arriving in Norway. Due to the scope of this report, we do not review literature on the effect of integration policies more generally, even though some of these studies also contain some relevant information about marriage migrants in Norway (see for instance Hernes and Tronstad 2014; PROBA 2012; Rotger 2011; Thorshaug et al. 2009).

4.2.2. UNITED KINGDOM (UK) - INCOME REQUIREMENT AND REGULATIONS EFFECTS ON FAMILIES

Helena Wray has published extensively about the regulation of marriage migration to the UK. She has written about the historical and more recent policy developments and investigated the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, in particular with regard to ethnicity and gender, embedded in immigration regulations (Wray 2006a; b; 2008; 2011; 2015; Wray et al. 2014).

In July 2012, the British government, a Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition, introduced a new set of regulations including a sharp increase in the income requirement for family migration. A minimum income of 21,000 Euros (£18,600) is required for sponsoring a family member. Since its introduction, several reports and scholarly articles have discussed the political arguments and effects of the income requirement (Sirriyeh 2015; The Migration Observatory 2016; Wray et al. 2015).

Kruse 2006; Landa 2016; Lein 2015; Nore 2008; Nygaard 2005; Paszek 2013; Pervaiz 2003; Sahal 2015; Shah 2008; Solstad 2011; Sveen 2016; Thunem 2007)

A report by The Migration Observatory briefly discusses the political arguments for the requirements and relevant court rulings. According to this report, 40 per cent of British citizens working full-time or part-time earned less than the income requirement and would not have been able to sponsor a family member. Government estimates show that between 13,600 and 17,800 people annually will be prevented from coming to the UK as a result of the income requirement. Moreover, different groups of people are affected differently. For example, women, migrants and people living in the north of England have lower average income than men, the British-born population and persons living in London (The Migration Observatory 2016). In a journal article discussing the political arguments for the introduction of the income requirement, Ala Sirriyeh concludes that the income requirement, in combination with other stipulations such as English language requirements, has caused a sharp rise in the number of rejected applications (Sirriyeh 2015).

In a recent report published by the Children's Commissioner for England, Wray et al. (2015) have reviewed the income requirement in order to investigate its impact on children. This report estimates that at least 15,000 children have been affected by changes to the financial requirements of the Immigration Rules implemented in 2012. According to this report, the income requirement affects British citizens and long-term residents who have started families with foreigners from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) and who wish to live in the UK. The affected children have sleeping problems, eating problems, show negative behaviour and social withdrawal, and suffer from guilt, distress and anxiety as a result of separation from a parent. This is compounded by the overall stress, anxiety and practical difficulties faced by the family unit, such as economic problems, long working hours in order to meet the income requirement, and the permanent break-up of families (Wray et al. 2015: 15, 37-58). The report also points out the fact that the income requirement would not be met by almost half of the British population, and that British citizens who have lived and worked abroad are particularly penalised and find it very difficult to return to the UK. Based on their investigations, the authors argue that the income requirement does not meet its stated policy aims: it does not reduce welfare dependency and does not promote integration. Finally, the regulations on family migration fail to consider and safeguard the best interests of children (Wray et al. 2015: 15).

The detrimental effects of immigration regulations on families and children are also documented in a recent research project, "Deportability and the family" (2017), conducted by Melanie Griffiths and Candice Morgan. They have followed 30 families consisting of foreign national men with irregular or precarious immigration status, and their British or EEA-national partners and children. These couples/migrants do not fall into the category of family migration, as the foreign partner's immigration status is irregular or precarious, and they are often unable to regularise their immigration status through marriage, due to a series of immigration requirements and restrictions. The findings from the project, documenting the effects of family separation for mixed families, are highly relevant to research on marriage migration in an area where more and more mixed/binational families are separated by a set of immigration regulations. The research project documents how insecurity and separation harm the whole family, including British citizens. Griffiths and Morgan find that citizens' partners are burdened with heavy financial and emotional responsibilities. They work multiple jobs and long hours and the financial burdens make mothers sacrifice maternity leave and breast-feeding. Irregular immigration status creates an extreme dependency on partners. Male interviewees feel emasculated because they are prevented from providing for and cannot protect their partners (Griffiths and Morgan 2017).

This parallels the findings of studies of marriage migrants, who also depend heavily on their partners due to immigration regulations and their status as newcomers (see for example Anthias et al. 2013b: 126-7; Charsley and Liversage 2015; Charsley 2005a). Immigration-based separation from parents causes emotional, behavioural and educational harm and can diminish children's sense of Britishness. Citizens' feelings of membership are undermined (Griffiths and Morgan 2017).

4.2.3. DENMARK – ATTACHMENT REQUIREMENT AND 24-YEAR RULE

Since the beginning of the 2000s, Denmark has introduced a series of restrictive regulations on family migration. The regulations now include a 24-year lower age requirement for marriage migration, the so-called "attachment requirement", language qualifications, employment records and a financial guarantee, amongst others. According to Bech et al., Denmark now constitutes the "toughest family-migration rule package in force among Western democracies today" (Bech et al. 2017: 6), and new restrictive measures are being launched regularly. Regulations have been questioned by scholars from a legal and moral perspective (see for example Adamo 2016), led to political mobilisation and protest (Bissenbakker et al. 2012), and has pushed many couples to migrate to other European countries, in particular Sweden (Jensen 2014; Wagner 2015), in order to rely on EU free movement rules for family migration.

Some academic work has been published on the effects of the Danish family migration rules. A report from 2009 (Schmidt et al.) evaluated the effects of several changes in Danish family migration regulations, primarily the 24-year rule and the attachment requirement. The report finds that the regulations have led to a marked reduction in the number of successful applications among young spouses. Consequently, families are forced to continue living in different countries, and family separation is particularly hard for children (Schmidt et al. 2009) (see also Liversage 2009; 2015 about family separation due to Danish immigration regulations).

Many of the couples who had their applications rejected by immigration authorities moved to Sweden temporarily or permanently, in order to exercise their freedom of movement according to EU regulations. With regard to its stated aims to promote integration, regulations seem to have had no effect on the number of people who have completed higher education, no effect on labour market participation, and no effect on the propensity for ethnic minority persons to marry persons of ethnic majority background. However, regulations have had an effect on marriage patterns among ethnic minority Danes' decisions on when to marry. This group now marry later, and fewer marry a person from their parents' country of origin (Schmidt et al. 2009). This finding is also confirmed in more recent publications showing that there is a reduced tendency for the second generation to marry transnationally under restrictive family immigration policies in Denmark, as well as in other European countries (Carol et al. 2014; Danckert and Jakobsen 2014; Schultz-Nielsen and Tranæs 2009).

A book published in Danish, "Ægteskab og migration: Konsekvenser af de danske familiesammenføringsregler 2002-2012" ["Marriage and migration: Consequences of the Danish regulations on family reunification 2002–2012"], investigates the consequences of Danish regulations on family migration (Liversage and Rytter 2014). The first part of the book focuses on policy developments and political arguments. The second part investigates the regulations' effects on partner choice and marriage patterns. The third part looks at

adaptation strategies to the requirements, such as moving to Sweden. With regard to integration effects, the regulations on family migration seem not to have had any effect on ethnic minority Danes' tendency to complete higher education. Rather, the increase in educational attainment among this group is a general tendency unrelated to regulations (Danckert and Jakobsen 2014). Moreover, regulations on family migration do not seem to have had any effect on the arriving family migrants' integration into the labour market. The rules have, however, led to a decreased number of family migrants and has consequently changed the composition of migrants arriving in Denmark: A reduced number of migrants from non-Western countries have arrived in Denmark after the introduction of the stricter rules on family migration, and the macro-level consequences are higher labour market participation among migrants in Denmark (Larsen and Lauritzen 2014).

In a recent article, "Family Life Across Borders: Strategies and Obstacles to Integration" (2015), Rikke Wagner investigates the consequences of restrictive family migration policies on the economic, sociocultural, and political integration of transnational couples. Based on a qualitative study of Danish-international couples who have used their freedom of movement in the EU to reunite in Sweden, Wagner investigates strategies, opportunities and barriers to integration. While restrictive national policies can be a barrier to integration, EU law can support the economic, sociocultural and political integration of migrants and citizens within EU member states. Some Danish-international couples integrate into Swedish society. Some integrate economically in Denmark, where unemployment rates are lower, while residing in Sweden. For some, the more favourable regulations in Sweden are a strong incentive for both spouses to integrate in Sweden and distance themselves from Denmark. For others, integration in Sweden is a stepping-stone to be able to move back to Denmark. On the basis of this study, Wagner proposes "multidimensional analytics of integration beyond the nation-state" (Wagner 2015: 1509), and contribute to the emerging scholarship conceptualising family migration and integration (see for example Charsley et al. 2016b).

Danish regulations on family migration have been heavily criticised for targeting ethnic minorities. Based on qualitative interviews with young people of immigrant background, Garbi Schmidt find that family migration regulations are perceived as exclusionary and unjust measures reproducing stigma, and consequently lead to resentment and anger among ethnic minority Danes (Schmidt 2014).

Even though regulations primarily target ethnic minorities in Denmark, they certainly also have consequences for ethnic Danes who marry a third country national. Jensen and Fernandez (2014) argue that the effect on ethnic Danes is an unintended consequence, and show that that rules have indeed been modified several times in order to favour the family life of ethnic Danes. One such modification was the introduction of the 26-year rule, stating that one may be exempted from the attachment requirement if one had been a Danish citizen for at least 26 years. However, this rule was judged to be unlawfully discriminatory by the European court of Human Rights in 2016 (*Biao vs. Denmark*, application no. 38590/10).²⁴ Recently, according to the Danish media *Avisen DK* (Ritzau 2018), the government announced a plan to replace the attachment requirement with a new restrictive set of regulations including language requirements, labour market participation and a ban on family migration for people living in poor neighbourhoods with a low level of labour market participation. A central motivation for altering the admission criteria is a precise wish to

²⁴ https://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/3238ECC8-2622-4C7F-9983-EFA2B71E9D92/0/Biao_dommen_af_24_maj_2016.pdf

better ensure the ability of ethnic Danes who have been living and working abroad to bring spouses back with them to Denmark.

4.2.4. THE NETHERLANDS – PRE-ENTRY REQUIREMENTS FOR FAMILY MIGRATION

Sarah van Walsum (2008) has studied the historical development of regulations on family migration to the Netherlands. In her work, she has documented how these regulations create mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion on the basis of gender and race. Saskia Bonjour (2015; 2010; 2013; 2013) and Betty de Hart (2006; 2007; 2009; 2015; 2017) have also published extensively on the legal regulation of family migration to the Netherlands and in the EU. Furthermore, the consequences of Dutch regulations for family migration are analysed and discussed in several comparative reports; see “Key Comparative studies”. Most studies on the effects of regulation of family migration to the Netherlands seem to focus on the pre-entry integration and language requirements. A main finding is that the introduction of pre-entry tests has led to a marked decrease in the number of residence permits for family migrants.

A Dutch language publication quoted in a recent OECD report concludes that passing the Dutch civic integration exam had a significant positive effect on the probability of recent migrants to find employment in the Netherlands. Moreover, the positive effects appear stronger for migrants with a lower level of education than for those with a high education level. No significant effects were found for long-standing residents, and measures are more effective at early stages of the integration process (Witvliet et al quoted in OECD 2017). A report published by Human Rights Watch, on the other hand, argues that that pre-entry integration tests actually impedes integration and is in effect discrimination in the name of integration (Human Rights Watch 2008).

The Dutch national report from the IMPACIM project concludes that there is little research on the effect of family migration regulations. Existing evidence shows that for many individuals and families, migration has been postponed or even cancelled altogether as a result of the stricter admission rules (Entzinger et al. 2013). This is confirmed by a study of Turkish marriage migration to the Netherlands showing that restrictions resulted in either temporary irregular immigration and postponement, or anticipation, i.e. migrating before the changes in policy take effect (ter Wal et al. 2008). At a macro-level it has been observed that the number of family migrants have gone down, and that on average the level of education of those who do come has gone up. For family migrants arriving in the Netherlands, however, it remains difficult to integrate due to prolonged dependence on the sponsor and many other barriers, especially when trying to take up employment. Despite policy-makers’ stated aim to promote labour market participation, specific policies that encourage this have recently been discontinued (Entzinger et al. 2013).

Leen Sterckx (2015) has conducted a qualitative study of integration among children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants marrying a person from their parent’s home country. Sterckx notes that from a policy perspective, the regulation of family migration has been highly successful in the sense a sharp decline in family migration from Turkey and Morocco has occurred. However, the level of intermarriage with native Dutch spouses has remained unchanged (Sterckx 2015).

4.2.5. GERMANY – LANGUAGE TESTS FOR FAMILY MIGRATION

Laura Block has written extensively about policy developments and the justification and implementation of family migration regulations in Germany, as well as comparing it to other European countries. She argues that the right to family migration is increasingly stratified on the basis of ideas about membership (Block 2012; 2014a; b; Block and Bonjour 2013). The consequences of German regulations on family migration are analysed and discussed in several comparative reports, see “Key Comparative studies”. Most studies on the effects of the regulation of family migration to Germany seem to focus on the pre-entry integration and language requirements (see for example Gutekunst 2015a; Neuwahl 2014) as well as post-entry access to language training and welfare (Lüken-Klaßen and Heckmann 2013). A main finding is that the introduction of pre-entry tests has led to a short-term decrease in the number of visas for family migrants. As we have seen, these comparative studies find that the integration effects of regulations are modest, at best. However, one study suggests that those arriving after the introduction of pre-arrival language requirements in 2007 had considerably stronger German language abilities than those arriving before, and that a large share of migrants considered the test useful, while some considered it a burden (Büttner and Stichs quoted in OECD 2017: 157). Better language competencies among the arriving family migrants after 2007 may be due to the selective effects of these measures. As Miriam Gutekunst (2015b) argues in a recent article, “language certificate leads above all to the hierarchisation of marriage migrants and even to the exclusion of certain candidates, depending on their educational background and financial means”. Based on a case study of Moroccan migrants to Germany, Gutekunst questions the integration effect of restrictive policies and argues that the actual consequences are related to border control. In a recent study of Syrian refugees arriving in Germany in 2015, the author highlights the importance of family reunification for refugees’ ability to integrate. Robinson argues that “family reunification and full refugee protection appeared to be driving forces behind the refugees’ abilities to integrate more effectively into mainstream Germany, and supported their emotional wellbeing” (Robinson 2017).

4.2.6. OTHER OECD-COUNTRIES – THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY SEPARATION

Many studies of refugees have highlighted that migration has profound effects on families (see for example McCleary 2017). Family separation is indeed a key aspect of migration (Rousseau et al. 2001), and long waiting periods for family reunification are among the main challenges that refugees face during resettlement (Jani 2017; see for example Robinson 2017; Stewart et al. 2015). Moreover, several existing studies document the detrimental effects of family separation and the deportation of family members (see Gubernskaya and Dreby 2017 for an overview).

A comparative study of Senegalese couples in France, Spain and Italy shows that separation is often a long-lasting situation for these couples (Baizán et al. 2014). Another study from France shows how immigration policy makes it difficult for families to live together. This situation tears family bonds apart but also motivates people to reconstruct kinship and family bonds across borders (Lo 2015). A recent Canadian study has investigated the effects of recently introduced restrictions on family reunification, focusing on the effects of the closing down of the family reunification program that allowed immigrants and citizens to sponsor parents and grandparents. The study is based on interviews with migrant families and reveals that being prohibited from Canada’s family reunification program is a major

barrier to full integration. The authors argue that the profound human costs to limiting family reunification affect women disproportionately (Bragg and Wong 2016). A US study from 2017 also documents the severe negative effects of family separation. Historically, the United States has admitted a high proportion of family migrants and allowed for a broad range of family members. But recent immigration policy changes have increased the number of undocumented migrants and mixed-status families, and have prolonged periods of family separation. Family separation and fear of deportation cause severe psychological distress and leave children without economic and social support (see also Gulbas et al. 2016 on this issue; Zayas 2015; Zayas et al. 2015). Immigrants rely on family networks for employment, housing, transportation, informal financial services, schooling, childcare, and old age care. The authors argue that in the US context, where there is nearly no federal support for immigrants' integration and limited welfare policies, family unity is critical for promoting immigrant integration, social and economic well-being (Gubernskaya and Dreby 2017: 417).

In a recently published article, Miller et al. (2018) have investigated the effects of family separation on refugees' mental health. According to the authors, previous research on refugee's mental health has primarily focused on pre-migration experiences and trauma. Combining quantitative and qualitative data, the article investigates the relative importance of family separation on mental health compared to other traumas. In the qualitative interviews, the authors "were struck by the frequency, poignancy, and intensity of refugee's discussions of their separation from family members and its deep impact on their daily lives and well-being" (Miller et al. 2018: 28). The quantitative data showed that there is a strong negative association between family separation and mental health. Relative to 26 other types of trauma, family separation and physical assault were the only two traumatic experiences that explained additional variance in all three measures of mental health. On the basis of this study, the authors conclude that the detrimental effects of family separation may impede newcomer integration in US society (Miller et al. 2018).

Miller et al.'s recent study cites a Canadian research project on refugees' mental health conducted two decades earlier. In the late 1990s, a Canadian research team investigated the impact of immigration policies on the mental health of refugees. The survey conducted had a particular focus on the influence of family separation (Moreau et al (French language reference) quoted in Rousseau et al. 2001). Findings from the project show that family plays a central role in processing war trauma, and that the presence of family has the possibility to transform traumatic experiences into strength and the rebuilding of meaning and purpose in life. For traumatised people, family separation and solitude "was a screen upon which the sights and sounds of the trauma are projected over and over" (Rousseau et al. 2001). Moreover, the authors suggest that "the fact that there is greater academic interest in trauma than in separation reflects the political dimension of these phenomena: armed conflict and war trauma are seen as the violence of others (Kleinman and Kleinman 1997), whereas an examination of prolonged separation highlights Western administrative violence" (Rousseau et al. 2001: 56).

4.3. SUMMARY AND POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

- Much existing research on the regulation of family migration and integration documents how integration concerns function as political justifications for regulations, and how family migration is portrayed (in media and in policy debates

and proposals) as a barrier to integration. This research also critically interrogates regulations, policy arguments and their underlying assumptions. The fact is that there is a lack of empirical evidence underpinning the assumptions that a) family migration is a barrier to integration and that b) family immigration regulations may be effective measures for integration. Providing such evidence, however, is a complicated task because integration is a multi-dimensional and long-term process and family immigration regulations are only one factor that may or may not influence migrant's integration. In many countries, there is also lack of available data suited to explore the integration effects of family immigration regulation. Also, many requirements have been introduced in quick succession without any intervening evaluation of their effects. Given the centrality of the integration argument for new restrictions, there is a striking lack of effort to evaluate measures and investigate their effect.

- An indisputable effect of increasingly restrictive measures on family migration, such as income requirements, pre-entry language and integration tests, and age limits, is a fall in the number of applications submitted and a reduction in the number of residence permits granted for family migrants. This decrease causes a relative decrease in this admission category as compared to other admission categories and consequently changes the composition of the migration inflows. As discussed in chapter 3, family migrants have lower average rates of labour market participation and educational achievements compared to labour migrants, although these are often higher than refugees. Even though results vary greatly between different sub-groups of family migrants, a change in the composition of migrant inflows towards a relatively higher share of labour migrants in relation to family migrants is expected to contribute to higher average labour market participation among the migrant population as a whole.
- Another main finding is that regulations have selective effects on admissions within the family category, too. Applicants are affected differently on the basis of their own and the sponsors' gender, country of origin, age and educational level. For example, the family members of female and ethnic minority sponsors are affected more negatively by strict income requirements due to the fact that these groups, on average, have a weaker position in the labour market than native-born men. These selective effects are rarely stated as an explicit aim of introducing stricter regulations. But as Strik, de Hart and Nissen (2013) argue, selective effects are clearly documented and are probably intended by policy-makers, even though they do not figure as explicit arguments for the policy measures.
- Some studies indicate that family migration regulations may have positive effects on some aspects on integration. For example, a Norwegian study of an income requirement show that this regulation is an incentive for migrant sponsors to increased labour market participation and earnings. Also, some evidence suggests that language and civic integration requirements have a positive effect on host country language acquisition and labour market outcomes for family migrations passing the tests. Other studies show that the integration effects of such measures are modest at best, that migrants experience these tests as a burden, and that families are separated as a result of restrictions. Post-migration access to rights, language courses and labour markets in the host country probably have a stronger effect on integration than immigration regulations. Looking at the dimension of value integration, a Danish study (Schmidt 2014) indicates that restrictive family migration

regulations that target the migrant population may cause resentment amongst established ethnic minority groups, and possibly threaten social cohesion. Additionally, the high level of complexity and the frequent changes of the body of regulation may be considered a challenge to a just and transparent rule of law.

- A central aspect of family immigration regulations is that they presuppose and further the family migrants' dependency on the sponsor. In all OECD countries, family migrants are subject to waiting periods before they can achieve a permanent residence permit independent of their relationship to the sponsor. During the waiting period, marriage migrants will lose their residence permit if the couple divorces. This legal dependency adds to the situation of social and economic dependency on the sponsor that marriage migrants commonly face. Research on family migration have documented that this dependency leaves marriage migrants – who are predominantly women – in a subordinated position vis-à-vis the sponsor and that this makes them vulnerable to various forms of abuse, e.g. domestic violence. Furthermore, income requirements for sponsoring family migrants have been introduced in many European countries in order for the family migrant to economically depend on the sponsor and not on welfare. Moreover, some countries, such as the UK, deny family migrants access to public funds during the first years of residence. Furthermore, research from the Canadian context documents that the admission category of family migration – that is essentially a dependent status – furthers and deepens dependency on the sponsor. The dependent residence status and the barriers to labour market participation that family migrants experience is a strong incentive for gender-traditional division of labour among couples. These mechanisms are shown to have long-term negative effects on labour market participation and earnings. To conclude, research shows that family migration regulations create and promote different forms of dependency (legal, economic, social, and so on) that function as barriers to integration.
- One may question whether pre-entry requirements for family migration have any positive effect on integration for those affected. On the one hand, requirements for family migration, such as income requirements, may be an incentive for the sponsors' labour market participation. But if pre-entry income requirements push sponsors to prioritise short-term income from low-skilled jobs at the expense of human capital investments, such income requirements may in fact, contrary to their aims, contribute to reducing earnings and labour market participation in the long run. Moreover, it is the post-entry access to integration programs, language training, welfare benefits and services, education and the labour market that probably have the most significant effects on integration. Access to the labour market and to mechanisms to improve qualifications is essential. Among highly qualified family migrants there is also evidence of widespread under-employment. Making use of this unused labour supply would certainly benefit the individual migrant in terms of economic and social integration, as well as being a contribution to the national economy.
- Stricter regulations that increasingly make family migration unattainable will unavoidably lead to family separation. For example, increased income requirements in Norway and the UK have led to reduced numbers of residence permits granted on

the basis of family migration, as well as an increase in rejected applications. Moreover, migration regulations that are broader and not particularly directed towards family migration, such as procedural barriers, detention and deportation, are also important in order to prevent or facilitate family life for migrants and mixed families. Campaigning organisations and the media have drawn attention to the negative consequences that separation has for couples and children, but so far, there is limited scholarly insight into the consequences that family separation has for families' well-being and integration. Moreover, existing research clearly shows that family separation has harmful effects, such as severe negative effects on refugees' mental health, heavy financial and practical burdens on spouses, distress, anxiety and negative behaviour for children, amongst others. Strict requirements for family migration inevitably cause family separation that has a serious negative impact on families' and children's mental health, well-being and integration.

- Overall, most research on family migration tends to focus on the spouses – that is, marriage migrants and sponsors. Concerning other family members, most importantly children, there is not much research. A notable exception is a Canadian study (Bragg and Wong 2016) that highlights the effects of children's separation from grandparents (until recently, Canada had a liberal program for adults to sponsor parents/grandparents).
- Another consequence of stricter national policies on family migration is the policy transfer effect on other European countries (Block and Bonjour 2013). Member states tend to learn from other national policies by copying them, at least as far as they imply restrictions (Strik et al. 2013).
- An important point of discussion is to what extent evidence from national case studies are transferable to other national contexts. There are significant differences in historical and contemporary migration regimes, welfare state models and labour markets, e.g. unemployment rates, discrimination, and the availability of low-skilled jobs. These factors shape migration flows and integration processes.

5. FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1. DATA AND METHODS

Most existing research on family migration and integration are small-scale and conducted within a relatively short timeframe. We would, therefore, recommend that future research be conducted on a larger scale and over longer periods. There is a need for both quantitative and qualitative data in order to study how the integration process unfolds over time.

Quantitative research alone is limited in its ability to capture the complexity of the factors shaping the social, cultural, political, structural, and identity processes encompassed by a holistic concept of integration (Charsley et al. 2016b: 483).

In addition, most studies described in this literature review share that they have faced huge difficulties in conducting statistical research. Yet, a precise examination of the effects cannot be undertaken without proper and reliable data. In line with Strik et al., we would therefore suggest that statistical registration on family immigration is harmonised at the European level (Strik et al. 2013: 24).

5.2. RESEARCH ON DIFFERENT GROUPS OF FAMILY MIGRANTS

Most existing research on family migration focuses on (heterosexual) married couples. Children and other family members (e.g. parents, adoptees, siblings, foster children, registered partners, same-sex marriages) have so far received less attention. While spouses constitute the majority of family migrants, more than one-quarter of all family migrants moving to the OECD in 2015 were children (OECD 2017: 109). Adoptees, grandparents, foster children and same-sex partners make up a very small part of family migration inflows. Nevertheless, it is important to include the broad variety of family members and relationships into research on family migration in order to fully understand the dynamics of this immigration category.

Within the existing scholarship on marriage migration, there has been a particular interest in intra-ethnic marriages between a person from the second generation and a person from their parents' country of origin (e.g. migrant's and descendants from Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan and India). Given the attention drawn to this particular group of family migrants, it is worth noting that they constitute only a small share of family migrant inflows. We suggest that future research should investigate integration, and more broadly the migratory processes and regulations affecting the family members of, for example, native citizen sponsors, highly skilled labour migrants and intra-European migrants. Family migration regulations, such as age limits, integration tests and income requirements, are aimed at targeting specific problems (e.g. forced marriage, poor labour market participation, welfare dependency) assumed to be prevalent among certain groups. However, the general regulations of family migration widely affect other groups of family migrants whose lives receive less attention among policy-makers and in research.

5.3. DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

As documented throughout this report, existing research on family migration and integration primarily focuses on integration in terms of labour market participation. While labour market participation is an important aspect of integration for individual migrants as well as for policy-makers, limiting focus to this one single dimension of integration is insufficient. Further research should therefore focus on other dimensions of integration, namely system integration (legal status, education, housing, political participation), social integration (networks, civil society participation, sense of community) and value integration (sharing of core values, loyalty to national interests, feeling of belonging, cultural adaptation and identity), and how these dimensions interact (see chapter 2 in this report for a further discussion of the different dimensions of integration).

Charsley et al.'s (2016a) study of marriage migration and integration in the UK is a rare exception from the sole focus on integration in terms of labour market participation. This study is based on both qualitative and quantitative data and investigates six dimensions of integration, namely 1) structural integration, 2) social integration, 3) cultural integration, and 4) civic/political integration as well as 5) identity and 6) transnationalism. One limitation with this study, however, is that it only investigates the integration of inter-ethnic couples of Pakistani and Indian descent. Inspired by Charsley et al.'s study, we would recommend a similar Norwegian study of family migration and integration. Nevertheless, it is important to note that such a study should not be limited to inter-ethnic marriages between a person from the second generation and a person from their parents' country of origin, but should also include the broad variety belonging to the category of family migrants. Different groups of family migrants are subject to different immigration regulations and have access to different rights and entitlements in the host country. Including different groups of family migrants in studies of integration is vital in order to investigate the effects of pre- and post-entry regulations on integration.

5.4. THE EFFECTS OF REGULATIONS

In the Norwegian context, there is only one existing study that measures the integration effect of family migration regulations, and that is an evaluation of the income requirement, reintroduced in 2003, for persons who had applied for asylum and been granted residence permit on humanitarian grounds. Findings indicated that the income requirement caused a decrease in number of applications and approved permits, and higher labour market participation among this group of migrants (Bratsberg and Raaum 2010). We argue that there is a need for comprehensive studies of the effects of recent restrictions in family migration regulations. Such studies should investigate the different regulations and their combined effects on different groups and on different aspects of integration.

One indisputable effect of increasing restrictions on family migration across Europe is family separation. We recommend further research on the applicants for family immigration that are rejected. What coping strategies/alternatives do they engage in, and what is the effect on their family life? What are the effects for family members who are excluded by the family immigration rules? There are some valuable studies from the UK, the US and Canada investigating the effects of family separation and deportation on refugees' mental health and on children. This aspect of immigration regulations should also be investigated in the Norwegian context. Such research should include different groups, e.g. refugees, mixed

status families and citizens as well as migrants. The influx of Syrians has, in many European countries, sparked considerable restrictions on family migration, not only for refugees but also for all types of family migrants. The long-term effects of these restrictions on Syrian as well as other migrants should be investigated. National policies, often copied across borders, may lead to exclusion and obstacles to integration. These policies should be evaluated in detail.

Studying the effect of immigration regulations on integration should not be limited to pre-entry regulation. Existing research indicates that post-entry requirements and entitlements may indeed be more significant for integration than pre-entry regulations. Studies of the integration effects of post-entry requirements and entitlements for family migrants are important in order to gain insight into what measures promote or prevent integration.

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In this report, we review existing research about family migration and integration, with a particular focus on how immigration regulations affect integration. Marriages between second-generation immigrants and spouses from their parents' country of origin have attracted significant political and academic interest, and relevant findings from this literature is presented in the report. Existing research also shows that family migration is commonly portrayed as a barrier to integration, and concerns over integration are used strategically to justify increasingly strict family immigration regulations, yet, there is little empirical support for such claims. Restrictive measures on family migration, such as income requirements, pre-entry language and integration tests, and age limits, reduce the number of applications submitted and residence permits granted for family migrants. Consequently, restrictive policies unavoidably lead to family separation, which according to existing research can have a serious negative impact on families' and children's mental health, well-being and integration. The report presents a wide range of national and comparative studies from Norway and other OECD-countries. Finally, we discuss key findings and directions for future research on family migration and integration.



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ISBN nr: 978-82-7321-738-7 (print)
ISBN nr: 978-82-7321-739-4 (digital)
ISSN-nr: 0805-4460