



Existential Field 7:
Social Inequality and Diversity of Families
Working Report (April 2010)



Karin Wall, Mafalda Leitão & Vasco Ramos

Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon



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Working Reports

Funded by the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme and co-ordinated by Technical University Dortmund, FAMILYPLATFORM gathers a consortium of 12 organisations working together to articulate key questions about the family for the *European Social Science and Humanities Research Agenda 2012-2013*.

There are four key stages to the project. The first is to chart and review the major trends of comparative family research in the EU in 8 'Existential Fields' (EF). The second is to critically review existing research on the family, and the third is to build on our understanding of existing issues affecting families and predict future conditions and challenges facing them. The final stage is to bring the results and findings of the previous three stages together, and propose key scientific research questions about families to be tackled with future EU research funding.

This *Working Report* has been produced for the first stage of the project, and is part of a series of reports, as follows:

- EF1. Family Structures & Family Forms**
- EF2. Family Developmental Processes**
- EF3. Major Trends of State Family Policies in Europe**
- EF4a. Family and Living Environment**
- EF4b. Local Politics – Programmes and Best Practice Models**
- EF5. Patterns and Trends of Family Management in the European Union**
- EF6. Social Care and Social Services**
- EF7. Social Inequality and Diversity of Families**
- EF8. Media, Communication and Information Technologies in the European Family**

Both full versions and summaries of *Working Reports* are available to download from the FAMILYPLATFORM website, where stakeholders are invited to comment on the findings, and have an input into the project.

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About the Authors

Karin Wall is a sociologist and a senior research fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS) of the University of Lisbon. She has carried out national and cross-national research in the areas of sociology of the family and social policies affecting families. Her research interests include demographic trends and changing family patterns, family interactions and social networks over the life course, gender and family, the reconciliation of work and family life, family policies and social care in Europe, migrant women and families, lone parents. Her recent publications examine the diversity of contemporary family relationships, family life from the male perspective, attitudinal change to gender and family, the politics of parental leave and care regimes in Southern Europe, and changing female migration trajectories.

Mafalda Leitão is a sociologist (Ms in social sciences) working as a research assistant at the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS) of the University of Lisbon, Portugal. She has carried out research on voluntary work and the reconciliation of work and family life. Currently she is working on developments in family policies in Portugal and in the European Union. Her research interests include family policies, leave policies and parenthood, social care, gender equality and family oriented services.

Vasco Ramos is a sociologist (ISCTE-IUL) and a junior research fellow at the ICS (Institute of Social Sciences) of the University of Lisbon since 2009. He is carrying out research on family policies and on social inequalities and family trajectories in an intergenerational perspective. His research interests include family and gender equality, social and geographical mobility and youth subcultures.

Contributing Authors

João Peixoto is a Professor of sociology at the School of Economics and Management (ISEG) of the Technical University of Lisbon and researcher at SOCIUS – Research Centre on Economic and Organizational Sociology. His main research areas are international migrations, demography and economic sociology. He has carried out research, at the national and cross-national level, in several fields, such as highly skilled migration, modes of incorporation of immigrants in the labour market, immigrants' trafficking, immigrant women, immigration policy, Portuguese emigration, demographic impacts of migration and immigration into Southern Europe.

Susana Atalaia is a PhD student at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, with a thesis on parenting in stepfather's families. She studied Sociology at ISCTE – Lisbon University Institute (2003). Her research interests include family dynamics, parenting relations, gender and blended families.

Heloísa Perista is a sociologist, holding a PhD from the University of Leeds. She is a senior researcher and President of the Board of Directors of CESIS - Centre for Studies

for Social Intervention. She has carried out national and cross-national research and participated in several European research networks over the last 24 years. Her research interests include gender equality, poverty and social exclusion, time use, work and employment, the reconciliation of work and family life, violence against older women, migration and mobility.

Alexandra Silva is a sociologist and a research assistant at the Centre for Studies for Social Intervention (CESIS). She studied sociology at the Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa. Her research interests include gender equality and women's studies. She has also involved in women's rights organisations.

Isabel Dias is a sociologist and a Professor of Sociology at the University of Porto since 1990. She has co-ordinated research on "Family, Ageing and Gender" at the Sociology Institute of the University of Porto. She has carried out research in the areas of domestic violence, elder abuse, sociology of the family and gender, ageing, and the reconciliation of work and family life..

Diogo Costa is a psychologist and currently a PhD student in Public Health at the University of Porto Medical School. His research interests include domestic violence, health and social inequalities, and psychiatric epidemiology.

Introduction

Research on social inequality has a long tradition in Europe and has emerged again as an important topic on the research agenda over the last few years. Researchers have been addressing this issue in its manifold expressions. Social inequality (or inequality between social categories) derives from the unequal distribution of various resources (economic, social, political, cultural) and has been analysed in terms of poverty (Atkinson, 1998; Berthoud, 2004), social exclusion and deprivation (cf. Paugam, 1998; Muffels *et al.*, 2002; Gallie *et al.*, 2003), class structure and stratification (Esping-Andersen, 1993; Crompton, 1998; Bourdieu, 1998; Ornstein, 2007) and educational inequalities (Duru-Bellat, 2002; Lahire, 2000). Today, there is a consensus that social inequality and its impact can be observed in many areas of social life, from employment to health, from political involvement to exposure to violence or discrimination (Bihl and Pfefferkorn, 2008). Researchers have been looking at the effects but also the origins of social inequality and the way it is socially produced and reproduced.

An explanation for the importance of inequality in today's research and policy agendas is outlined by Grusky and Kanbur (2006a), drawing on five key aspects: the process and multi-fold effects of globalization and international migration; an increase in inequality since the mid-1970s; a new conception of human rights that incorporates the need for a minimum of income; recognition of the negative effects of inequality on the social fabric; an increased awareness of the effects of inequality at an individual level. Several authors have addressed the question of inequality by emphasizing its political importance (Therborn, 2006; Giddens, 2007; Milanovic, 2007; Grusky and Kanbur, 2006a; Barry, 2005). In this context, the phenomenon of inequality is often analysed from the standpoint of "social justice", a perspective fostered by authors such as Rawls (2001) and Fraser (2008), which emphasizes the consequences of injustice when people are prevented from fully participating in social life. Fraser distinguishes three interconnected dimensions of inequality: distributive injustice (related to the class structure of societies); status injustice (or misrecognition); and political injustice (or misrepresentation).

In this state-of-art report we focus on some of the more relevant issues from the perspective of social inequality and families within and across European societies. We begin by addressing the three main topics included in this existential field by the Family Platform Project: migration, poverty, family violence. Additionally, we will look at two key issues which are important in contextualizing and discussing the above-mentioned topics. First, we will summarize recent trends in social inequality in European societies. Secondly, we will review some of existing research on the relationship between social inequalities and families, by examining the impact of social inequality on family forms and dynamics as well as the transmission and reproduction of inequalities within families. Social inequality shapes family life, but families and their members must also be seen as actors in the system of inequality (transmitting inequalities to subsequent generations, reproducing them within the home and through their networks, and resisting the effects of inequality).

Research review in this existential field was carried out separately on each of the above-mentioned topics. Migration, poverty and family violence are large and autonomous fields of research which do not have common theoretical and methodological underpinnings or empirical data sets. For this report it was therefore important to grasp the major trends and findings within each research topic before moving on to broader conclusions on research into social inequalities and diversity of families in Europe.

The report is therefore structured along the following lines:

1. First, as a brief introduction to this pivotal issue of inequality and families, we address the question of social inequality in Europe: How unequal are European societies? And how does this relate to the perception of well-being?
2. Second, we review existing research on migration and migrant families
3. Third, we review existing research on poverty and families
4. Fourth, we review existing research on violence and exposure to violence in different families
5. Fifth, we review existing research on the relationship between social inequality and families

The report is based on a systematic review of cross-national (European) statistics and databases such as Eurostat, European Social Survey (ESS), European Values Survey (EVS), OECD databases, the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), the Luxembourg Income Study, and the EC Household Panel Study (now SILC). We also carried out a systematic research review in academic publications and journals, including e-journals such as LARA Database, Social and Human Sciences – Publications, SSRN Social Science Research Network, Sociological Abstracts, Academic Search Elite (EBSCO), b-on (www.b-on.com in Portuguese and English), PUBMED, and in other sources such as the European Commission Research site, Eurofound, and the Imiscoe research site (<http://www.imiscoe.org>).

1. Social Inequality in European Societies

1.1 Some Indicators and trends

Research on inequalities between social categories, both at national and cross-national level, covers a vast amount of scientific literature which we cannot set out to review in the context of this report. The objective of this first chapter is briefly to describe the nature of social inequality in European societies today, on the basis of some more commonly-used indicators, and its evolution during the last decade. How unequal are European societies today? What types of social categories/groups/classes are researchers talking about? And what has been the main trend over the last few years – a move towards more or a move towards less inequality between social categories?

1.1.1 Income Inequality across and within European societies

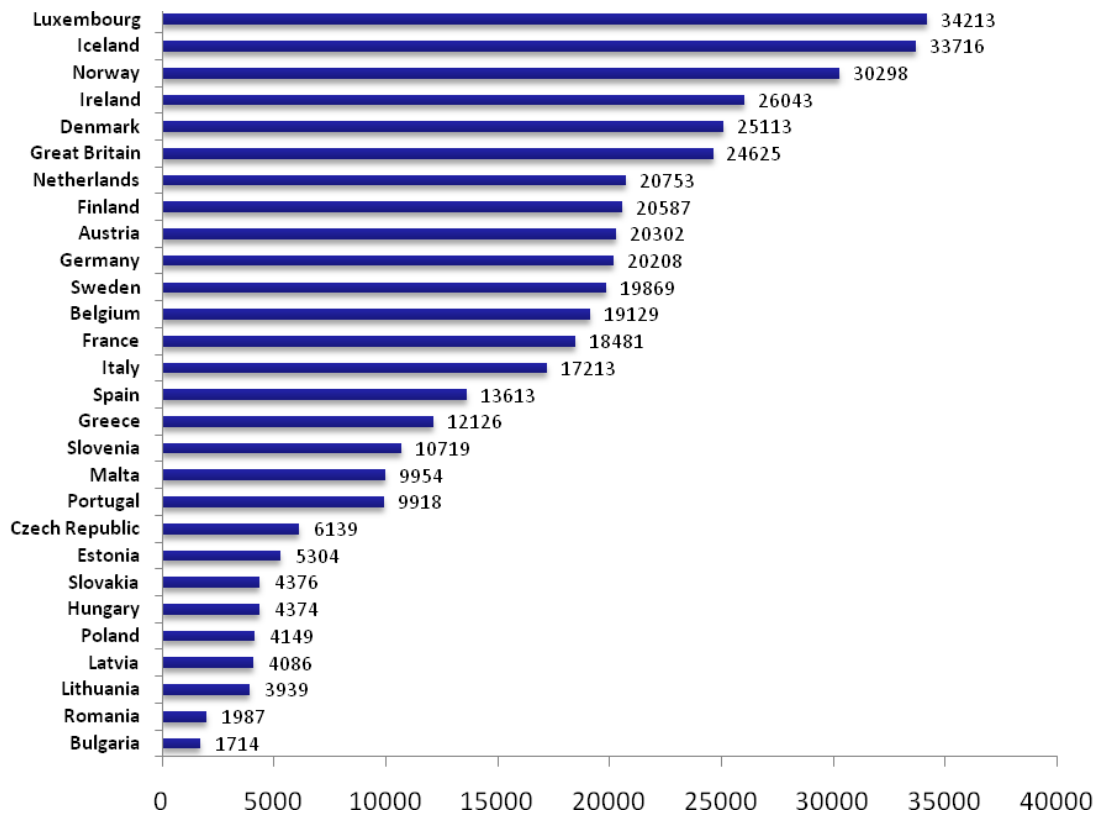
Measurement of inequalities across and within European societies relies systematically on comparative statistical data regarding levels of income. Drawing on existing datasets, we can highlight the following main trends:

1. There are significant differences in levels of income across Europe. Using data on Mean and equivalised disposable incomes (in EUR) (Figure 1) we can see that Luxembourg, Iceland, Ireland and Denmark and Great Britain have the highest levels of income within the EU27, but they are closely followed by a large group of countries (Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, France, Italy). Eastern and Southern European countries have lower levels of income. The lowest levels in the EU27 are in Romania and Bulgaria.
2. Income inequality within each country is also significant. Drawing on one main indicator of income inequality – the ratio of total income received by the 20% of the population with the highest income (top quintile) to that received by the 20% of the population with the lowest income (lowest quintile)¹ – we find significant differences across countries in 2008 (Figure 2). However, it is not necessarily the countries with the highest GDP per capita that are the most equalitarian. Together with the Scandinavian countries, we find lower levels of income inequality in countries such as Slovenia, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Austria. Income inequality measured on the basis of the Gini coefficient reveals the same overall trends (Table 1)
3. Comparing income inequality in 2000 and 2008, on the basis of the same indicator, we find that there has been no change in terms of the average value for the EU27 (Figure 2). Across the different countries, the situation has developed differently. Income inequality has increased in many countries over this period: in Latvia, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Germany, France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Finland, Denmark, and Sweden. Although they are amongst the most

¹ Income must be understood as equivalised disposable income

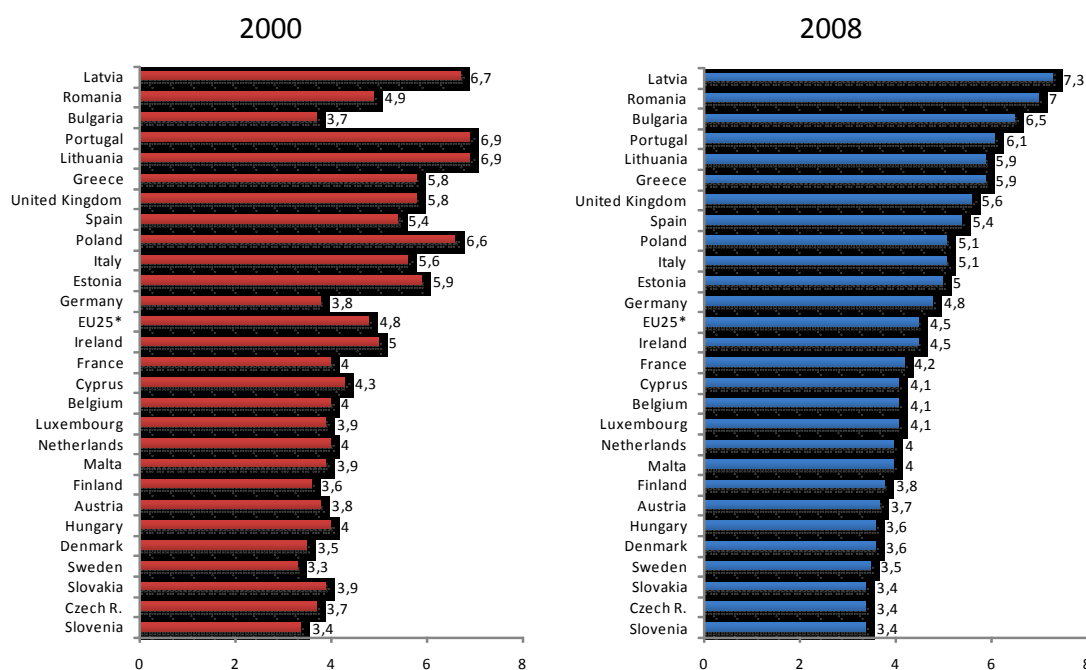
unequal societies, Italy, Portugal, Estonia, Lithuania and Poland have reduced income inequalities over the last decade.

Figure 1 - Mean and equivalised disposable incomes by country, 2007



Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Figure 2 - Income Inequality (S80/S20 income quintile share ratio)



Source: Eurostat (2010).

Table 1 - Inequality of income distribution Gini coefficient

Geog. Unit	2000	2008	Geog. Unit	2000	2008
EU27	-	31 *	Luxembourg	26	28
EU25	29 **	30 *	Netherlands	29	28
Slovenia	22	23	Germany	25	30
Slovakia	-	24	Ireland	30	30
Sweden	-	24	Estonia	36	31
Czech Republic	-	25	Spain	32	31
Denmark	-	25	Italy	29	31
Hungary	26	25	Poland	30	32
Norway	-	25	Greece	33	33
Austria	24	26	Lithuania	31	34
Finland	24	26	United Kingdom	32	34
Malta	30	27	Bulgaria	25	36
Iceland	-	27	Portugal	36	36
Belgium	30	28	Romania	29	36
France	28	28	Latvia	34	38
Cyprus	-	28			

Source: Eurostat (2010)

*Provisional Data; ** Estimate.

1.1.2 Beyond income inequality: class structures in European societies

Comparative datasets using the concept of class and taking up socio-professional and educational indicators to compare social categories across countries are more difficult to find and are not included systematically in the analysis of social inequality in late modern Europe. In some measure, this is probably due to the move away from 'class analysis' within sociology over the last two decades, largely based on the argument that in 'reflexive modern' societies the individual has become the author of his or her own biography (eg. Beck, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), instead of simply being able to follow the rules laid down by the established collectivities of class, status and gender. In other words, modernity is seen to have replaced the determination of social standing with compulsory and obligatory self-determination (Baumann, 2002).

Many authors have nevertheless argued that 'class', although a multifaceted concept with a variety of different meanings, makes a significant contribution to understanding structured social inequality in contemporary societies and have even proposed new and improved approaches to the topic (Bottero, 2004, 2005; Devine *et al.*, 2005; Savage *et al.*, 2005; Crompton, 1998, 2006b). Common to all sociological conceptions of class is the argument that social inequalities are not 'natural' or divinely ordained, but rather emerge as a consequence of human behaviours in relation to both material resources and cultural distinctions (Crompton 2006b). The position taken up by contemporary research on class is that, although there has been considerable social change in European societies and individuals may have more choices to make than in the recent historical past, class and stratification analysis is important and useful for understanding and explaining the complex realities of inequality in late modern societies.

Renewed debates about the meaning and definition of class are thus contributing to some research on class structure and class reproduction in contemporary European societies, but mostly at a national level. The complex reality of social groupings across different countries, even on the basis of the simpler classificatory schemes based on occupational structure and groupings (an approach which may be regarded as an invaluable proxy for economic 'classes') has not emerged as an important area of research (probably due both to methodological problems as well the difficulties in encompassing the complex realities, material and cultural, of concrete classes in different societal contexts). Searching for some comparative data, even if only at the level of occupational schemes and educational groupings, we identified some research carried out on data collected for the European Social Survey.

Ferreira de Almeida *et al.* (2006) applied the ACM² social class typology (Almeida, Costa and Machado, 1988; Costa, 1999) to data from the 2002 European Social Survey. Five social categories were identified: entrepreneurs and executives (EE), professionals and qualified technical employees (PTE), self employed (SE), routine employees (RE) and industrial workers (IW).

² The typology combines socio-occupational and socio-educational indicators, such as occupation, employment status and educational level at the individual level.

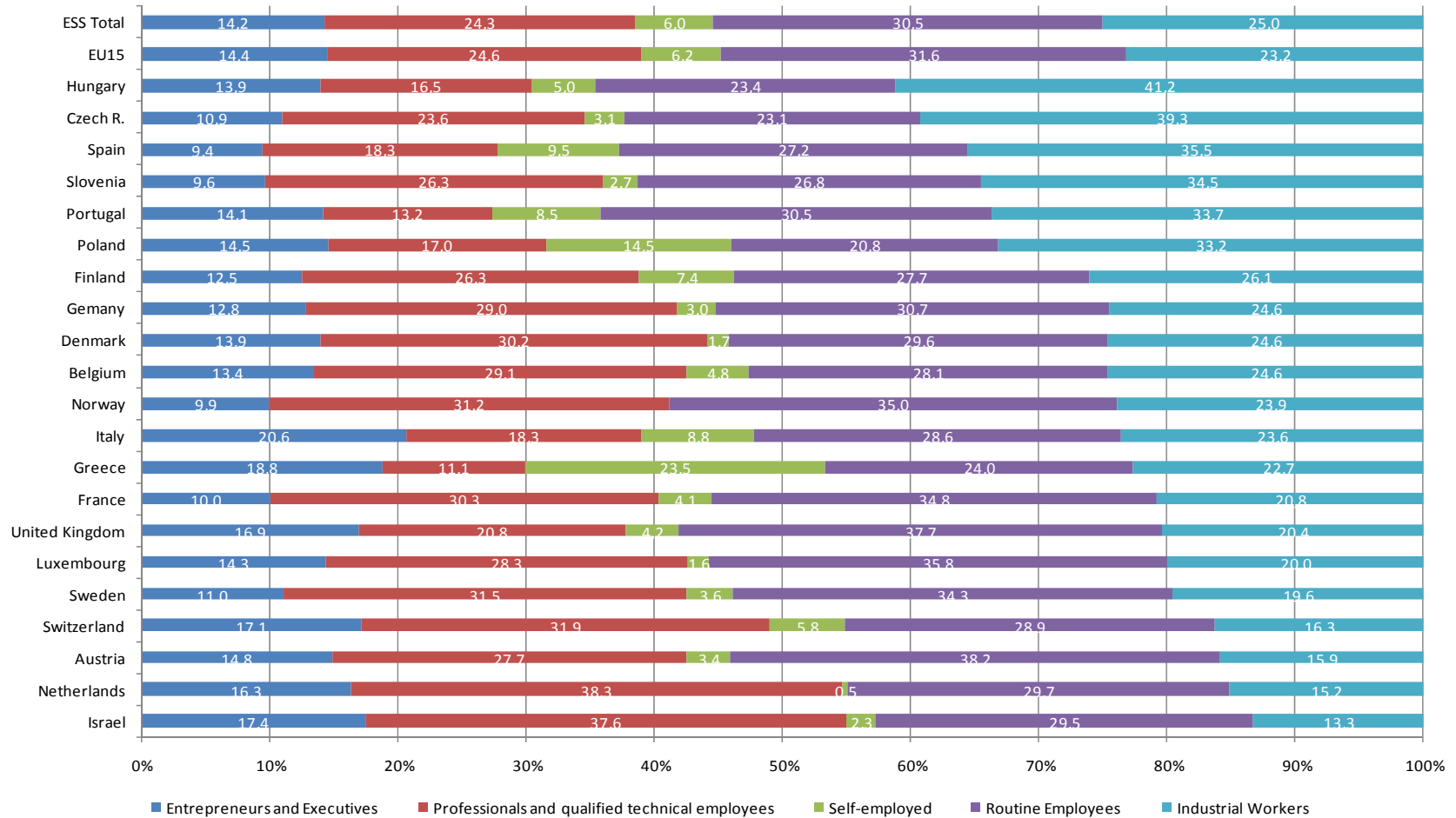
Overall, in European Societies, Industrial Workers and Routine Employees are still the most numerous categories (Figure 3 and Table 2). The Routine Employees class category is the most numerous, both in the group of fifteen countries that made up the EU at the time of the first ESS (31.6 per cent) and in the total of 22 countries in which the survey was applied in 2002 (30.5 per cent). There are wide variations within Europe: ranging from 24 per cent of the total in Greece and 27.2 per cent in Spain to 37.7 per cent in the United Kingdom and 38.2 per cent in Austria.

However, professionals and qualified technical employees, those that have a high level of scientific, technical and cultural resources, are the majority (or close to 30%) in several countries: Denmark, France, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Holland (as well as Switzerland and Israel). In countries such as Italy, Ireland, Portugal and Greece, the relative weight of the PTE is below 20 per cent or even close to 10 per cent, as in the case of Portugal and Greece. As far as the other countries are concerned, there are two different situations: Hungary and Poland also have values below 20 per cent and the Czech Republic and Slovenia are in between. The authors point out the relevance of the Professionals and Technical Employees group as a distinctive indicator of economic modernization and social development, mainly because its distribution across Europe reflects differing degrees of progress regarding the information and knowledge society (Ferreira de Almeida *et al.*, 2006: 100).

Another characteristic of class structures in the European countries surveyed and the transnational space that they form is the fact that most of their population is distributed between two subordinate categories, the routine employees (RE) and industrial workers (IW)³: combined they represent 55.5% of the employed population. Industrial workers alone present average values of 23.2 per cent in the area of the European Union (EU-15) and 25 per cent in the 21 countries of the ESS, although with considerable differences within Europe. The most contrasting countries are Holland (15.2 per cent) and Hungary (41.2 per cent).

³ The authors prefer to keep these two categories separated because, although they share similarities such as being in positions of subordination, implementation and routine, there are considerable differences in the specific content of the tasks performed, the relational contexts that surround them, the class identities of their members and the contrasting gender composition of each group.

Figure 3 - Class Structures in ESS countries



Source: Almeida et al. (2006) based on ESS 2002. Data not available for Ireland

Table 2 - Class Structures in ESS countries

	Entrepreneurs and Executives			Professionals and Managers			Self-employed			Routine Employees			Industrial Workers		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Austria	14.8	8.9	5.9	27.7	13.2	14.6	3.4	1.5	1.9	38.2	13.1	25.1	15.9	11.8	4.1
Belgium	13.4	8.8	4.6	29.1	15.4	13.7	4.8	2.8	2.1	28.1	10.1	17.8	24.6	18.3	6.4
Denmark	13.9	10.1	3.9	30.2	12.9	17.3	1.7	1.1	0.6	29.6	7.2	22.3	24.6	20.0	4.6
France	10.0	7.5	2.6	30.3	15.1	15.3	4.1	2.2	1.9	34.8	8.7	26.1	20.8	15.1	5.7
Finland	12.5	8.4	4.1	26.3	11.2	15.1	7.4	3.9	3.6	27.7	5.1	22.6	26.1	19.9	6.1
Germany	12.8	8.5	4.3	29.0	11.9	17.1	3.0	1.3	1.7	30.7	7.7	22.9	24.6	19.2	5.5
Greece	18.8	13.4	5.4	11.1	5.5	5.6	23.5	12.1	11.4	24.0	8.4	15.5	22.7	13.5	9.2
Italy	20.6	13.9	6.7	18.3	8.4	9.9	8.8	4.5	4.4	28.6	9.8	18.9	23.6	15.3	8.3
Luxembourg	14.3	9.1	5.1	28.3	12.5	15.7	1.6	0.7	0.9	35.8	10.1	25.7	20.0	17.6	2.4
Netherlands	16.3	11.6	4.7	38.3	14.8	23.5	0.5	0.1	0.4	29.7	8.1	21.6	15.2	12.4	2.8
Portugal	14.1	9.9	4.2	13.2	5.5	7.6	8.5	3.5	5.1	30.5	8.1	22.4	33.7	20.8	12.9
Spain	9.4	6.2	3.2	18.3	9.9	8.4	9.5	5.4	4.1	27.2	7.2	20.0	35.5	25.8	9.7
Sweden	11.0	8.0	3.0	31.5	15.1	16.4	3.6	2.5	1.1	34.3	8.6	25.6	19.6	16.6	3.0
United Kingdom	16.9	12.4	4.6	20.8	9.2	11.6	4.2	3.3	0.9	37.7	9.9	27.8	20.4	14.3	6.1
EU15	14.4	9.8	4.5	24.6	11.2	13.4	6.2	3.4	2.8	31.6	8.7	22.9	23.2	17.0	6.2
Czech R.	10.9	7.3	3.6	23.6	9.5	14.1	3.1	2.7	0.4	23.1	6.8	16.4	39.3	24.3	14.9
Hungary	13.9	8.2	5.7	16.5	5.8	10.7	5.0	3.3	1.7	23.4	5.1	18.3	41.2	26.5	14.7
Israel	17.4	12.5	4.8	37.6	13.4	24.2	2.3	1.5	0.8	29.5	9.4	20.1	13.3	10.7	2.6
Norway	9.9	7.1	2.8	31.2	15.2				16.1	35.0	9.6	25.4	23.9	21.3	2.5
Poland	14.5	9.2	5.3	17.0	5.1	11.8	14.5	7.2	7.3	20.8	5.3	15.5	33.2	23.5	9.7
Slovenia	9.6	6.1	3.5	26.3	10.9	15.4	2.7	1.9	0.8	26.8	8.8	17.9	34.5	21.5	13.0
Switzerland	17.1	11.0	6.1	31.9	15.8	16.1	5.8	3.2	2.6	28.9	7.3	21.6	16.3	12.7	3.7
ESS Total	14.2	9.7	4.4	24.3	10.7	13.6	6.0	3.3	2.7	30.5	8.3	22.3	25.0	17.9	7.0

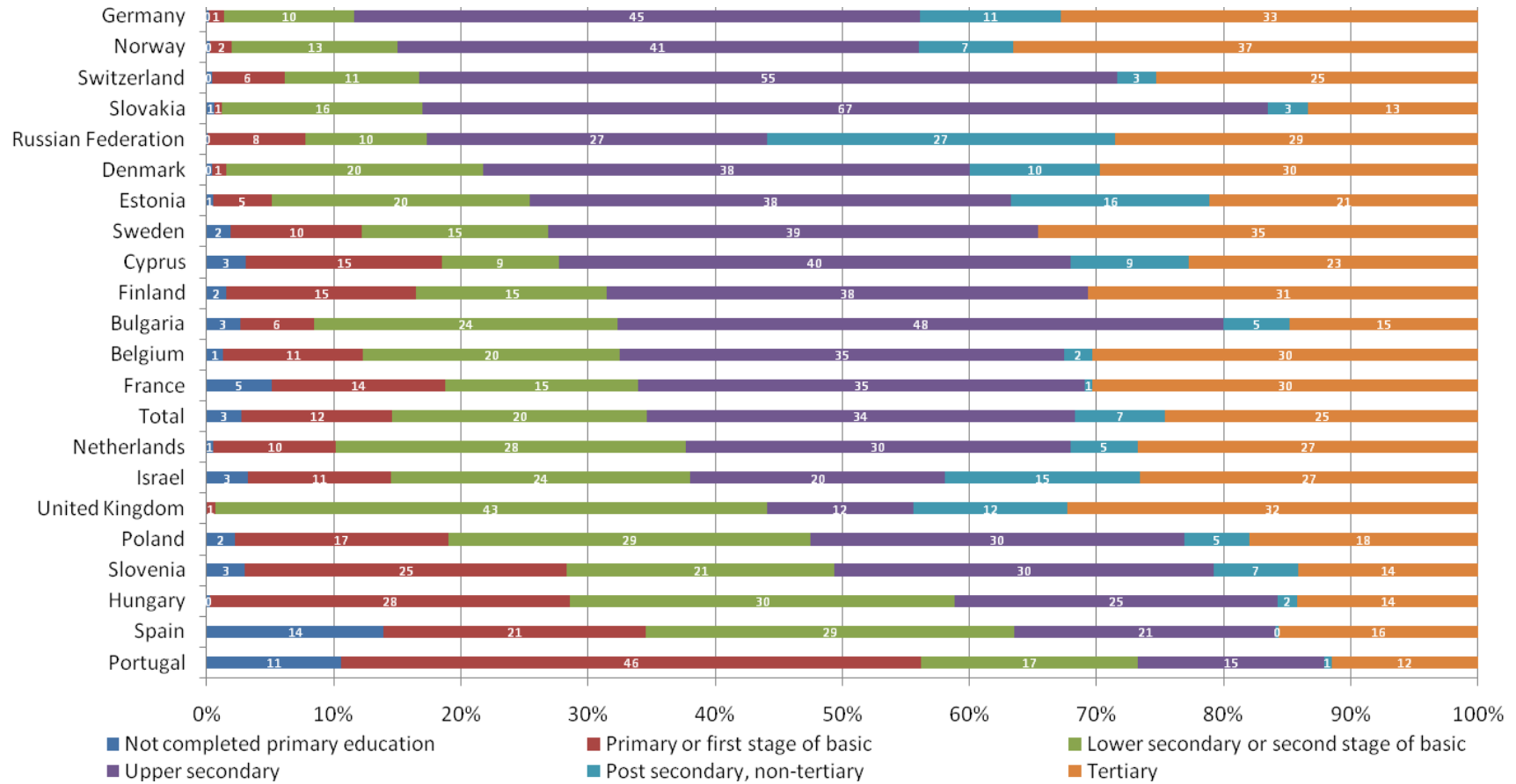
Source: ESS 2002 Data not available for Ireland

Seen from a gender perspective, in most countries the professionals and technical employees category consists, for the most part, of women (the female majority is more evident in Poland, Israel, Hungary, Holland and Germany) (Table 2). By contrast, in the other category at the top of the class structure, the EE, there are always more men, a difference which is more significant in France, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Israel, with male representation being over 2.5 times higher than that of females. Usually men are also the majority among the self-employed.

In Southern and Eastern Europe class structures still reflect past industrial models. Countries such as Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland, Spain and Portugal have more industrial workers than routine employees and contrast strongly with the countries with earlier tertiarization, in particular Austria, the United Kingdom, France and Norway, where there are more routine employees. Portugal, Spain, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovenia are the countries where we find more people in subordinate positions (industrial workers and routine employees). The lowest values are to be found in Holland, Switzerland, Israel and values slightly above 50 per cent are to be found in Belgium, Finland and Sweden.

These differences are of course strongly related to educational levels. Using data from the European Social Survey 2008, we can see that educational levels differ considerably across Europe. In some Southern and Eastern Europe countries, educational levels are low in overall terms: Portugal, Spain, Hungary, Slovenia, and Poland have a significant proportion of the population that was only able to complete primary education or even less. The vast majority of citizens from Central and Northern Europe have reached or surpassed the upper secondary level of education. In countries such as Denmark, France, Belgium, Finland, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, and Norway 30% or more have completed tertiary levels of education, meaning that they obtained some sort of degree.

Figure 4 - Highest Level of Education in ESS countries



Source: ESS 2008

1.2 Inequality and Well-being: Research using Objective and Subjective Indicators

1.2.1 The case for Subjective Indicators

Traditionally research and policy makers have preferred economic and social indicators of well-being, deemed more appropriate to measure the development of societies. Measures of life satisfaction, happiness and generally subjective indicators of well being have not been widely used in the analysis of human welfare, due to opposition from both researchers (economists, sociologists, etc.) and policy makers, on the basis of subjectivity.

For example, Eckersley (2009) suggests that different results may be a product of more individualistic or collectivist societies. Fahey and Smyth (2004) point out that this kind of scepticism is due to the fact that indicators of subjective well being have been regarded as independent of social reality because in countries where time-series are available, results have not changed over time. Scepticism is also justified because individual life satisfaction is thought to be weakly related to objective conditions (relating life satisfaction with personality traits).

So far, research on subjective well being has been mostly concentrated in highly developed countries; comparisons have been based on levels of satisfaction rather than their distribution across the population and have focused on countries with small variance in subjective well-being, thus diminishing possible effects of socio-economic factors. More recently, a strong case has been made for the use of subjective indicators combined with economic variables. Synthetic indicators have been proposed (Somarriba *et al.*, 2009), combining various objective dimensions such as income, living conditions and employment with subjective indicators like perception of quality of life. A relationship between income inequality and subjective and objective welfare indicators is defended by Wilkinson and Pickett (2009). In their work, extensive proof of the relation between (in) equality and welfare is presented and, according to the authors, the association between inequality and social problems cannot be explained by cultural differences or population size alone.

According to Wilkinson and Pickett, overall, **unequal societies tend to perform worse on objective indicators, such as life expectancy, health, crime rates and subjective indicators, such as trust in fellow citizens or life satisfaction.** Wilkinson and Pickett also point out that, in the more developed countries, measures of well-being are no longer associated with economic performance, suggesting that the quest for increasing material wealth needs to be replaced with increased social cohesion, improved social environment and quality of life. Regarding the controversial issue of economic growth vs. equality, the authors advocate strongly for equality, claiming that the body of empirical research presents no determinant relation between the two variables.

1.2.2 Subjective Indicators of Well Being

Using data for the European Values Study from 1999-2000 that addressed data for 32 European societies on the cognitive assessment of one's situation and combining it with average income (using parity GDP), we observe that life satisfaction seems to be related to overall societal economic performance as **in more affluent societies life satisfaction is higher.**

Table 3 - Life Satisfaction in 32 European Societies

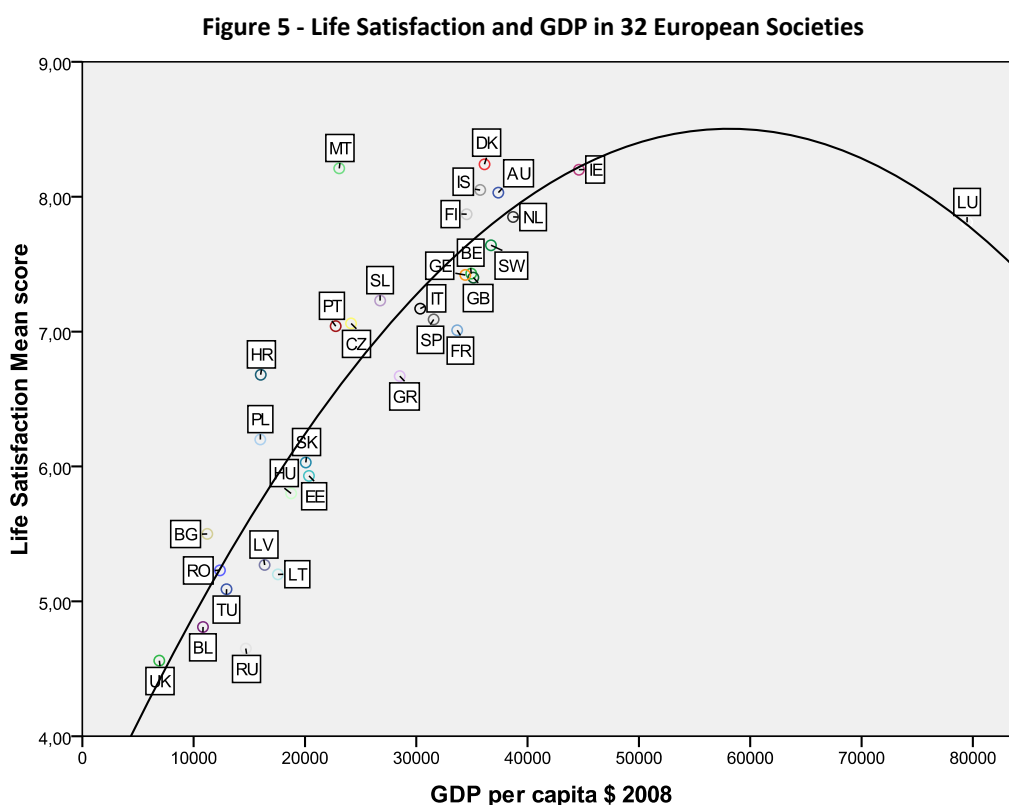
Country	Life Sat. (avg score)	Stand. Dev.	GDP in \$PPP
Total	6.71	2.46	
Denmark	8.24	1.82	36130
Malta	8.21	1.62	23080
Ireland	8.2	1.83	44613
Iceland	8.05	1.59	35742
Austria	8.03	1.92	37370
Finland	7.87	1.65	34526
Netherlands	7.85	1.34	38694
Luxembourg	7.81	1.87	79485
Sweden	7.64	1.86	36712
Belgium	7.43	2.13	34935
Germany	7.42	1.96	34401
Great Britain	7.4	1.94	35130
Slovenia	7.23	2.15	26753
Italy	7,17	2,11	30353
Spain	7,09	2,01	31560
Czech Republic	7,06	1,97	24144
Portugal	7,04	1,96	22765
France	7,01	1,99	33674
Croatia	6,68	2,3	16027
Greece	6,67	2,19	28517
Poland	6,2	2,53	15987
Slovakia	6,03	2,22	20076
Estonia	5,93	2.18	20361
Hungary	5.8	2.42	18755
Bulgaria	5.5	2.65	11222
Latvia	5.27	2.39	16377
Romania	5.23	2.77	12369
Lithuania	5.2	2.66	17575
Turkey	5.09	3	12955
Belarus	4.81	2.21	10841
Russia	4.65	2.57	14690
Ukraine	4.56	2.59	6914

Source: 1999-2000 EVS Data Files and UNDP Data

Denmark, Malta, Ireland, Iceland and Austria are the top 5 countries in terms of life satisfaction (with an average score of 8 or more in a 10 point scale). Most countries of central and northern Europe have above average life satisfaction scores (Finland, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Slovenia, Czech R., France) but also more southern countries such as Slovenia, Italy, Spain and

Portugal. Croatia and Greece scores are average, when compared with the overall results. The bulk of countries with low life satisfaction scores are ex-socialistic societies (Turkey is the only exception). In Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, countries outside the EU, citizens are most unsatisfied with their life, and the average results are lower than 5.

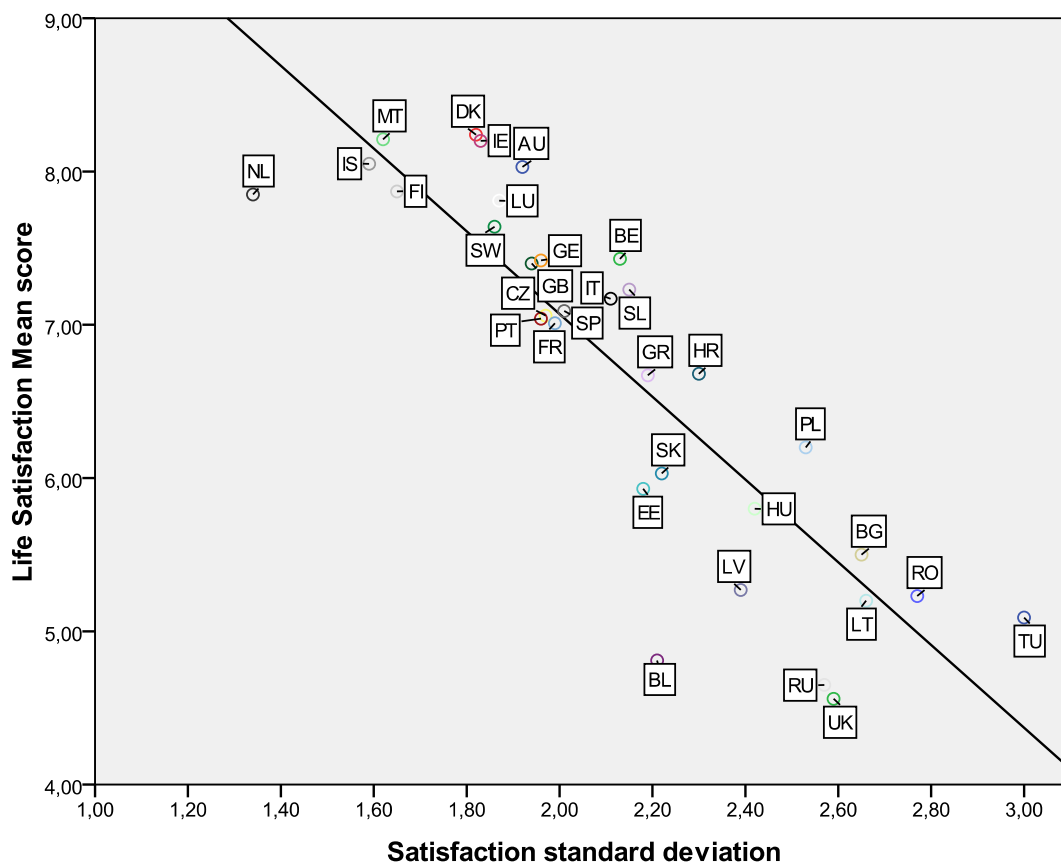
Combining life satisfaction with income, we can observe that there are countries such as Malta, Denmark or Iceland that appear to have higher satisfaction than expected, suggesting some disjunction between level of satisfaction and economic conditions.



Source: 1999-2000 EVS Data Files and UNDP Data

But overall, we can see that there is a consistent relationship between life satisfaction and GDP, i.e. more affluent societies tend to have more highly satisfied citizens. Fahey and Smyth (2004), using the same dataset and additional economic statistics also found a link between life satisfaction and recent growth rates, although that relationship may need to be re-evaluated in light of the recent global economic crisis. Standard deviation in life satisfaction varies inversely with the mean of life-satisfaction, meaning that in societies where, on average, citizens are more satisfied with their life, there is a stronger consensus in favour of that view.

Figure 6 - Mean life satisfaction and standard deviation in 32 European societies



Source: 1999-2000 EVS Data Files

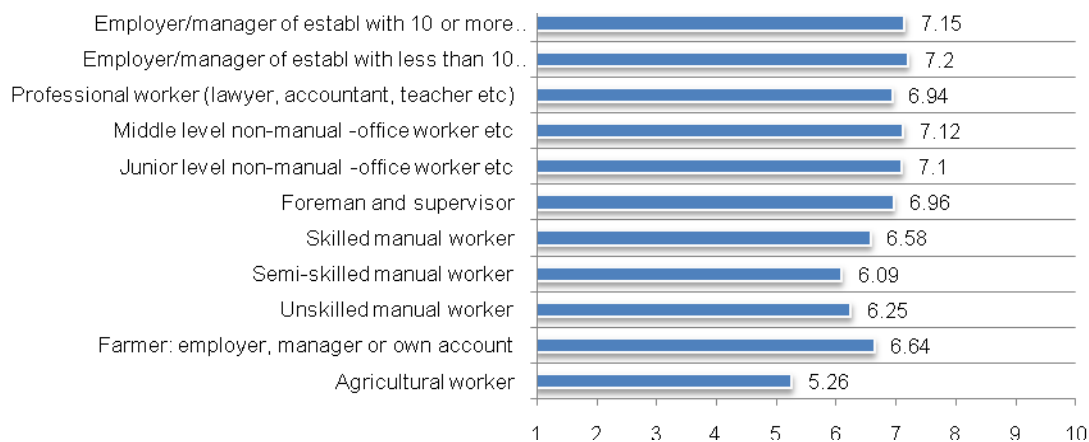
Countries with lower life-satisfaction levels have higher variation. One possible explanation for this could be that in those societies there is greater inequality in income and living standards.

Despite the fact that some of the richer societies in the EU are rather unequal, the level of comfort and material well-being achieved seems to mitigate the effect of social inequality. In poorer societies, such as those in the East or Southern Europe, there seems to be a stronger link between social inequality and life satisfaction, suggesting the existence of a “lock-step” of societal well being, in other words, once a certain plateau is achieved this limits the effect of social inequality (i.e. low incomes and related disadvantages may have a greater impact in poorer countries than in rich countries, in terms of subjective well-being). The effect of economic welfare flattens above the 16 EU poorer countries (in terms of GDP).

Using the same data from the EVS, Fahey and Smyth (2004) used a multi-level regression procedure to weigh individual patterns and country effects. The authors found that roughly 22% of variation in life satisfaction derives from country while 78% is individual level variation. In the analysis, employment and marital status are two of the most relevant variables (married – or in a relationship - and employed individuals have higher levels of life satisfaction).

Income and social class are also important: the highest levels of life-satisfaction are found among employers and qualified professionals, lower levels amongst the less skilled and agricultural workers.

Figure 7 - Mean life satisfaction and professional status



Source: 1999-2000 EVS Data Files

Variables such as sex or age have less or no impact at all. The explanation for the persistence of high life-satisfaction scores in some societies may result from a relation between subjective well-being and a combination of each country's relative position regarding the possibility of social mobility within a society, rather than solely a result of the absolute level of economic well-being.

2. Policies, families and integration: state of the art of migration research in Europe

Migration is currently an area of vast scientific research, public debate and policy intervention in Europe. This is the case when the object under analysis is international migration and, more specifically, immigration, i.e., international movements of people targeting European societies – the object of the present report. The reasons for the centrality of this theme are numerous. On the one hand, migratory movements, which were always part of the European history, became increasingly visible in most European countries. Taken in the sense of international migration, they were never as large as they are today. On the other hand, they defy some of the entrenched principles in which cultures and identity lie. The settlement of populations with different national backgrounds, cultures, religions and values defy the notion of ethnic homogeneity in which the European identities are (mistakenly) based. The themes of international migration and social change do not come across very often in social research. However, it may be argued that international flows are nowadays one of the biggest sources of social change in Europe.

The literature produced on the theme is countless. In the early stages of immigration in Europe, most of the studies were produced in Western countries, usually adopting a national perspective. With the enlargement of the migration realm, Northern, Southern and Central European countries became involved each of them also producing an abundant national research. In time, an increasing volume of cross-country research was produced, very much as a consequence of European Union (EU) funding opportunities and academic networking. All in all, a vast amount of research has been produced on these topics, displaying a wide geographic and thematic variety. Although the better known studies come from the largest countries in Europe, being written in the dominant scientific languages (mostly English), many others were produced in the framework of other countries and languages.

Taking these considerations into account, the current state of the art must be considered as a general and incomplete overview of research on immigration in Europe. Given the scope and maturity of migration studies, the long period in which relevant flows took place, the many countries and scientific communities involved, and the many interrelated themes, it is virtually impossible to carry out an extensive and complete evaluation of the research carried out in the field. For the purpose of the current report, this exercise was even more difficult, given the short amount of time allocated to the task – even knowing that only research produced from the 1990s was to be taken into account⁴.

⁴ The difficulty of drafting a state of the art on migration issues is widely admitted. For example, Penninx and colleagues (2008: 7) argue that “research related to international migration, integration and social cohesion has grown to such an extent that it is impossible to review the literature according to conventional approaches of a State of the Art Study. The field of migration has grown itself as the diversity of migration, its forms, mechanisms and motivations have changed (...). The field of integration has likewise expanded, coming to include, along with the traditional domains of work, education, housing and health and political, social and cultural/religious dimensions, new topics such as language,

The methodology adopted for producing this chapter took into account the vast extension of the field and the resources available. First, some major general studies on migration in Europe, including previous states of the art, were reviewed. This was the case of works such as Castles and Miller (2003 and 2009), Penninx, Berger and Kraal (2006), Spencer and Cooper (2007), Penninx, Spencer and Van Hear (2008), Portes and DeWind (2008), Bonifazi *et al.* (2008) and Okolski (forthcoming). The work of Penninx and colleagues (2006) was particularly relevant for this purpose, as it condensed the collective effort of several European researchers, gathered in IMISCOE (International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion), an European Network of Excellence in migration studies created in the framework of the European Commission (EC) research funding; its objective was to present a detailed state of the art of European research in several migration domains⁵. Secondly, some relevant databases and websites were consulted. This was the case of the EC research site⁶, where cross-national European research projects are presented; the IMISCOE website⁷, condensing the more recent production in this framework; international organisations' websites, such as the International Organisation for Migration (IOM); and some relevant journals and publishers websites. Finally, some bibliographic databases were checked, but mainly to fill in gaps resulting from the previous steps.

The objective of this chapter is to set out the main research lines, theoretical discussions and controversial issues relating to immigration in the European framework and, particularly, in the EU since the 1990s. As stated previously, it only deals with international migration and, particularly, immigration, taking into consideration both inflows and integration – two subjects sometimes separated in research. The first section presents the framework, i.e. a brief history of immigration in Europe and some relevant statistical data. The second section summarizes the findings of research, structured around three main themes: a thorough examination will be made of research on policy issues (admission, control, integration and citizenship); family-related issues (demography, family migration, gender and age related migration); and integration patterns (work, space, identity and second generations). The first of these latter topics has a dual objective, presenting simultaneously the main research available and associated public policies on immigration. In the final section, a brief synthesis is made and some research gaps will be tentatively identified. Compared to other states of the art in the field, this one differs in some respects: in

policymaking in the field, interethnic relations, discrimination, age, gender and generation. Furthermore, with the inclusion of new analytical perspectives, such as the focus on transnational ties and connections of migrants and the perspective of sending countries, the domain of study has significantly enlarged”.

⁵ Some of the original full versions of these states of the art were also consulted (see <http://www.imiscoe.org>). The themes dealt with by this work were: international migration flows and their regulation; migration and development: causes and consequences; migrants' citizenship: legal status, rights and political participation; migrants' work, entrepreneurship and economic integration; the social integration of immigrants with special reference to the local and spatial dimension; cultural, religious and linguistic diversity in Europe: an overview of issues and trends; identity, representation, interethnic relations and discrimination; time, generations and gender in migration and settlement; the multilevel governance of migration.

⁶ <http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences>.

⁷ <http://www.imiscoe.org>.

particular, it focuses more closely on family and social inequality related issues, given the scope and objectives of the project from which it derives.

2.1 Framework: a brief history of immigration in Europe

The history of European immigration is not as recent as sometimes portrayed. In countries such as France, a considerable amount of inflows existed already in the first half of the 20th century. But in all developed Western countries, large inflows occurred mainly after the Second World War, in the framework of a solid economic expansion that lasted for circa 30 years – the so-called “30 glorious years”. As well documented by several sources, most of the immigrants were then supposed to be temporary guests, but many remained. From the 1970s onwards several changes occurred, including the enactment of restrictive policies, the changing geography of flows and new migration patterns. From the 1980s, Southern Europe and Ireland gradually became important targets of immigration, together with some Scandinavian countries. More recently, after the end of the Cold War, Central and Eastern European countries also became objects of concern, given the importance of transit and, later, durable forms of immigration (Bonifazi *et al.*, 2008; Okolski, forthcoming). During these decades, outflows also took place from most European countries – although always less researched. Many of these were intra-EU flows. At the same time, a clear policy-driven difference started to emerge between intra-EU flows and others involving third countries. The contradiction between (quasi) free circulation – successively updated with the new EU enlargements – and restrictions towards third-country nationals became increasingly evident.

The years of solid economic expansion in Europe, lasting until the mid-1970s, were largely based on manufacturing industries and a relatively stable international environment. During this period, most of the inflows targeted the North-western countries and the search for a permanent job. When the national and international context changed, new migration patterns emerged. Globalisation brought with it new kinds of flows, including more irregular immigration, asylum seekers and refugees, and accrued social concerns. This was also the time of the new service and information economy, increasing deregulation of the labour market and global economic competition. The growing politicization of immigration that then took place, deriving from a new public attitude towards inflows, was just a prelude to the more recent securitization debate.

The measure of international migration is complex. As described by several sources – including, for example, an extensive work carried out by Poulain and others (2006), resulting from an EC funded project –, the methodology and concepts used in this field largely differ among European countries. Recently, the EC has launched an initiative to carry out a harmonization of migration statistics in the EU, a long-needed measure ⁸.

⁸ Regulation (EC) No 862/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 July 2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection. This regulation has produced its first results in 2009, with data referring to 2008, although the first year was admitted to be still experimental.

However, its outcome is not yet complete. Despite the efforts of institutions such as the OECD, in the framework of its annual *International Migration Outlook*, comparative exercises are always weak. This means that a comparative analysis has mostly to be carried out using general definitions and a macro vision. When entering the detail of variables and geography, the methodological difficulties in making comparisons become evident.

Despite the methodological problems, recent statistical data confirm the importance and widespread character of immigration in Europe. Data on annual net migration rates in OECD countries, from 1955 to 2007, are displayed in Table 4, as well as data on the contribution of net migration to population growth in 2006, displayed in Figure 5. The persistence and widespread character of immigration is clear. The observation of net migration growth in Europe since the 1950s confirms several facts: the durability of inflows to the North-western countries to the present day; the turnaround from emigration to immigration in several countries, such as in Southern Europe; and the gradual advent of new immigration destinations. Furthermore, comparison between net migration and natural increase is a revealing indicator of how immigration is driving demographic growth. In a context of overall demographic decline in Europe, with a generalized pattern of low fertility, it is mainly migration that is enabling positive growth and the smoothing out of the structural impact of ageing.

Data on the proportion of foreign-born and foreign population in the OECD countries, between 1995 and 2006, are displayed in Table 5 and Figure 9. These two criteria – country of birth and country of citizenship – are those most commonly used to capture the volume of immigration. Although the former is more rigorous, since it measures all individuals (nationals and foreigners) that actually migrated between countries, the second is the most easily available, since it includes all foreign individuals (immigrants and non-immigrants, including the so-called second generation) living in a country. Both data series confirm that the human landscape, in migration terms of European countries, particularly the EU, is not fundamentally very different from the “traditional immigration countries” of America and Oceania.

Taking, for instance, the foreign-born population, some European countries, such as Luxembourg, Switzerland, Ireland and Austria had in 2006 a larger share of immigrants than the United States, a country in which immigration is part and parcel of national identity. Taking the criteria of foreign population, the same European countries are joined by Spain, Belgium and Germany as having a higher share than the United States. When observing the rate of growth during recent years (1995 to 2006), it can be seen that both the share of foreign-born and foreigners are on the rise in most European countries. The speed of growth has been higher in some of the recent European hosts, such as the countries of Southern Europe and Ireland, where the number of immigrants (or foreigners) sometimes doubled or tripled in just ten years. Spain is the most impressive example, having passed from a proportion of 1.6 per cent of foreigners in the whole population, in 1997, to a huge 10.3 per cent, in 2006.

The legal channels which prospective immigrants use are diverse (Figure 10). In 2006, family-related migration, including family reunification and marriage migration (entries of fiancés or recently married spouses of citizens or legal foreign residents) accounted

for the majority of inflows, approaching 44 per cent of the total. This was followed by individuals entering in the framework of free movement provisions, particularly in the case of the EU, labour migration and humanitarian grounds (including refugees).

Table 4 - Net migration rate

Per 1000 inhabitants

	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Australia	..	8.8	9.2	8.9	1	6.9	5.6	7.3	5	3.9	2	3.1	5.9	5.3	3.9	4.8	5.5	5.8	7	5.6	5.5	5.3	6.7	7.7	..	
Austria	..	-0.2	1.4	1.5	-3.3	1.2	0.7	7.6	9.9	9.1	4.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	1.1	2.5	2.2	4.1	4.2	4.4	6.2	5.9	3.3	4	
Belgium	..	0.5	3.3	0.9	2.5	-0.3	-	3	3.4	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.1	2.7	2.5	3.4	4	3.9	4.2	4.5	4.8	..	
Canada	..	2.4	4.4	3.1	7	5.8	2.6	6.5	4.3	6.1	5	5.2	5.5	5.6	5.2	3.9	5.2	6.5	7.9	6.9	6.5	6.4	6.8	6.6	..	
Czech Republic	0.4	0.7	0.4	-0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.1	0.5	1	1	1	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.6	-0.8	1.2	2.5	1.8	3.5	3.4	8.1	
Denmark	-1.8	0.7	-	2.4	-1.8	-	1.8	1.6	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.9	5.5	3.2	2.3	2.1	1.7	1.7	2.2	1.7	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.8	4.2	
Finland	..	-2	-4.6	-7.8	-0.8	-0.2	0.6	1.4	2.6	1.6	1.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.2	1	1.2	1.3	1.7	1.9	2.5	
France	..	3.1	2.3	3.5	0.3	0.8	0.7	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	1	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.1	
Germany	..	6.1	5.8	9.3	-3.2	5.1	1.5	16.3	7.5	9.6	5.7	3.9	4.9	3.4	1.1	0.6	2.5	2	3.3	2.7	1.7	1	1	0.3	0.5	
Greece	..	-3.5	-4.7	-4.4	6.5	5.2	0.6	6.3	11.7	9.1	8.3	7.4	7.3	6.6	5.7	5.1	4.1	2.7	3.5	3.3	3.7	3.5	3.6	..	..
Hungary	0.4	0.1	0.1	-0.2	-0.1	-0.7	-2.1	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1	0.4	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.9	1.4
Iceland	..	-1.7	..	-7.3	-1.8	-2.2	-2.1	-3.9	4.3	-0.8	-0.4	-2.6	-2.6	-2.6	0.3	3.2	4	6.1	3.4	-1	-0.5	1.8	13	17.3	12.6	
Ireland	..	-14.5	-7.6	-1	5.3	-0.3	-9.3	-2.2	1.4	0.5	-0.9	-0.8	1.6	4.6	5.1	4.5	6.4	8.4	10	8.4	7.8	11.6	15.9	..	..
Italy	..	-1.9	-3	-0.9	-0.2	0.1	-0.5	0.2	0.1	3.2	3.2	2.6	1.6	2.6	2.2	1.6	1.8	3.1	2.2	6.1	10.6	9.6	5.2	6.4	..	
Japan	..	-0.3	-	-0.1	-	-	-	-	0.3	0.3	-0.1	-0.7	-0.4	-0.1	0.1	0.3	-0.1	0.3	-0.4	0.5	-0.3	-0.4	-	-	..	
Luxembourg	..	1.6	5.4	2.9	9.8	3.8	2.5	10.2	10.8	11	10.6	9.9	11.2	8.9	9	9.6	10.9	8.2	2.5	5.8	12	9.6	13.1	11.4	12.5	
Netherlands	..	-1.1	1.5	2.5	5.3	3.7	1.7	4	4.2	3.8	3.9	2.4	2.1	2.8	3.1	3.9	3.8	4.5	4.3	3.4	2.2	1.2	0.6	0.6	1.6	
New Zealand	..	2.4	6.1	0.3	4	-7.4	-5.8	2.7	1.8	1.3	3.9	5.5	7.7	6.6	2	-1.7	-2.3	-2.9	2.5	9.7	8.7	3.7	1.7	3.6	1.4	
Norway	..	-1.4	-0.5	-0.3	1.2	1	1.4	0.5	1.9	2.3	3	1.6	1.4	1.4	2.5	3.2	4.3	2	1.8	3.7	2.4	2.8	3.9	5.1	8.5	
Poland	0.1	-0.7	-0.8	-0.4	-0.2	-0.6	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-0.4	-0.5	-0.4	-0.5	-0.4	-0.2	-0.3	-0.9	-0.5	
Portugal	..	-4.3	-14	-16.5	38.2	4.3	-1.9	-3.9	-2	-0.5	1.6	1.7	2.2	2.6	2.9	3.2	3.7	4.6	6.3	6.8	6.1	4.5	3.6	..	..
Slovak Republic	-1.2	-2	-1.6	-1	-0.7	-0.6	-0.6	-0.4	-	-0.6	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.3	
Spain	-3	-5.2	-1.2	-0.4	1	-1.7	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.6	3.1	4.9	8.9	10.1	15.7	14.5	14.7	15	14.2	16	
Sweden	..	1.5	4.4	6.1	2.1	1.2	1.3	4.1	2.8	2.3	3.7	5.8	1.2	0.7	0.7	1.2	1.6	2.8	3.3	3.5	3.2	2.8	3	5.6	5.9	
Switzerland	5.7	4.2	-0.3	-2.9	-9.1	2.7	2.1	8.4	9.0	5.8	5.7	4.4	2.1	-0.8	-1	0.2	2.3	2.8	5.8	6.7	5.9	5.4	4.8	4.7	9	
Turkey	..	..	..	..	1.5	0.3	2.1	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	..	..
United Kingdom	..	2.1	-0.8	-0.3	-0.8	-0.6	1.6	1.2	1.3	-0.1	0.3	0.8	1	0.9	0.9	1.7	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	..	..	..	..	..
United States	..	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.1	3.2	2.7	3.1	5.1	5.1	4.5	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.8	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.2	4.1	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.7	3.4	
EU27 total	..	..	-0.2	-1.7	0.8	1.3	0.3	1.4	1.1	2	1.6	1.2	1.4	1.2	0.9	1.1	2	1.5	1.2	3.8	4.2	3.8	3.4	3.3	3.8
Chile	..	..	..	..	..	-1	-0.6	1.3	..	..	..	..	0.8	..	..	..	..	0.4	..	..	..	..	0.4	..	..
Estonia	..	..	..	..	..	4.3	4.3	-2.6	-5.1	-22.1	-9.2	-5.2	-5.7	-4	-1.8	-0.8	-0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Israel	..	..	..	..	..	4.5	-1.1	40.3	33	11.8	10	11.8	11.9	10.4	9.2	8.2	11.9	9.8	6.2	3.3	1.6	2	2.4	2.4	2.1
Russian Federation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4.4	3.5	3.5	2.9	1.8	2.5	1.9	1.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	..
Slovenia	..	..	..	..	..	2.8	1.8	1.1	-1.5	-0.2	0.7	0.5	1.3	3.3	1.2	-1.1	1.2	1.3	1.5	0.9	1.7	1	3.2	3.1	7.1

Source: OECD Factbook 2009: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics

Table 5 - Foreign-born and foreign populations

As a percentage of the total population

	Foreign-born population										Foreign population												
	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Australia	23.0	23.2	23.1	23.0	23.1	23.2	23.4	23.6	23.8	24.1	..	..	..	..	..	7.4	..	..	..	..	..	7.7
Austria	..	11.2	10.9	10.5	11.1	10.8	11.4	13.0	13.5	14.1	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.7	8.8	8.9	9.2	9.4	9.5	9.7	9.9	
Belgium	9.7	10.0	10.2	10.3	10.8	11.1	11.4	11.7	12.1	12.5	9.0	9.0	8.9	8.7	8.8	8.4	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.4	8.6	8.8	
Canada	17.2	17.8	18.0	18.1	18.4	18.7	19.0	19.2	19.5	19.8	..	..	..	..	..	5.3	..	..	..	..	..	6.0
Czech Republic	..	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.5	1.5	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.7	3.1	
Denmark	4.8	5.4	5.6	5.8	6.0	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.5	6.6	4.2	4.7	4.7	4.8	4.9	4.8	5.0	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.1	
Finland	2.0	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.9	3.2	3.4	3.6	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.3	
France	..	..	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.7	7.8	8.0	8.1	8.3	..	..	..	..	5.6	..	..	..	..	..	5.6	..
Germany	11.5	12.2	12.4	12.5	12.6	12.8	12.9	8.8	8.9	9.0	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.9	8.2	8.2	8.2
Greece	..	..	..	..	10.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.4	4.1	4.5	5.0	5.2	5.3
Hungary	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.3	3.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	
Ireland	..	7.8	8.2	8.7	9.3	10.0	10.8	11.6	12.7	14.4	2.7	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.3	4.0	4.8	5.6	5.5	6.3	..	
Italy	..	..	..	..	2.5	..	..	..	..	..	1.7	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.6	3.9	4.2	4.6	5.0
Japan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6
Korea	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.4
Luxembourg	30.9	32.2	32.8	33.2	32.8	32.9	33.0	33.2	33.8	34.8	33.4	34.1	34.9	35.6	36.0	37.3	37.5	38.1	38.6	39.3	40.4	41.6	
Mexico	0.4	..	..	0.5	..	..	..	..	0.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Netherlands	9.1	9.6	9.8	10.1	10.4	10.6	10.7	10.6	10.6	10.6	4.7	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.2	
New Zealand	..	16.5	16.8	17.2	18.0	18.7	19.2	19.6	20.5	21.2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Norway	5.5	6.1	6.5	6.8	6.9	7.3	7.6	7.8	8.2	8.7	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.6	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.6	4.8	5.1	
Poland	..	..	..	..	..	1.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.1	..	..	..	0.1
Portugal	5.4	5.1	5.1	5.1	6.3	6.7	6.7	6.8	6.3	6.1	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.1	3.5	4.1	4.3	4.5	4.1	4.1	
Slovak Republic	..	..	..	..	2.5	2.7	3.2	3.9	4.6	5.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6
Spain	..	3.2	3.7	4.9	6.4	8.0	8.8	10.3	11.1	11.9	..	..	1.6	1.9	2.3	3.4	4.9	6.4	7.2	8.7	9.5	10.3
Sweden	10.5	11.0	11.8	11.3	11.5	11.8	12.0	12.2	12.4	12.9	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.4	
Switzerland	21.4	21.4	21.6	21.9	22.3	22.8	23.1	23.5	23.8	24.1	18.9	18.9	19.0	19.0	19.2	19.3	19.7	19.9	20.0	20.2	20.3	20.3	
Turkey	..	..	..	1.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Kingdom	6.9	7.4	7.6	7.9	8.2	8.6	8.9	9.3	9.7	10.1	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.8	4.0	4.4	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.2	5.8	
United States	9.3	10.8	10.6	11.0	11.3	12.3	12.6	12.8	12.9	13.0	6.0	..	..	..	..	6.6	..	..	..	..	..	7.4
Chile	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.2	..	..	..	..
Estonia	..	..	..	18.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Slovenia	..	10.4	10.8	10.8	10.9	10.9	11.0	10.9	11.1	11.3	2.4	2.2	2.1	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.2	..	..

The situation was very different from country to country, with family migration dominating in countries such as the US and France (OECD, *International Migration Outlook*, 2008). However, these numbers do not reflect undocumented immigration and temporary mobility.

Several data on the economic participation of immigrants in OECD countries are displayed in Tables 6 and 7 and Figures 8 to 14. The important contribution of immigrants to national economies, as well as some of the main reasons for related social inequalities, may be observed in those figures. Data confirm the relatively high labour participation rates of foreign-born populations (Figure 11); the fact that it is the less skilled that display the highest participation rates (Table 6 and Figure 12) – a situation related to their frequent deskilling, i.e., the fact that they often perform tasks below their educational level; their frequent integration in some of the less privileged economic sectors, such as manufacturing, construction and personal services (Table 7); their higher share in flexible and casual labour arrangements, such as temporary employment (Figure 13); and their much higher vulnerability to unemployment (Figure 14).

Table 6 - Employment rates of native-born and foreign-born population by educational attainment, 2006*As a percentage of total population*

	Native-born			Foreign-born		
	Low education	Intermediate	High education	Low education	Intermediate	High education
Austria	47.7	75.6	88.0	51.4	68.2	74.8
Belgium	41.1	66.6	83.7	35.2	53.3	72.9
Canada	50.6	75.5	82.7	51.6	68.9	77.4
Czech Republic	22.9	72.0	84.0	33.1	67.5	79.8
Denmark	61.5	81.0	87.8	49.3	63.2	78.9
Finland	47.4	73.6	85.6	42.4	65.8	72.9
France	46.5	69.8	79.3	49.1	60.6	68.8
Germany	43.0	72.4	87.8	47.0	64.3	71.3
Greece	48.6	61.4	82.7	65.8	65.6	73.3
Hungary	27.5	65.2	81.3	36.9	59.8	77.3
Ireland	48.9	73.7	86.8	49.9	72.7	80.2
Italy	45.1	67.6	78.6	59.0	70.2	73.9
Luxembourg	37.8	62.5	85.6	61.5	65.2	83.4
Netherlands	60.7	80.5	87.2	44.6	64.2	75.2
Norway	56.4	80.4	89.4	49.1	68.5	84.6
Poland	23.3	58.4	81.9	16.3	32.9	59.9
Portugal	65.9	63.5	84.5	67.5	71.3	84.4
Slovak Republic	14.5	67.5	83.9	..	58.4	78.7
Spain	55.3	65.9	81.9	63.8	73.6	75.3
Sweden	54.7	81.1	88.3	47.0	66.5	74.3
Switzerland	55.3	80.7	92.7	63.3	74.4	81.9
Turkey	41.8	50.2	72.7	40.4	56.8	73.0
United States	35.2	71.7	83.7	62.3	71.6	78.8
OECD average	44.9	70.3	84.4	49.4	64.5	76.1
Slovenia	40.1	69.8	88.3	57.5	69.2	78.8

Source: OECD Factbook 2009: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics

Table 7 - Employment of foreign-born by sector, 2003-2004 (average)

	Percentage of total foreign-born employment									
	Agriculture and fishing	Mining, Manufacturing and Energy	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Education	Health and other community services	Households	Admin. and ETO	Other services
Austria	1.2	22.3	8.8	14.4	12.0	4.2	8.8	(0.4)	2.9	25.0
Belgium	1.2	17.3	6.9	13.6	7.4	6.2	10.7	0.6	9.1	27.1
Canada (2003)	1.2	19.8	6.0	14.1	7.8	5.5	9.6	..	3.6	32.5
Czech Republic	3.7	29.9	8.8	18.2	4.6	5.1	6.1	..	4.5	18.9
Finland	..	20.1	5.1	14.5	8.9	6.8	13.6	..	..	26.9
France	1.9	14.6	10.3	11.9	5.9	6.0	9.7	5.8	6.8	27.2
Germany	1.3	32.0	6.4	12.9	7.6	3.9	10.1	0.7	3.3	21.9
Greece	6.1	16.3	27.3	11.4	9.2	2.7	2.4	13.4	1.4	9.7
Ireland	2.2	16.6	8.4	11.5	13.2	6.4	12.5	..	2.9	25.4
Japan	0.5	58.7	1.8	13.1	⁽¹⁾	25.9
Luxembourg	1.0	10.5	16.0	12.2	6.0	1.9	6.3	4.2	12.2	29.8
Netherlands (2002)	1.5	20.4	4.5	15.0	8.2	5.4	12.2	..	4.6	28.2
Norway	..	13.7	4.5	12.6	8.6	8.0	20.7	..	3.7	27.0
Spain	6.0	13.6	16.3	12.2	12.0	3.6	3.7	12.2	2.0	18.5
Sweden	0.6	17.2	2.7	12.1	6.6	10.8	18.6	..	3.9	27.5
Switzerland	1.1	19.7	8.4	15.2	7.3	6.1	13.4	1.3	3.4	24.1
United Kingdom	0.4	11.8	4.3	13.6	9.0	8.4	14.5	1.0	5.2	31.9
United States	2.5	14.3	9.6	13.0	11.9	16.4			2.5	26.6

Note: The numbers in bold indicate the sectors where foreign-born are over-represented (*i.e.*, the share of foreign-born employment in the sector is larger than the share of foreign-born employment in total employment). The sign "-" indicates that the estimate is not reliable enough for publication.

Source: OECD, International Migration Outlook, 2006

Figure 8 - Contribution of net migration and natural increase to population growth, 2006

Chart I.2. Contribution of net migration and natural increase to population growth, 2006

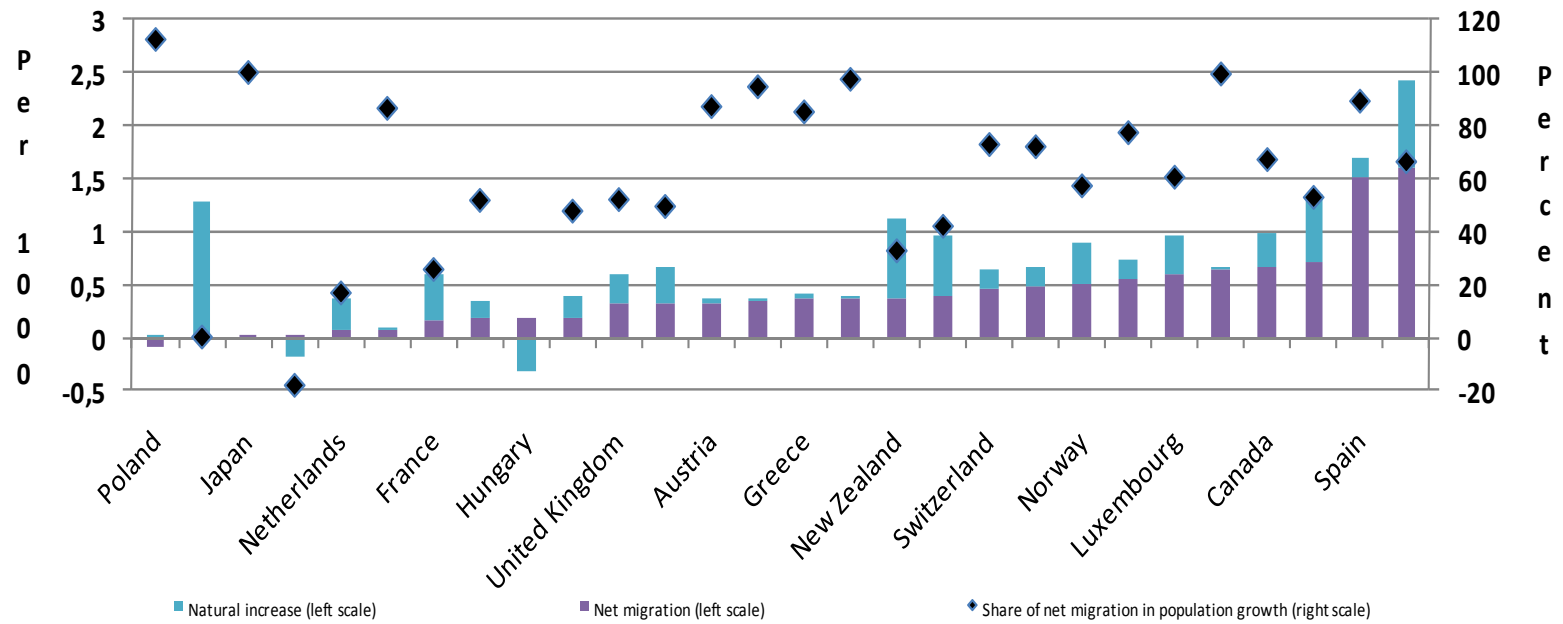


Figure 9 - Foreign-born population, 2006 or latest available year
As a percentage of total population

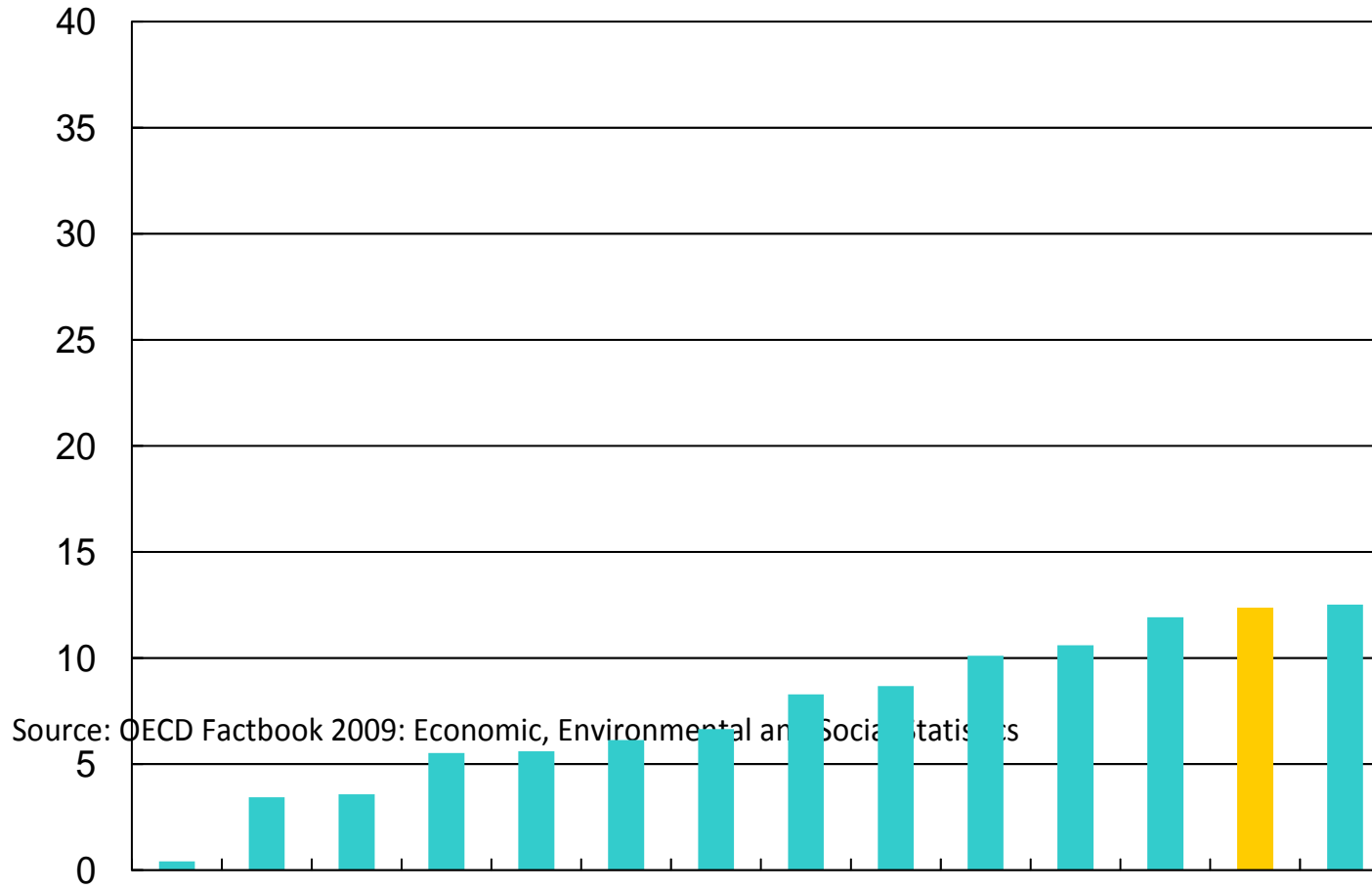


Figure 10 - Permanent-type immigration by category of inflow, 2006

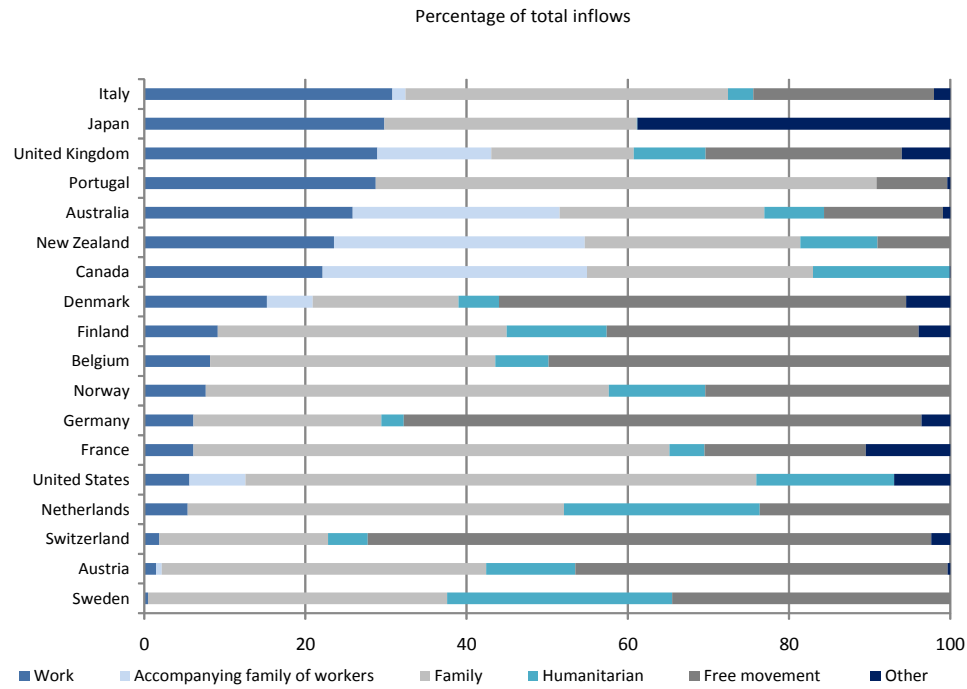
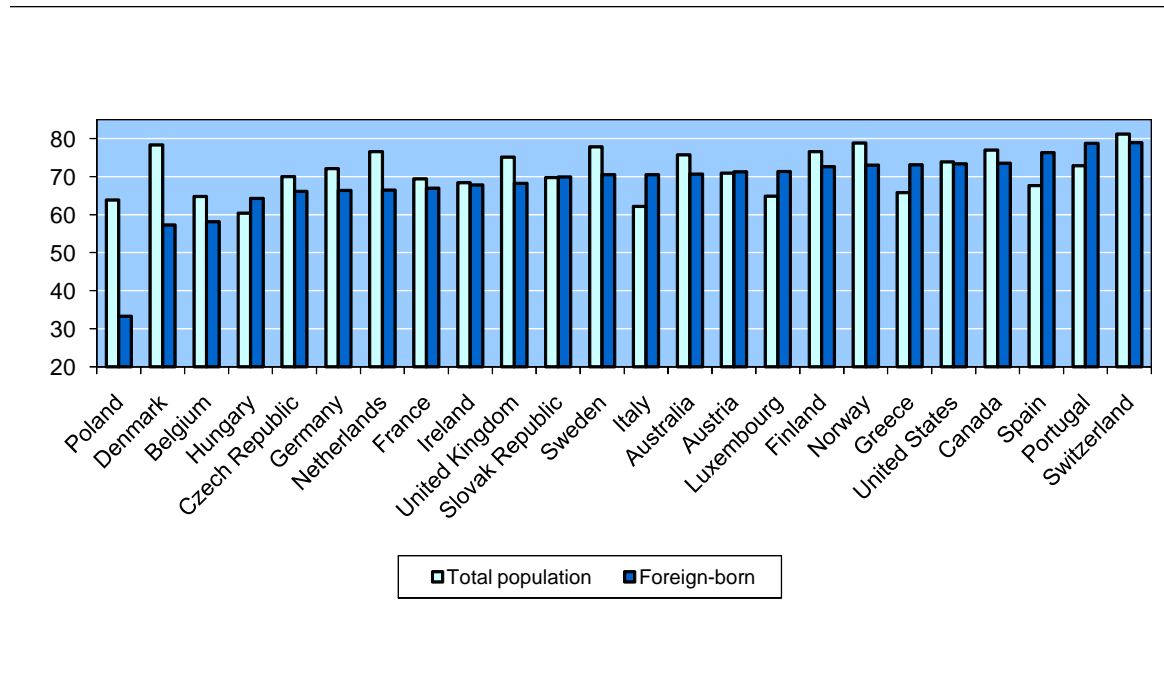
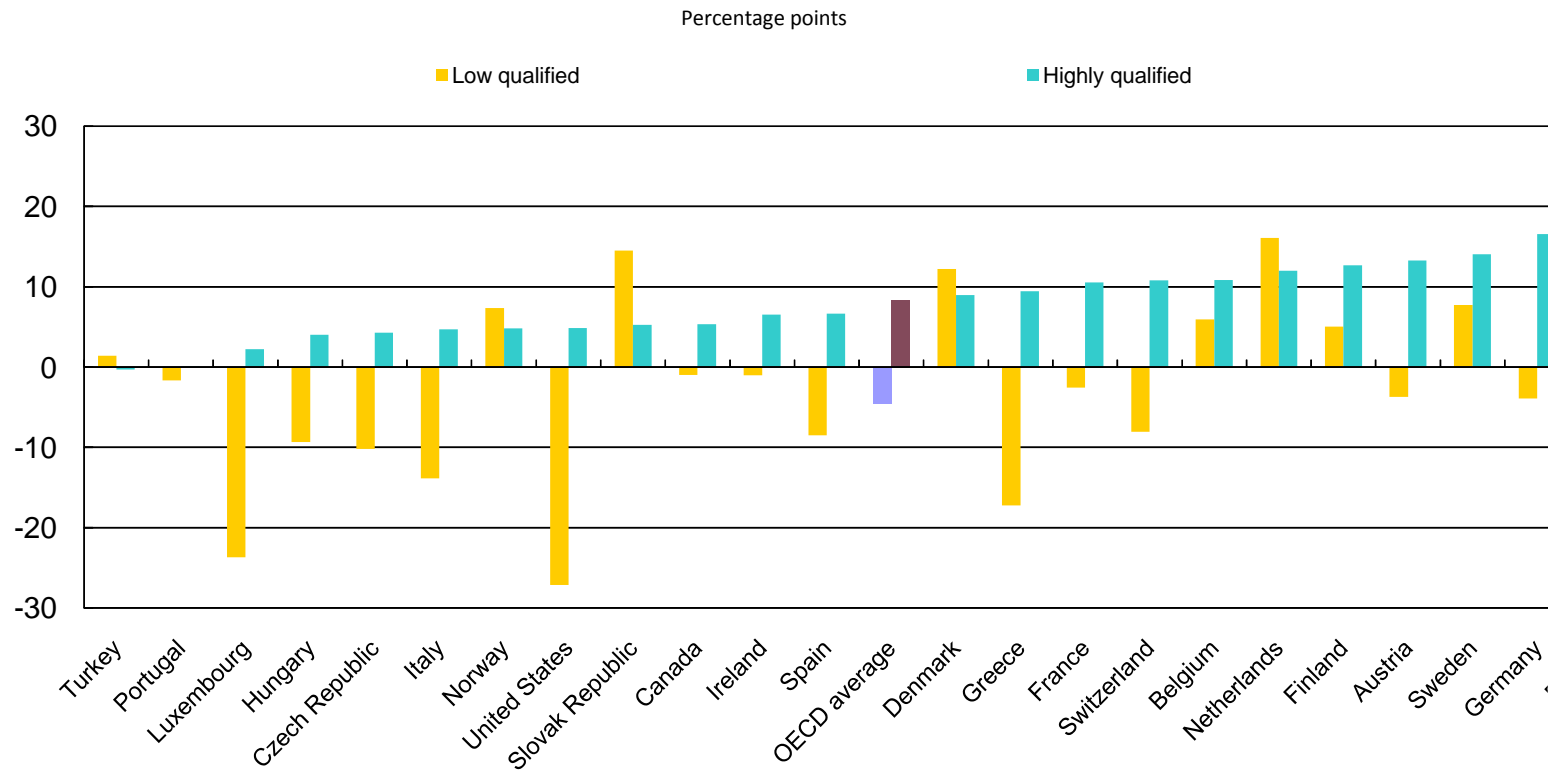


Figure 11 - Participation rate by birth status in OECD countries, 2003-2004



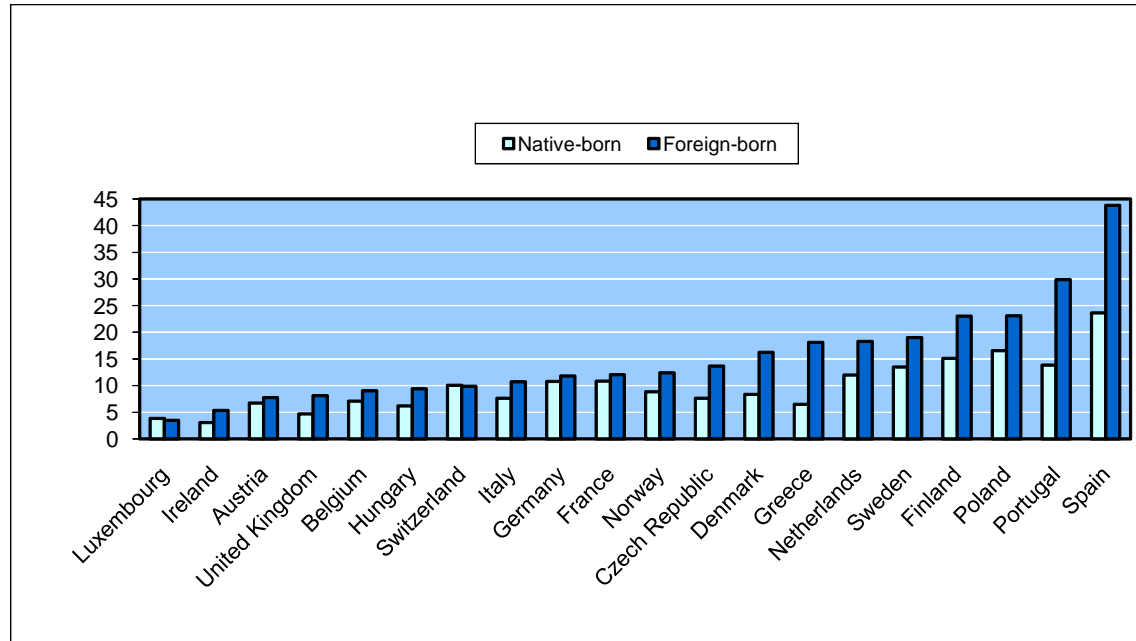
Source: OECD, International Migration Outlook, 2006

Figure 12 - Gap in employment rate between native-born and foreign-born population by educational attainment, 2006



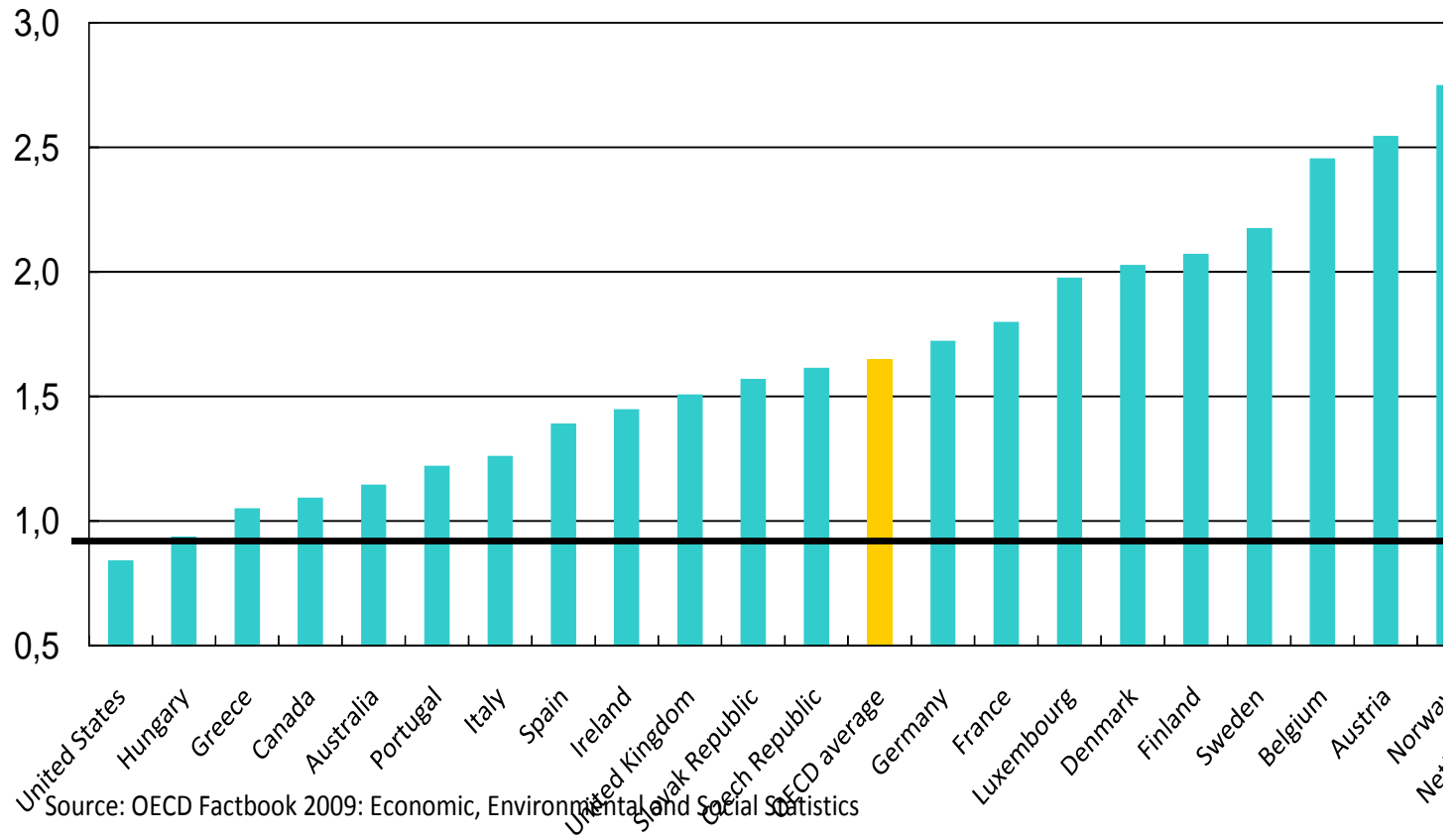
Source: OECD Factbook 2009: Economic, Environmental and Social Statistics

Figure 13 - Share of temporary employment in total employment by birth status, 2004



Source: OECD, International Migration Outlook, 2006

Figure 14 - Foreign-born unemployment rate relative to native-born unemployment rate, 2006



2.2 Review of Research

2.2.1 Policies: admission, control, integration and citizenship

Immigration policies are a crucial area for understanding immigration in Europe. On the one hand, they reflect the steps taken by national governments and supra-national institutions, most notably the EU, to deal with inflows and related issues, including immigrants' integration. On the other hand, a large amount of research has been devoted to the study of policy developments. In fact, policy developments and policy research go hand in hand, justifying their juxtaposition in this section. This section focuses on two main aspects of immigration policy: first, admission and control, and second, integration and citizenship. It must be noted that policy builds realities, in the sense that it gives visibility to some issues and omits others. Although it is the function of the researcher not to follow policy lines too closely, research efforts have been in fact strongly tied to policy dilemmas and related public debates. Despite this, the following paragraphs will attempt to highlight both research directly tied to policy needs, as well as more autonomous research.

2.2.1.1 Admission policies

(a) General policy issues

Some of the immigration issues dealt with by policymakers are related to admission procedures and control mechanisms. The objective is to know who may be legally admitted to a country, and under what conditions, and the ways of preventing unwanted immigration. During the period of economic growth between the mid-1940s and mid-1970s, there were, according to Castles and Miller (2003), three main categories of countries: the "classical" immigration countries, such as North American and Australia, in which permanent settlement and family reunion were promoted, and in which a legal immigrant was always a prospective citizen; European countries such as the UK, France and Netherlands, where immigrants from former colonies were granted favourable conditions of entry and easy access to citizenship, and where other immigrants were often relatively well accepted; and European countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland, tied to the classical "guest worker" model. After the mid-1970s this distinction became blurred. The European countries converged in many respects and, under certain perspectives, are also becoming closer to the classical immigration countries. This seems to be a two-way process. As stated by Miller (1999), we may currently be witnessing a Europeanization of American policy and an Americanization of European policy. A similar idea was expressed by authors such as Cornelius *et al.* (2004), when defining their "convergence hypothesis": immigration policies tended to converge to a general restrictive approach in major developed countries. But it is usually argued that an important distinction remains: the identity of the European nations is not related to immigration, but much more to some ethnic homogeneity, contrary to North American ones, whose founding myths evolve around immigration (Castles and Miller, 2003: 50).

All countries also create important differences among immigrants. As described in several sources, the “categorisation of immigrants” by policymakers, on the basis of nationality, ethnicity or skill level, enacts separate groups facing different admission constraints (Baganha *et al.*, 2006: 31-32). The classical cleavage had to do with the colonial and post-colonial relationships between countries. Very often immigrants coming from ex-colonies were granted privileges, both for entry and acquisition of nationality. This occurred in the North-western European countries already mentioned, but also in Southern European countries such as Spain and Portugal. More generally, links based on ancestry and ethnic identity have served to produce privileges: although the German case was better known in the second half of the 20th century, all countries possessing diasporas favoured this kind of action⁹. More recently, in the European context, the sharpest difference occurs between EU and third-country nationals. As will be seen below, these different groups face completely different conditions for admission and, generally, acquisition of rights.

Notwithstanding these selective criteria, since the 1990s the trend among European countries – and, particularly EU ones – was towards restrictive policies and a focus on control. As stated by Baganha *et al.* (2006: 26), “the control of migration has preoccupied the minds of policymakers ever since the relatively liberal migration regime that prevailed during the classical period of post-war labour immigration came under increasing pressure in the early 1970s, and much more forcefully, in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As a result migration policy in general came to be seen as being essentially about controlling and preventing unwanted flows”. In fact, after the oil-shock of the mid 1970s and the profound economic restructuring that took place, several changes occurred: the labour demand for low skilled jobs was not as evident as before, unemployment increased, and immigration pressure became stronger. The latter resulted from the end of the Cold War (bringing with it the re-entry of Central and Eastern countries into the European migration system), the conflicts that took place (particularly the one in ex-Yugoslavia, in 1991-1995) and the large economic gaps remaining (and sometimes widening) between developed and less developed countries. The changing context explained the changing attitudes of European authorities and public opinion regarding immigration.

There have been several new policy initiatives, particularly since the early 1990s. The old and new European immigration countries introduced stricter border controls, new visa requirements, penalties for airlines which failed to control the documentation of their passengers, public and workplace inspections, and improved means of detecting forged documents. At the same time, the available legal avenues for immigration, such as family reunion and asylum seeking, were made more difficult for potential migrants, and renewed efforts were launched to combat illegal employment, smuggling and trafficking. These initiatives were mainly of a reactive type. As argued by Castles and Miller (2003: 118), “this general climate of restrictiveness led some observers to speak of a «Fortress Europe», building walls to keep out impoverished masses from the South and East”.

⁹ For an overview of selection processes based on ancestry and postcolonial contexts in Europe, see Joppke, 2005.

In recent years, this restrictive stance coexisted with some mild opening to new immigrants. The acceptance of immigrants is based on principles of human rights (which were always present), economic and demographic needs. The channels of family reunion and asylum seeking always existed, although, as will be seen below (see next sub-sections), they were changed to allow for more rigorous scrutiny, which in practice has meant more obstacles for applicants. They result from the acceptance of human rights principles and adherence to world legal regimes. Economic needs are translated in the enactment of temporary labour programmes for low-skilled workers and specific avenues for highly skilled professionals. The demographic need is repeatedly cited as an argument for improved channels of regular inflows. It is significant that, in 2000, the (then) EU Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, António Vitorino, stated that “the zero immigration policies of the past 25 years are not working”, urging “new legal ways for immigrants to enter the EU” (quoted in Martin, Martin and Weil, 2006: 74-75). However, growing politicization of the issue, public debate and social tensions around immigration, and security concerns, mostly raised after September 11th, account for the fact that pro-active policies are still, at best, timid and tentative¹⁰.

At the same time, a new consensus started to emerge that immigration regulation could not be made by individual host countries alone, but required enhanced cooperation. This occurred at several levels: the EU framework, in which several steps have been taken since the 1990s; bilateral cooperation with sending countries; multilateral cooperation between countries (the best example of which is High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development that took place at the United Nations in 2006 - see also GCIM, 2005); and cooperation between governments and civil society. As Baganha *et al.* (2006: 30-31) comment, “the emergent international policy responses seem to encourage the participation of different levels of government (national, regional and supra-national), the input of non-governmental and private agencies, multilateral rather than bilateral fora and partnership between the countries involved in the migration pattern (sending, receiving and transit countries). The fact that numerous agencies have come to influence the process of policy-shaping or even policy making requires a less state-centric analysis of migration policies and also the study of the evolving modes of cooperation. The concept of multilevel governance seems to be useful for the development of such new approaches” (see also Zincone and Caponio, 2006).

The role of the EU must also be singled out. Apart from the principle of free circulation of labour, which was one of the early pillars of the Union, immigration has been the object of several initiatives since the 1990s. This commitment also explains increasing research on the topic. In the words of Penninx *et al.* (2008: 7), “the EU, and specifically the European Commission, has commissioned a significant amount of research and

¹⁰ A cross-comparative European research project, funded under the EC’s 7th Framework Programme, is currently under way on a related subject. The project, coordinated by Gianni D’Amato, from the University of Neuchâtel, is entitled “Support and opposition to migration - A cross national comparison of the politicization of migration” (see <http://www.som-project.eu>). It compares seven European countries in connection with conflicts over the social and political participation of immigrants and the way immigration is becoming politicized in these countries.

overview studies since international migration was declared a topic of communitarian policymaking (Amsterdam Treaty 1997). The field of integration followed in 2003 after the Communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment (2003) was politically accepted. EU-policies in the latter field, however, were not communitarian, but to be based on consensus of sovereign partners". Whilst some aspects have been the object of agreement and common policy in the EU, such as border control, asylum procedures, family reunification, EU citizenship and rights for long-term third-country residents, others are still the prerogative of nation-states, such as labour admission and, above all, access to nationality (for a synthesis on the latest EU approach to immigration and asylum issues, see Collett, 2010).

(b) Labour admission

The recognition of labour needs, which could be fulfilled by immigrants, was not made without hesitations by European governments. Contrary to the period up to the mid-1970s, economic expansion was no longer occurring on the basis of a stable environment, long-term contracts and a significant need for low-skilled labour. Moreover, inflows now faced a situation of structural unemployment (also affecting nationals), flexible labour arrangements and overall pressure on social protection mechanisms. For this reason, no significant legal avenues for labour immigration were opened up in the EU for many years. The main route to the labour market was irregular migration, coupled with the possibilities arising from family reunion and asylum-seeking legal channels.

The situation started to change during the 1990s. After the end of the Cold War, a number of temporary foreign worker policies were enacted, mainly involving low-skilled workers seeking work in sectors such as agriculture. The second generation of temporary worker programmes started out as an initiative of countries such as Germany, aiming to support the transition period in the economies of Central and Eastern countries after the fall of the socialism, as well as a means of combating irregular migration in this context (Castles and Miller, 2009). Other countries followed this approach, such as the Netherlands and Sweden. Significantly, these timid programmes were viewed as progressive in the new restrictive climate. This is obviously a paradox, since the guest worker programmes prevalent during the 1960s and 1970s, which involved many more immigrants, had been widely criticized for their limited integration prospects and inability to prevent settlement. But following the same policy line, some countries of Southern Europe, particularly Italy and Spain, launched further temporary work programmes since the 1990s to provide for their labour needs. In this latter context, most of the programmes involved seasonal workers looking for agricultural jobs.

The recognition of skill shortages in highly skilled domains, notably information and communication technologies (ICT), later followed as an immigration channel. This mainly occurred during the second half of the 1990s, when the ICT bubble was more apparent, also following initiatives of the United States in admitting a higher number of specialists in that domain. This led a number of European countries to design specific legal avenues for highly skilled workers, particularly ICT experts (see OECD,

2002). The German case is the best known: the country launched the Green Card in 2000, mainly targeting ICT specialists – although its quantitative target would be far from being met (Kolb *et al.*, 2004). The EU's recent Blue Card initiative is of the same nature (Directive 2009/50/EC on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment, coming into force in 2011). This means that the more relevant permanent labour shortage explicitly admitted by EU governments in recent years is of highly skilled people, the one supposed to improve the competitive advantage of Europe in the global arena. Low-skilled needs are viewed mostly as temporary.

However, researchers have pointed to the fact that plenty of opportunities for permanent employment in less skilled occupations remain. In fact, a large amount of literature defines the current economic environment in developed economies as providing dual opportunities in the labour market, either at the top or at the bottom of the professional ladder (for example, Sassen, 1991). The ways countries have been responding to the need for less skilled labour differ. In most cases, they use irregular immigrants and temporary work programmes, as well as less privileged citizens (including long-term immigrants and their offspring). Two other policy approaches have been developed in recent years. One is exemplified by the UK. The recent introduction of a points system in this country, which mainly rewards skilled labour migrants, was accompanied by the admission that less skilled opportunities would be fulfilled in the framework of the EU free circulation of workers. For as long as economic disparities remain in the EU, it is feasible that low-income countries (such as Poland) are available to send labour to higher-income ones (such as the UK). Southern European countries followed a different path. In Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece, quota systems were have been introduced since the 1990s, in an attempt to tackle the various labour market opportunities (Arango *et al.*, forthcoming). Although research on Southern Europe demonstrated the many failures of such systems, they were nonetheless meaningful as a quest for proactive regulation of labour migration.

(c) Family reunification

One of the long-lasting legal channels for admission to the EU is family-related immigration. Taking into account legal permanent immigrants, it represents the majority of inflows in many EU countries today (see Figure 3). Among the European hosts, the main exception to this rule is the Southern countries. This is explained by the recent character of immigration here, favouring a larger share of labour movements (single individuals who bring their families in later), and by the importance of irregular inflows, even when family members are involved.

The possibility of family reunification, as well as asylum seeking (see the following subsection), was not abolished in the mid-1970s when restrictive policies were enacted. This is the reason why these two channels were from then on the main legal avenues for admission, joining irregular migration to explain the persistence of inflows into Europe over the following decades. The strong entrenchment of family reunification in human rights principles and international law always made it an undeniable right of

immigrants¹¹. The EU laid the ground for a unified policy with its Resolution on the Harmonisation of National Policies on Family Reunification in 1993. Later, in 2003, it launched a directive on family reunification (Directive 2003/86/EC), demonstrating its significance for European immigration policy¹².

Despite universal acceptance, the development of the principle of family reunification was not straightforward. As stated by the literature, EU family migration policies “typically observe a very narrow understanding of the family” (Kraler and Kofman, 2009: 4). Although the 2003 directive sets out guidelines on which family members are eligible, what constitutes the family differs among member-states. Usually, family-related admission involves members of the nuclear family, particularly spouses and dependent children under 21, and, in some cases, registered partners¹³. In a few other cases, admission of dependent or elderly parents or other dependent relatives is also allowed. The more numerous cases involve immigration of spouses, rather than that of children. One of the reasons for this is that family formation or marriage migration (constituting a new couple) is overtaking conventional family reunification (reunion of separated family members) as the main form of family reunion (Kraler and Kofman, 2009).

Compared with traditional immigration countries, such as North-America, an important difference in the EU is its limitation of the family unit. The former extend family migration beyond dependent relatives, also including adult children, siblings and non-dependent parents (Kofman and Meetoo, 2008). As argued by Kofman (2004: 244), in contrast with the United States, Canada and Australia, “(...) in European states the criteria based on family ties have not been a priority in immigration policies and a highly restrictive definition of the family, normally limited to spouses and dependent children within the nuclear family, has been used as the basis of entry”.

Several restrictions have also been enacted regarding family reunion, which has been increasing in recent years (Baganha *et al.*, 2006; Bauböck *et al.*, 2006; Kofman and Meetoo, 2008). The possibility for family reunion was always subject to certain conditions. These traditionally included income requirements and living arrangements

¹¹ The right to family reunification is part of two human rights conventions: the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (although the latter is still to be ratified by most developed host countries). For a comprehensive view of family reunification policy in the world, see <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/developing-migration-policy/migration-family/family-reunification-issues/cache/offonce;jsessionid=77B505FC020F15E0020686F1FE46C5F7.worker01>.

¹² As in other EU laws, this directive allows a significant measure of discretion in its transposition to the national laws. For an updated view of the execution of the directive, see Commission of the European Communities, “Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the application of Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification”, Brussels, 8.10.2008, COM(2008) 610 final. A research project on family migration policy (FARE - Family Reunification Evaluation Project), coordinated by Raffaele Bracalenti, Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research, Rome, was funded by the EC just before the launching of the directive (the project lasted from 1999 to 2002) (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/044_en.html).

¹³ An increasing number of countries is recognizing the changing patterns of familial relationships. Some already recognize social units such as same-sex relationships, cohabitation, single parents and adopted children, such as the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and the UK (Kofman and Meetoo, 2008).

(including housing), a form of avoiding pressure on the welfare state. More recently, integration requirements also have to be met, such as integration tests and knowledge of the local language (measures such as these were enacted in countries like the Netherlands, Denmark and Austria in recent years). Since 2009, the EC has also tied family reunion to integration prospects, thereby conditioning that right (Collett, 2010). In addition, immigrant sponsors are required to fulfil a larger period of legal residence before calling their families in. In the case of migration for family formation, including transnational marriages, requirements for a minimum age of spouses or a probationary period of marriage have also been recently enacted. A polemical – and significant – requirement has been the attempt made by the French authorities to impose DNA testing on immigrants' children.

The increasing number of restrictions is part of the general restrictive climate existing in the EU, but is also closely tied to particular debates. Approaches to family reunification are changing in the EU, as research has often highlighted. The argument that family migration may reinforce the pressure on the welfare state and may bring in more (unwanted) low-skilled workers has been persistently cited for restricting family reunion. More recently a further argument has been advanced, namely that family migration may, contrary to what was expected, hamper integration prospects. This is related to the idea that it may reinforce traditional family norms and gender divisions (for example, patriarchal relationships, traditional customs such as arranged and forced marriages, and domestic violence), contrary to the principles of equity in European societies (Kofman and Meetoo, 2008; Kraler and Kofman, 2009). Furthermore, restrictions were enabled and justified in face of the abuse of this channel, including “bogus marriages” and “sham marriages” (Kofman and Meetoo, 2008).

It must further be noted that the possibility of family reunification depends on the legal status of the immigrants and, more generally, on their position in a stratified system¹⁴. Among the differences, EU citizens face much better prospects for family admission than third country nationals. This means that, as stated earlier, the categorisation of immigrants profoundly affects their integration patterns.

In the light of these changes, immigration based on family reunification has recently declined in the EU. Given this fact, some authors have argued that the EU defence of family reunification is far from having fulfilled its explicit aims, since it has allowed for several restrictions under the common policy. As argued by Kraler and Kofman (2009: 5), “(...) the European Commission failed to reach its objective for greater harmonisation through the family reunification directive. Instead of that, it has initiated a race to the bottom. (...) As a result, there is a growing gap between the right to family reunion for family members of third-country nationals and those of EU nationals. Citizens with family members from non-EU countries have fewer rights than

¹⁴ A recent comparative European research project delved into this issue: the project, entitled “Civic Stratification, Gender, and Family Migration Policies”, funded by the Austrian Ministry of Sciences, was coordinated by Veronika Bilger and Albert Kraler, from the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Austria, and lasted between 2006 and 2008. For further information, see Kraler and Kofman, 2009 and <http://research.icmpd.org/1291.html>.

citizens who have made use of mobility rights or other EU migrants and their family members. This ironic situation has given rise to what has been termed «reverse discrimination»”.

(d) Asylum seekers and refugees

As in family reunification matters, immigration policies have to follow strict national prerogatives on asylum and refugee issues. According to Baganha *et al.* (2006: 31), “the categorisation of migrants is not only within the mandate of the nation-state. Some migrants can claim the right to move and resettle on the basis of interests beyond the scope of national policy making, notably the UN's Refugee Convention or the European Convention on the Human Rights”. However, the pursuit of universalistic obligations was not made without considering realist objectives, linked to national dilemmas. Following the same authors, “the outcome of this balancing act has been that European governments are willing to accept a limited number of asylum seekers, of whom they will recognise an even smaller number of refugees” (*id., ibid.*).

Asylum seeker and refugee statuses became increasingly significant up to the early 1990s. As mentioned above, this legal channel was one of the few that remained available for immigration when the restrictive policies became predominant after the mid-1970s. As mentioned above, it is also based on human rights principles and international law¹⁵. Regardless of whether the movement was or was not properly grounded on the Refugee Convention, the number of asylum seekers increased in the EU strongly during the 1980s and reached a peak in the early 1990s. The reasons for this were several, including the political and military upheavals of the period, particularly related to the end of the Cold War, and the overall trend for an increase in worldwide migration.

The fact is that, after the early 1990s, several European states reacted and imposed restrictions on the admission of asylum seekers. The first steps were taken by Germany and Sweden, but a number of other European states followed, increasingly within the framework of the EU. The restrictive measures then enacted included: legislative changes to restrict access to refugee status; the setting of temporary protection regimes instead of permanent refugee status; measures to prevent individuals without adequate documentation from migrating (including requirements for visas and carrier sanctions); designation of “safe third countries” bordering the EU (such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic), thereby leading to the return of asylum seekers to transit countries; restrictive interpretations of the UN's Refugee Convention; and EU cooperation on asylum policy, particularly the Dublin Convention, indicating that the first country entered by an asylum seeker might decide on the claim, thereby generalising the “safe third country” principle among EU countries (Castles and Miller, 2003 and 2009; Baganha *et al.*, 2006).

These measures, coupled with other factors, such as the decrease in conflicts and the lower number of individuals detected by the authorities, explain why the number of asylum seekers has decreased in Europe – and other developed host countries – since

¹⁵ The most important instrument is the UN's Refugee Convention of 1951.

the mid-1990s. As stated by Castles and Miller (2003: 107), “the refugee regime of the rich countries of the North has been fundamentally transformed over the last 20 years. It has shifted from a system designed to welcome Cold War refugees from the East and to resettle them as permanent exiles in new homes, to a «non-entrée regime», designed to exclude and control asylum seekers from the South”. The result of such a policy, resulting from the pressure of controlling inflows, may have had the perverse effect of questioning their own legitimacy, since it may erode the guarantee of providing international protection (Baganha *et al.*, 2006).

2.2.1.2 Irregular migration

Irregular migration and related issues, particularly the organized networks fuelling it, i.e., smuggling and trafficking networks, have been an important area of concern, both for policymakers and researchers, since the 1990s. The volume of irregular migration was in direct proportion to the degree of restrictiveness. Since European immigration policy became restrictive, after the mid-1970s, and mainly during the era of “Fortress Europe”, after the early 1990s, irregular migration became endemic in European societies – although in some countries in higher numbers than in others. Reasons for this were the continued supply and demand for immigrants, the importance of the informal economy (Schneider and Klinglmair, 2004), and the informal and organized networks bringing in immigrants. In other terms, new (irregular) channels were opened for flows, and new actors emerged. A lot of research has been devoted to these issues, addressing the policy responses and smuggling and trafficking networks. There has been less research on measuring irregular migration¹⁶ and the lives and strategies of irregular migrants, which is partly explained by the hidden character of this event.

(a) Control and legalization

As described above, it was mainly after the 1990s that measures enacted to improve border control and deter unwanted immigrants emerged, such as new visa requirements, carrier sanctions and techniques for detecting forged documents. Despite their number, they were not enough to eradicate irregular inflows, thus accounting for further forms of control. These included control within the national territory, namely public and workplace inspections, including in the latter case sanctions against employers who recruited irregular immigrants.

Sanctions against employers have existed since the 1970s, both in Europe and North America. The rationale behind them was the fact that labour demand in the informal economy was a crucial variable for explaining inflows. It was thus necessary to combat irregular labour, on the demand side, in order effectively to deter it. These sanctions were often accompanied by legalization programmes, a form of “cleaning the field” before harsher measures were put into effect. This kind of approach, which was started in countries such as France and Germany in the 1970s, continued throughout

¹⁶ An EC funded research project (6th Framework Programme) was recently carried out on this theme: the project, titled “CLANDESTINO - Irregular Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends Across Europe”, was coordinated by Anna Triandafyllidou, from the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), and lasted from 2007-2009 (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/197_en.html and <http://clandestino.eliamep.gr/>).

the years, although with a drive to the South. In the mid-2000s some Southern European countries, such as Spain and Portugal, followed a similar policy (see, for example, Arango and Jachimowicz, 2005). However, it must be added that employer sanctions have seldom been effective. Reasons for this were insufficient personnel, weak coordination between official agencies, inadequate judicial follow up and defensive strategies by employers and immigrants (Castles and Miller, 2003). Some lack of political will may also have been relevant, given the awareness of the importance of cutbacks in labour costs in some sectors.

Many programmes to legalize the status of migrants have been launched in European countries since the 1970s. Advantages and disadvantages of such programmes have been diagnosed. The first include the need to terminate employment illegalities, to integrate immigrants integration and to understand the facts better. The latter include the complaint that legalization is a form of rewarding irregular behaviour and that such operations may have a pull effect on new immigrants (Levinson, 2005). Legalization programmes were common in several European countries during the 1970s and 1980s, but became fewer and more concentrated in space after the 1990s. Initially, they were widespread in Western countries and North America. Countries such as France and the United States conducted such operations up to the 1990s, as well as Switzerland in 2000. Until now, the call for legalizaiton is often heard in most of the developed host countries. But since the 1990s legalization programmes were mostly enacted in Southern European countries, namely Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece (*id.*, *ibid.*). The recent increase in immigration in this context, the importance of the informal economy, the search for new – and not purely restrictive – ways of managing immigration, and a favourable political climate, may explain this Southern peculiarity (VV.AA., 2009). It has been an issue for debate whether the so-called Southern soft underbelly is a reality, suggesting weaker controls at Southern European borders, or, on the contrary, questioning whether control failures are of the same type in Southern and North-western Europe (Pastore *et al.*, 2006; Finotelli, 2009).

(b) Smuggling and trafficking

The concept of “migration as a business” (Salt and Stein, 1997) and, more generally, the related “migration industry” are today widely used in migration literature. They mostly refer to the fact that a set of organized activities support the movement of people and that this tends to increase when the restrictiveness is higher. The illegal facet of this industry is the one of smuggling and trafficking networks. Since they are closely tied to irregular migration – although legal migrants may be also involved in trafficking –, their importance has grown throughout the years, attaining a peak after the 1990s.

During this period, a vast amount of the research was devoted to the topic. In this case, research closely followed policy needs. Many of the studies were funded by inter-governmental organisations, such as the IOM, and governmental agencies. For the IOM, the fight against human trafficking was one of the highest priorities in the 1990s, and for the EU countries the topic was always high on the agenda. A recent European directive on smuggling and trafficking (Directive 2004/81/EC on residence

permits issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or who have been the subject of an action to facilitate irregular immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities) confirms the priority of the topic in the EU. It must still be noted that research and policymakers clearly distinguish – at the theoretical and legal levels – two different aspects: smuggling is defined as support to irregular migrants, mainly constituting a crime against states; whilst trafficking involves fraud and exploitation, mainly constituting a crime against people¹⁷.

Research on these topics was abundant after the 1990s. Although the hidden character of smuggling and trafficking made the work challenging and incomplete, the many resources devoted to it allowed for the production of a large body of evidence. Research focussed either on destination and transit countries or, in some cases, on departure areas, all in different geographical locations. Many North-western and Southern European host countries were researched, and Central and Eastern Europe was the object of frequent scrutiny. Furthermore, departure areas in other continents were also observed. Some of the evidence provided led to some recurrent conclusions. These include the fact that loose networks often combine with highly organized ones, with both displaying very dynamic behaviour vis-à-vis policy interventions (for example, Pastore *et al.*, 2006); physical risks associated with both smuggling and trafficking are high (for example, Carling, 2007); supply and demand variables often combine to explain inflows (for example, Anderson and Davidson, 2003); and legal and irregular status are often found side-by-side, as in the case of family members and asylum seekers using the services of smugglers, and individuals being trafficked as legal immigrants to the sex industry (using visas to work in the entertainment industry).

2.2.1.3 Integration policies and citizenship

(a) General policy issues

Until recently, integration was not an issue in European immigration policy. The reason was that immigrants were regarded as temporary workers and their permanent settlement was not officially addressed. However, over time it became evident that many guests remained and that support policies should be enacted. Until the 1990s, it was mostly *ad hoc* measures that were put into place, and a large part of the responsibility was delegated to civil society, particularly NGOs, trade unions and churches. The most notable exceptions were Sweden and the Netherlands, which since the late 1970s implemented comprehensive policies. Since the 1990s the situation has changed dramatically, and most countries have become concerned about integration. At the same time it became clear that integration policy should be more than about episodic support, and had to be linked to a self-image of the state. As argued by Penninx *et al.* (2006: 12), “(...) integration policies inevitably go far beyond the simple idea of providing facilities for newcomers to adapt and function in the new society. The premise of any integration policy ultimately leads to questions of how the society in which newcomers «integrate» essentially defines itself and whether it is able and

¹⁷ The United Nations (UN) produced definitions on both issues in two recent protocols – the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and the UN Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, both adopted in 2000.

willing to change. (...) This has led, using the newcomers as a trigger or a threat, to much more fundamental questions and discussions on the identity of our societies: who are we?" (Penninx *et al.*, 2006: 11-12). This meant that the focus of integration policies has also been directed to issues of social cohesion, plunging deeply into the political debate.

In this larger sense, integration policies are closely related to different models of the nation-state or, in other words, with different concepts of citizenship. Historically, following Castles and Miller (2003: 243), three main types are found: "some countries of immigration make it very difficult for immigrants to become citizens, others grant citizenship but only at the price of cultural assimilation, while a third group makes it possible for immigrants to become citizens while maintaining distinct cultural identities". These categories are closely related with laws dealing with access to nationality, which will be examined in a sub-section below, and more generally with the granting of civil, political and social rights.

It must also be stressed that citizenship is a dynamic field, in the sense that attitudes and policies evolve. This was the case in the EU – and at many levels. At the national level, several countries have been changing their integration models, including access to nationality. The overall pattern of these changes was neither clear nor straightforward. In some recent cases, this has meant a drive towards a "neo-assimilationist" model, meaning greater demands for identification of would-be immigrants with national norms and language – as reflected in recent policy changes in countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands, whilst in other cases the option for a multicultural model seems to have prevailed – as in the case of some Southern European hosts, such as Portugal.

Regardless of the different integration models, in many cases long-term immigrants have acquired a status of quasi-citizenship in the EU societies – designated by Hammar (1990) as denizenship¹⁸ -, whereby a multitude of rights was acquired, except the political ones resulting from nationality. In all cases different types of immigrants acquired different citizenship rights. In this respect, at the EU level several changes occurred, including the granting of EU citizenship in 1992 and the concession of rights to third country nationals. The latter has included the definition of a status of residential or civic citizenship for long-term residents, the object of a recent directive (Directive 2003/109/EC, concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long term residents), also known as "LTR Directive" (Bauböck *et al.*, 2006)¹⁹.

Finally, it must be noted that the fields of admission and control, on the one hand, and integration policy, on the other, are typically separated domains of intervention and reflection. At best, the two domains are linked by the frequent political assertion that restrictive admission is a pre-condition for successful integration. In recent years, the

¹⁸ According to the Swedish sociologist, "denizenship" is one of the three legal statuses associated to immigrants (the other two are alienship and citizenship). It refers to two different immigrant categories: i) labour migrants with permanent residence status and their descendants and ii) recognized refugees.

¹⁹ In 2007 the European Commission proposed an amendment to this directive (see http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/intro/doc/com_2007_298_en.pdf).

linkage has become stronger, and the situation was in some cases reversed. As previously mentioned, some EU countries, including Denmark and the Netherlands, require that the would-be immigrants attend integration courses or pass a language test. This means that, for the first time, admission is conditional on integration (Penninx *et al.*, 2006; Baganha *et al.*, 2006).

(b) Integration measures

Beyond the general principles underlying integration policies, we may observe them in detail by considering the different domains of policy intervention. At the national, regional and local level, numerous evaluation exercises have been undertaken, either commissioned by the authorities or resulting from independent research. At a European comparative level, similar exercises would be of the utmost difficulty, given the different institutional contexts of EU countries and the multiple empirical issues under observation. However, many of the obstacles to a comparative analysis have been removed with the launching of the Migrant Policy Index (MIPEX) (Niessen *et al.*, 2007)²⁰. This project, carried out with the support of the Migration Policy Group and the British Council, and co-financed by the European Community (INTI Programme: Preparatory Actions for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals), involved a large network of European researchers and policymakers. Its objective was to compare immigrant integration policies of the EU states, plus Switzerland, Norway and Canada, aiming to rank them in diverse policy areas and, broadly, according to integration policy as a whole – disregarding the notion of integration models. The ranking was achieved by defining a number of policy areas, several policy indicators for each area, and a benchmark for each indicator (based on Council of Europe Conventions, EU Directives and European-wide policy recommendations). Significantly, since it reflects the outcome of the categorization process mentioned above, the index only refers to third country nationals legally residing in each EU country, not counting EU citizens, refugees and asylum seekers, and irregular migrants.

Aside from the concrete results of such ranking, what is relevant for the current purpose are the policy dimensions considered in MIPEX, since they represent the main specific actions that may be taken by states in the realm of integration. The six policy areas considered in the project were labour market access (including eligibility, labour market integration measures, security of employment and associated rights), family reunion (including eligibility, acquisition conditions, security of status and associated rights), long-term residence (including eligibility, acquisition conditions, security of status and associated rights), political participation (including electoral rights, political liberties, consultative bodies and implementation policies), access to nationality (including eligibility, acquisition conditions, security of status and dual nationality) and anti-discrimination (including fields of application, enforcement and equality policies). Issues related to family reunion have been observed in a previous sub-section. The issues of political rights and access to nationality, crucial to full citizenship, will be examined in the following sub-section.

(c) Political rights and access to nationality

²⁰ See also <http://www.integrationindex.eu>.

Citizenship is a multidimensional concept, which includes a set of civil, social and political rights. The latter are considered to be of vital importance, since they represent the capacity for voicing and acting over collective issues, i.e., taking part in the management of collective affairs in a political community. The main obstacle to access to these rights is that they are contingent on nationality. As stated by Bauböck *et al.* (2006: 87), “(...) in contrast with civil liberties and many social welfare entitlements, political participation rights are still significantly attached to the legal status of nationality”.

Several changes have occurred in this field in the EU over recent decades. During the guest worker era, the topic was off the policy-making agenda and, often, off the research agenda as well. In the 1990s the situation changed. Political mobilization, participation and representation of immigrant groups were often accepted, especially at the local level. As a result, important new developments took place, gradually decoupling political rights from nationality. EU citizenship and the concession of local voting rights to immigrants, disregarding nationality, was a remarkable step in giving voice to non-national communities. As stated above, the European Commission also introduced the concept of civic citizenship in 2000, meaning by this the granting of several rights and duties to long-term immigrants, including political rights at the local level, as a necessary step for successful integration. In other cases, consultative bodies (local, regional and national) were enacted to represent immigrants. Finally, discussion has also started among researchers and policymakers, on whether access to full political rights (including voting in national elections) should depend on nationality or should simply constitute an extension of voting rights (Bauböck *et al.*, 2006)²¹.

Access to nationality today is still the key variable for obtaining full voting rights – a matter that is linked, at the same time, to collective identity issues. For this reason its position in the integration debate is of the utmost importance. The granting of nationality to a foreigner means not only his/her access to collective power, but also his/her acceptance in the polity as “one of us”.

A large amount of research has been carried out on the evolution of nationality rules throughout Europe. The most comprehensive of such studies was coordinated by Rainer Bauböck, in the context of a project funded by 6th EU Framework programme. The project, known as NATAC (The Acquisition and Loss of Nationality in EU Member States), compared nationality laws and their implementation in the 15 old member states, being followed by an extension to the 10 new member states and some other European countries²². The aim of the project was to understand the development of

²¹ An EC funded research project was recently carried out on the theme of immigrants’ political integration at the local level: the project, titled “LOCALMULTIDEM - Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants’ Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level”, was coordinated by Laura Morales, from Universidad de Murcia, and lasted between 2006-2009 (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/256_en.html and http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/eurpolcom/research_projects_localmultidem.cfm).

²² For more information on the project, see <http://www.imiscoe.org/natac/>. The results of the NATAC project were published in 2006, in two volumes (Bauböck, Ersbøll, Groenendijk and Waldrauch, 2006). A

contemporary conceptions of statehood, nation-building and citizenship in the EU, as well as testing an eventual convergence hypothesis. Data collected as part of this project showed that “(...) there is still a remarkable diversity between European nationality laws concerning conditions for acquisition of citizenship by birth as well as by naturalisation. (...) This is, on the one hand, due to a lack of EU competency for harmonisation or setting of minimum standards. On the other hand, policy imitation across countries seems to be also less developed than in other areas of integration policy” (Bauböck *et al.*, 2006: 74-75). However, some elements suggest that a majority of countries tended to more liberal policies in the 1990s and more restrictive ones in the new century.

Although nationality laws remain a strict prerogative of individual member-states, it is meaningful that the European Commission has introduced some common principles in this area. In 2003, a communication from the European Commission on immigration, integration and employment (COM (2003) 336 final) suggested some standards for members-states’ nationality laws, indicating that “«naturalization should be rapid, secure and non-discretionary» and that for second and third generation immigrants «nationality laws should provide automatic or semi-automatic access» to citizenship” (Bauböck *et al.*, 2006: 84). Until now, however, many differences remain, both at the level of the underlying principles of nationality acquisition – particularly the weighting of *ius soli* and *ius sanguini*, together with the *ius domicili* – and at the level of practical operationalization of the law.

Meanwhile, at the same time as the debate on changes in citizenship models and nationality laws occurred, a decisive change took place. With the spread of migration, ease of travel and communication and the growing number of mixed marriages, there has been a trend towards the acceptance of dual citizenship. Given the gradual recognition that an individual may have more than one loyalty, an increasing number of EU nation-states have been accepting this principle. In practice, this means that the traditional basis of national political communities is being eroded, in favour of a growing transnationalism (Faist *et al.*, 2008).

third volume, on the ten new member states and Turkey, was published in 2007 (Bauböck, Perchinig and Sievers, 2007). Finally, an updated edition was published in 2009 (Bauböck, Perchinig and Sievers, 2009).

2.2.2 Families: demography, family migration, gender and age

A large body of research has addressed immigration from a family-related perspective. Under this heading, several areas are worth mentioning. In this section, some of the main recent studies on the demographic impact of immigration, family migration, gender issues, age-related migration and the second generation will be reviewed.

2.2.2.1 Demographic impact

The demographic impact of immigration in Europe has been the object of an increasing amount of research. The reason for this is plain: in the face of the potential decline and structural ageing of the European population, the direct and indirect impact of immigration has generally been well received. The advent of the second demographic transition, with the persistence of low (and lowest-low) fertility levels and increased life expectancy, has led all European societies to a more or less advanced stage of low natural increase and ageing. The inputs resulting from (usually) young adult immigrants and their offspring have enabled increases in total population, slowed down the pace of ageing and smoothed some of its consequences.

Studies such as that by Haug *et al.* (2002), carried out in the framework of the Council of Europe, have been among the first to research these issues on a comparative basis. Despite the lack of information sources, its conclusions pointed to the fact that immigration has contributed significantly to the positive demographic growth and the slower pace of ageing in a number of European countries, mainly since the 1960s. This had to do with both its sheer numbers (direct impact) and its delayed demographic effect, given the volume of immigrants' offspring (indirect impact). Fertility rates among immigrants, although varied, tended frequently to come down to host country levels. However, their concentration on adult fertile ages led in every case to a high proportion of births issuing from immigration – the actual basis of the second generation. Alternatively, their mortality rates were low, again given the effect of the young age structure.

After the UN's (2000) seminal contribution, the impossibility of replacement migration, in the sense of offsetting the consequences of European low fertility, has been repeatedly stated. Several studies, such as Lutz and Scherbov (2006) and Bijak *et al.* (2007) confirmed that immigration may be, at the most, a small part of the solution to an unavoidable problem, i.e., low demographic growth and ageing. However, simulations of net migration rates over the next decades suggested that significant immigration would be beneficial in sustaining the current quantitative level of the workforce and the current potential support ratios in most EU countries.

Further research has been conducted into the impact of immigration on fertility, family patterns (see next sub-section), morbidity and mortality. With regard to fertility, some recent studies suggest that immigrants' fertility, although varied and even when declining towards host country levels, have added significantly to national demographic patterns. On the one hand, children born from immigration account for a

growing share of total live births in many EU countries²³. On the other hand, they have had an impact on the stabilisation or even an increase in fertility in some countries, as in some lowest-low fertility cases, such as Spain and Italy (Billari, 2008). With regard to morbidity and mortality, and despite the relatively weak incidence of these events in immigrant populations, given its relatively recent character and young age structure, several studies observed the links between migration and health, taking into account health-related problems of immigrant communities and their impact on public health (McKay *et al.*, 2003).

The importance of immigration – including national, intra-EU and third-country national immigrants – for the present and future of European populations is universally accepted. Indeed, we should recall that inflows and outflows are part of demography, at the same time as births and deaths. It is only the political and cultural challenges associated with foreign inflows that have given so much visibility to this issue, particularly where non-EU citizens are concerned. The most extreme evaluation of immigration's impacts is that of a British demographer, who is known for his critical stance on inflows: although Coleman's (2006) proposal for a "third demographic transition" seems exaggerated, it is useful as a signal of its current significance.

2.2.2.2 Family migration

(a) Family migration as a field of study

Family migration is an area of recent research. During the traditional period of guest worker migration, immigration was not supposed to lead to settlement, nor were immigrant families a challenging issue. The family reunification that took place at the time usually followed the male breadwinner model, thus pointing to a monotone type of immigrant family. In fact, family migration was neglected until recently, both by academics and policymakers. As argued by Kofman and Meeto (2008: 151-152), this may have resulted from their "conceptualization as a feminized and dependent form of movement with little relevance for labour force participation". This neglect is, of course, partly linked to the relatively minor role attributed to women's agency, a situation that changed only recently. In fact, there is significant linkage between family migration and studies on gender and migration (see next sub-section).

Over recent decades, and particularly since the 1990s, the increasing diversity of families and migration patterns has led to a growing interest in this topic. On the one hand, family patterns have changed substantially in Europe, sometimes leading to migration events. On the other hand, migration itself changed, bringing with it implications for the family. As synthesized by King *et al.* (2004: 5-6), "the meaning and nature of the concepts of family and household are challenged both by broad social changes in Europe, and by the increasing diversity of types of migration and mobility, as earlier labour migrations are overlain by migrants who are refugees and asylum-seekers, clandestine entrants, skilled professionals, students, retirement migrants and many others".

²³ For example, in Portugal, the number of live-births from a foreign mother or father amounted to circa 12 per cent of the total in 2008, a value that almost tripled the total percentage of foreigners.

Interest in family networks and strategies, at both the sending and host countries' level, is part of the widening body of research. The increasing diversity of gender roles, migration strategies and integration outcomes, including independent female migration, has led to many studies on the topic. Another topic meriting particular attention was transnational families, defined as those "(...) that live some or most of the time separated from each other, yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely «familyhood», even across national borders" (Kofman and Meetoo, 2008: 154). However, much is still to be done. According to Kofman and Meetoo (2008: 151-152), "it is necessary (...) to move beyond the narrow economic approaches adopted in previous work on family migration (...) and to examine the changing forms and (re)composition of the family, the diverse strategies deployed in the course of migration, the gendered composition of family migration, the position of specific members of the family, such as children and the elderly, and the implications of policy measures for men and women (...). Furthermore, as women migrating as heads of household now make up almost half of global flows, they are themselves becoming major initiators of family reunification".

(b) Types of family migration

Family migration is a heterogeneous field of study. This was not always understood as such. As pointed out by King *et al.* (2006: 252), "European case-studies of international family migration have tended to assume traditional paradigms of family organisation – the nuclear family above all – and have not fully explored or even acknowledged the variety of family and household types which derive from diverse home-country settings, or are evolving amongst European populations, or are developing within specific transnational migration contexts. Several different family-migration trajectories can be identified". In this respect, researchers and policymakers agreed for many years on the orientation towards the nuclear family, given the narrow concept of the family also prevailing at the policy level.

Since the 1990s, it has been widely admitted that there are different forms of family migration – and, correspondingly, immigrant families. However, it is not easy to draw up a typology, given the "fluid and interacting categories" in the field (Kofman, 2004: 246). Changing migration patterns contribute to this difficulty, as well as the shortcomings of statistical databases. Despite these problems, some general classifications may be used. One was suggested by Kofman (2004), for whom there are three basic types of family migration: i) family reunification; ii) family formation or marriage migration; and iii) whole family migration. A second classification was suggested by King *et al.* (2006), who add to the former typology a separation between family formation and marriage migration, as well as a new category, split-family formation. In the paragraphs below we have adopted Kofman's classification.

The first type of family migration is family reunification, the conventional form of this movement. It occurs when an immigrant, living in an host country for a certain period of time and with an already existing family back home, brings in his/her family members. Given the legal restrictions in the EU, the usual modality of family

reunification is the admission of spouses and children, and sometimes also registered partners and dependent parents. Although the typical form of reunification encompasses a male immigrant and his family, there are more and more cases of processes led by immigrant women (Wall *et al*, 2010).

The second type of family migration is family formation or marriage migration. This includes two main sub-groups. In the words of Kofman and Meetoo (2008: 155-156), “the first consists of second and subsequent generations of children of migrant origin (both citizens and non-citizens) who bring in a fiancé (e)/spouse from their parents’ homeland or diasporic space. This group has increased due to the growth of second and subsequent generations who continue to marry external partners, a particular characteristic of Turkish and North African immigrant populations (...). The second variant of marriage migration involves permanent residents or citizens bringing in a partner they have met while abroad for work, study or holiday. In this case, the marriage is a secondary effect of the reason for going abroad”. Other designations for these sub-groups are endogenous marriage, or transnational marriage, in the first case, since it has to do with unions of members of the same ethnic group in different countries; and mixed marriage, or binational marriage, in the second case, since it involves members of different ethnic groups (Kraler and Kofman, 2009).

Taking both categories, studies have shown that the volume of family formation surpassed family reunification in recent years. This was particularly true in countries with large settled immigrant communities (Kraler and Kofman, 2009). Particularly, the number of mixed marriages, or binational marriages, has been rising fast. In fact, a broad notion of mixed marriages includes events as varied as spouses brought in from a foreign country, belonging to a different ethnic group from the sponsor; unions of residents in the host country, belonging to different ethnic groups; and (in what may be seen as constituting a statistical bias) unions between citizens (such as naturalized immigrants) and foreigners, although both from the same ethnic group. In any case, mixed marriages account today for a significant share of all marriages taking place in the EU countries, thereby justifying the increasing interest in this topic of research in Europe (Barbara, 1993).

A particular case which deserves some attention is the one of arranged marriages, which, in the words of Kofman and Meetoo (2008: 161), “(...) stands out as one of the forms of marriage migration that needs to be scrutinized, contained and managed”. Although traditional arranged marriages involve established families, with the marriage usually arranged by the parents, other fast-growing modalities are modern matchmaking services and mail-order brides. In the latter cases, a more or less organized intermediation takes place between the partners. The most usual pattern in these relationships involves males from developed countries and women from less developed countries. There is typically a short period of courtship and, in a growing number of cases, the Internet is replacing direct contact as the means of personal introduction.

Despite the predominance of male partners at the start of family formation processes, recent research has highlighted the growing role of women’s agency (Kofman, 2004). There are an increasing number of female immigrants bringing in male spouses and

fiancés from the countries of origin, a trend which is related to a more equal gender balance in the second generation and normative changes in the sending countries. This is the case, for example, of immigrants from Turkey and North African countries. At the same time, more and more marriages resulting from international contacts are the consequence of women's travelling, studying and working abroad.

The third type of family migration is whole family migration. In this case, the entire family – usually a nuclear family – moves at the same time. Given the legal restrictions, this case is not common in Europe. The major exception involves some highly skilled immigrants, including intra-EU ones, and refugees. In the first case, some EU countries accept that the family of students, work-permit holders and trainers moves along with the immigrant²⁴.

(c) Immigrant families

One of the areas where research is still scarce is immigrant families. As pointed out by Wall (2007: 2252), “the sociology of immigrant families represents a significant lacuna in the research on international migration”. According to the same author, available research in this area has addressed four main topics: the migration decision (insofar as migration is often an ongoing family project, negotiated at the family level and structured around the needs and resources of the households²⁵); the forms of family migration (including migration led by male or female partners and whole family migration); the demographic trends (mainly focussing on immigrants' fertility); and the assimilation of immigration families (studying the different modes of integration of family members, including the second generation) (*id.*, *ibid.*: 2253-4).

Other perspectives on this topic have recently emerged, mainly related to family dynamics. One is the study of the reconciliation of work and family life in immigrant families. A project funded by the EU entitled “SOCCARE – Families, Work and Social Care in Europe”²⁶ fell into this category. The project, which compared five EU countries (Finland, France, Italy, Portugal and the UK) looked into the way immigrant families with small children balanced work and family care. Among its conclusions, it was shown that most families could not rely on informal support networks to help care for young children. This increased the difficulties faced by parents, who also had to deal with atypical or long working hours, heavy workloads and low incomes, which excluded them from access to extensive childcare services. The strategies enacted by immigrant families to overcome these problems are described in Wall and São José (2004).

²⁴ A recent research project funded by the European Commission has been working on this topic: the project, coordinated by Norbert Schneider, from the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Federal Institute for Population Research, Germany, was entitled “Job Mobilities and Family Lives in Europe”; its object was the spatial mobility of highly skilled workers inside the EU and its consequences for their family lives (see <http://www.jobmob-and-famlives.eu>).

²⁵ This approach is used by one of the most relevant theories on migration, the new economics of migration.

²⁶ The project, that lasted from 2000-2003, was coordinated by Jorma Sipilä, from the University of Tampere, Finland (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/102_en.html).

Other issues attracting increased attention are mixed marriages and transnational families. In the first case, differences in culture, religion and attitudes towards family and gender roles pose specific challenges to family life (see, among others, Barbara, 1993). In the second case, attention is being given to the possibility of carrying on family life (including care arrangements and economic support) within the transnational space (see, among others, Zontini, 2004). Some of the reasons for the growth of the latter are the difficulties facing family reunification, the irregular nature of immigration and work, the live-in arrangements facing domestic workers (particularly in the Southern European context), the rotational character of many flows and, of course, ease of transport and communication. However, it may be argued that studies on transnational families mostly consider a nuclear dimension of the family. If one adopts an enlarged notion of the family, the notion is almost as old as international migration itself (although the contacts were indeed less frequent and intense).

2.2.2.3 Gender

(a) Gender and migration as a field of study

Although some research remains “gender-blind”, there is a consensus today on the relevance of gender as a key analytical category in migration studies. The relevance of gender in migration research can be perceived in two different ways. On the one hand, it is important in order to build up a full understanding of immigrants’ experiences and strategies; on the other, it is crucial for providing better knowledge on the outcomes of immigration and on integration patterns. Those who reject this idea are neglecting the fact, stated by Anthias, that “gender is a relational social category implicated in a range of social relations linked to the process of migration” (cit. in King *et al.*, 2004: 33).

It is known that gender studies are not only about women. However, the fact is that it has been through them that gender has emerged as a key analytical category in the migration field. Mostly inspired by the feminist movement, what may be termed as the “first wave” of research on immigrant women and gendered migration emerged in the early 1980s (e.g. Phizacklea, 1983; Morokvasic, 1984; Simon and Brettell, 1986). These studies challenged migration research by introducing new perspectives regarding the role of women in migration. According to King *et al.* (2004), their major findings were that i) women migrated in larger numbers than previous male-centred studies suggested; ii) women were not merely “followers” of men, being also primary labour migrants; iii) even when migrating as dependents, women often entered the labour market (with different employment opportunities compared to men); iv) women’s migration patterns and integration outcomes varied according to their national and ethnic background; and, finally, v) migrant women and their families were treated very differently compared to native populations. Furthermore, some of these studies addressed related topics, such as the relationship between production and reproduction in women’s lives, and whether women’s migration and labour experience enhanced their power and status within the households.

Since the late 1990s, a “second wave” of literature on immigrant women and gendered migration emerged. According once again to King *et al.* (2004), four main perspectives

stand out: i) migrant women's agency, ii) feminisation of international migration, iii) globalisation and iv) transnationalism. In the first case, the role of women is now seen to be both affected by structures (as was stressed before) and enabled by them (in the sense of framing their agency), allowing for a more flexible analysis of immigration and gender relations. In the second case, women are seen as having a more important role in migration processes, both quantitatively and as social actors, meaning by this that independent strategies are becoming more significant. As pointed out by the authors (*id., ibid.*: 36), "the real point about the feminisation thesis is not to do with quantifying female versus male migration, but recognising the increased agency and independence of women in migration flows and systems". In the third case, globalisation is seen as both constraining women's migration paths (for example, originating the feminisation of poverty, leading to the growth of the international market for domestic workers and the sex industry) and providing opportunities for them. In the fourth case, the increased presence and active role of immigrant women in transnational networks (such as family and care networks, including transnational mothering) is stressed.

(b) Migration, patriarchy and women

One of the most relevant points raised by the literature has to do with the impact of international migration on women's roles and power, i.e., gender relations. Two contrasting views are usually expressed. As put forward by King *et al.* (2004: 39), "some lay emphasis on migration as a potentially liberating and transformatory experience, through which women are able to regain a measure of control over their lives and destinies – often, however, whilst remaining entrenched in the «service» of their families who may depend on them for their livelihood. Other analyses are more negative: gender is seen as another layer of the multiple oppression of migrant women – structurally discriminated against as migrants, as women (both by the host society and within their own ethnic group), as members of the labouring underclass, as racially stigmatised, and, finally, as accepting these oppressive structures".

The increased agency and crucial role of women in the contemporary world are emphasized. For example, authors such as Sassen talk about the "feminization of survival": "because it is mainly women who make a living, create profit and secure government revenue (...) in using the notion of feminization of survival I am not only referring to the fact that households and whole communities are increasingly dependent on women for their survival (...) governments are also dependent on women's earnings" (cit. in Wall, Nunes and Matias, 2008: 604). In other cases, it is women's oppression and victimisation in current migration that is highlighted. It may be argued that, in the migration context and particularly when observing the European experience, generalized assertions about changes in gender relations are not sufficient. Recent findings suggest that patterns of patriarchal and social control may be changing for some immigrants, but not for all.

Hence, some studies suggest that immigration has beneficial effects on women and gender relations. In some situations, immigration and wage-earning in Europe may lead to the increasing independence of women, a more flexible division of labour at

home, less segregation in public spaces and increasing centrality of women in transnational families and networks. This helps to explain why, in some cases, women are more reluctant than men about return migration.

In contrast, other studies underline the fact that many migrant women still suffer from some specific circumstances of their community's culture and family life (for example, social exclusion and enslavement), which tend to collide with values of the host country – which are usually more favourable to women's increased autonomy and freedom. At this level, many findings indicate that there is a connection between violence and migration, namely male violent behaviour against women (spouses, sisters and daughters). Some of these studies explore the links between violent male behaviour and social conditions, such as the experience of racism or unemployment and social relegation, while others explore the connection between violence and different forms of social control within the migrant community (for example, violence against young girls from the second generation). Since some immigrant women create their own activist groups, this means that there is sometimes an awareness of women's rights within the community.

Furthermore, domestic violence is a problem that goes beyond households and immigrant communities. The channels of “sex, marriage and maids”, as expressed by Phizacklea (1998), define some of the main avenues of female migration to Europe. They are also a clear example of the violence perpetrated against them. The sex industry is largely demand-driven, providing opportunities for trafficking networks and prostitution, bringing in young women from less developed countries. Marriage, particularly arranged marriages and matchmaking, often links men from European host countries and women from less developed ones – as in the case of mail-order brides. Domestic work and caring, both in live-in and external work arrangements, provide numerous job opportunities for immigrant women, particularly in Southern European countries, where gender relations are more asymmetric (household tasks are less balanced between men and women) and caring is attributed to families. Many of these domestic and caring jobs are viewed as awkward and exploitative (King *et al.*, 2004).

In sum, statements concerning female migration strategies, independence and power in migration processes and in households, and overall change in gender relations as an outcome of migration, must be viewed with some caution and in the context of the need for more empirical research. Supporting this approach, a large array of research has been addressing the topic of female migration in Europe in recent years, including various comparative projects funded by the EU ²⁷.

²⁷ This was the case of projects such as Female Migration Vision, coordinated by Rossana Trifiletti, University of Florence, Italy, 2005-2006 (see <http://www.fondazionebrodolini.it/Kernel/Common/DocumentPage.aspx?docId=6401>); GRINE – Migrant Women Face Increased Prejudice, coordinated by Luisa Passerini, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2001-2004 (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/055_en.html); FEMAGE - Needs for Female Immigrants and their Integration in Ageing Societies, coordinated by Charlotte Hoehn, Bundesinstitut fuer Bevölkerungsforschung, Wiesbaden, Germany, 2006-2008 (see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/195_en.html); FEMIPOL - Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations, coordinated by Maria Kontos, Institute of Social Research at J.W. Goethe University, Germany, 2006-2008 (see

2.2.2.3 Age-related migration

Migration is closely related to age and the life course. This has been known since some of the pioneering works in the field. Studies on human capital and migration, for example, pointed to the fact that most economic migration occurs at young adult ages, given the larger period of return (as migration is an economic investment in human capital, it would not be rational to migrate in mature adult years). Studies about residential mobility suggested that changes in the life cycle – or, more generally, in the life course – are related to geographical movements. This time-based perspective has been recalled by King *et al.* (2004 and 2006). When applied to family migration events, it is suggested that “taking a time-based perspective, families can be created, split and then reunified through different stages of the migration cycle. The life-history approach sees a complex interweaving of family stages with migration events: family formation or dissolution may set the scene for or trigger migration; and migration in turn may provide opportunities for, or in other cases constrain, particular family formations. Personal and intra-family relationships and dynamics can also play a significant role – such as separation, divorce, or a woman migrating to flee an abusive husband” (King *et al.*, 2004: 43-44). When applied to other movements over the life course, this time-based perspective may also help to explain movements such as the migration of children, student migration and retirement migration (King *et al.*, 2006).

Studies on migrant children may be divided according to the framing of the migration movement: migrant children as refugees and asylum seekers, as victims of trafficking (particularly trafficking for sexual exploitation), migrant children with EU citizenship, migrant children of third country nationals and inter-country adoptees. Studies on student migration are very recent and fast-growing. They stress the recent growth of these flows, reinforced by the incentives to mobility (such as the Erasmus and Socrates programs at the EU level), their framing within the globalisation of higher education and their linkages to youth culture. Studies on retirement migration are also spreading. They address its multiple facets, which include, among others, retirement migration of wealthy North-western Europeans to Southern Europe and retirement migration of former economic migrants to their countries of origin (often intra-EU migration). Still in the field of retirement migration, recent research has highlighted the changing patterns of residence and mobility: in the international sphere, as previously in the national sphere, dual residence and seasonal mobility is increasingly common, thus increasing the complexity of the study of migration. Given the legal framework, this is much more relevant in the EU than in other international contexts.

All these processes are related to age and, of course, socially constructed, in the sense that they are dependent on broader definitions of individuals’ positions over the life

http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/projects/196_en.html); GEMIC – Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions in the Mediterranean and South East Europe: an Interdisciplinary Perspective, coordinated by Maria Stratigaki, Panteion University of Political and Social Sciences, Athens, Greece, started in 2008 (see <http://www.gemic.eu>); and GEMMA – Enhancing Evidence Based Policy-making in Gender and Migration, coordinated by Diassina Di Maggio, Agenzia per la Promozione della Ricerca Europea, Rome, Italy, started in 2008 (see <http://www.gemmaproject.eu>). The latter site also provides information about other research projects related with gender and migration, including some of those quoted above (see http://www.gemmaproject.eu/projects_static.aspx).

course. But they are also related to other social variables. Some of them are gendered. For example, retirement migration – such as domestic work and caring – may be seen as a gendered process. As emphasized by Kofman (2004: 253), “a small-scale study of Portuguese in France and of those who had returned to Portugal ²⁸ highlighted the enormous disparity between men who entertained return projects, and in many cases forced their wives to return as well, and women who preferred to remain with their family in France”. Other processes are dependent on social status. Both student migration and retirement migration are clearly connected to the individuals’ social position and his/her ability to afford such strategies. Finally, many depend on immigration policies: the free circulation of EU citizens allows for easier and greater mobility than in the case of third-country nationals.

2.2.3 Integration: work, space, identity and second generations

The notion of immigrants’ integration may be explored in two different ways. The first is linked to policies and national models of citizenship, as was seen in an earlier section. The second is linked to the analysis of the integration patterns in several domains, such as the labour market, spatial distribution and social relations. These patterns are often structural in character, in the sense that they impose significant constraints on immigrants’ access to resources and life chances, even when accounting for policy initiatives and immigrants’ agency. In other words, they help to explain how immigrants are positioned in relation to social inequality factors. In general, it is known that some of the variables conditioning individuals’ lives are closely linked to their objective position in the labour market, as with social class, whilst others have to do with subjective factors and cultural differences, such as ethnic belonging. In the field of immigration, several factors impact on immigrants’ life chances, including work and ethnic patterns, but also others. In this section we will briefly present some of the available research regarding immigrants’ integration patterns in the EU, bearing in mind the role that they play in affecting social inequality.

2.2.3.1 Labour market

Many studies of immigrants’ position in the labour market have been carried out many times. After the seminal studies of Michael Piore (1979) and Alejandro Portes (1981, among others), the patterns of immigrants’ incorporation in the labour market of developed host countries are well known. A large part of the explanation is to be found in the segmented, or dual, labour market theory: the largest proportion of immigrants is driven by the job opportunities offered in the secondary labour market, i.e., the worse paid and less interesting jobs, dismissed by native workers on economic and social grounds. This means that immigrants are over-exposed to the so-called 3-D jobs (dirty, demanding and dangerous). If this was true during the period of broad economic expansion which lasted until the 1970s, it was resumed in a different context in the late 20th century, when deregulation and globalisation became dominant. The spread of flexible and casual forms of employment – including temporary jobs, non-

²⁸ Pinto Coelho, D. (1997), “Un ailleurs au quotidien”, in B. Varine (ed.), *Les Familles Portugaises et la Société Française*, Paris, Editions W.

voluntary part-time, atypical time-schedules (such as night shifts), etc. –, as well as labour arrangements in the informal economy, have largely affected the immigrant workforce.

Despite significant national variations, it is understandable that immigrants are displayed in labour statistics with recurrent features: compared to the native workforce, they are usually concentrated in a few economic sectors (manufacturing, construction and personal services, including cleaning and caring); are over-represented in temporary jobs; are over-exposed to unemployment; are usually under-paid; and suffer from frequent deskilling (they often work in jobs below their qualifications). National variations have to do with variables such as employment rates, levels of social protection and engagement in the informal economy. In this respect, several differences distinguish North-western from Southern EU host countries (see, for example, OECD, 2007 and 2008; Arango *et al.*, forthcoming).

Despite their predominant focus on the secondary labour market, many studies have also delved into other modes of incorporation. The integration of immigrants into the primary labour market, including the brain drain and highly skilled mobility, has been the object of frequent research, in particular related to intra-EU movements (see, for example, OECD, 2002 and Salt, 2004). A more recent line of research has explored immigrants' entrepreneurship and the related ethnic economy (see, for example, Oliveira and Rath, 2008 and Zhou, 2008). It has addressed several forms of immigrants' initiatives, often in the framework of urban economies, benefiting from their ethnic social networks and transnational ties. Comparatively less research has addressed the issue of professional and social mobility among immigrants.

2.2.3.2 Spatial segregation

The majority of recent immigration to the EU is directed toward large cities. This is the consequence of the role performed by these cities in the global economy (Sassen, 1991), in particular regarding available job opportunities and the role of social networks. The urban context is a magnet for international flows and is also modified by it. As expressed by Fonseca (2008: 6), "(...) the increase in international migration is, simultaneously, part and parcel of the process of globalization, and major cities reinforce their position as structural points of the world economic system. At the same time, with regard to the social structure of cities, the most noticeable changes are related with increased income inequality between the social groups at the top and those at the bottom, as well as with the emergence of new types of poverty and social exclusion associated with unemployment, ageing and ethnic origin. These transformations lead to conflicts that have to be managed at the urban level and within the metropolitan territory. Therefore, urban politics are changing quickly, trying to find new responses to maintain the difficult balance between economic competitiveness and social cohesion".

At the urban level, the spatial distribution of immigrants is both an outcome and a cause of their broader social differentiation. Residential segregation occurs when there is deviation from a uniform spatial distribution. The degree of segregation of immigrants is higher insofar as an increase in this deviation occurs. As recalled by

Asselin *et al.* (2006: 143), based on the work of Boal, four types of “migrant spatialised communities” exist: areas of assimilation-pluralism (where the natives are a large part of the local population, but not the majority); mixed minorities areas (where two or more ethnic groups coexist); polarised areas (where one ethnic group forms a majority); and ghettos (where there is a high degree of concentration of one ethnic group). The most extreme form of segregation is the ghetto – but here also the element of coercion must be added. According to the same authors, “the urban ghetto constitutes an extreme form of spatial segregation. (...) [However], [not] every area inhabited by an ethnically, racially or religiously defined group is a ghetto. The involuntary aspect is a very important dimension. Without the aspect of coercion, the area is more appropriately described as an ethnic enclave” (*id.*, *ibid.*). In other terms, “all ghettos are segregated, but not all segregated areas are ghettos. Thus, residential segregation is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for ghettoisation” (*id.*, *ibid.*).

The degree of spatial segregation of immigrants across the EU varies. There are multiple causes for this variation, including immigrants’ income levels, discrimination in the housing market, public housing policies and degree of ethnic closure. The debate is whether agency or structural variables are to blame: “while some interpret segregation as an outcome of choice (albeit within income constraints), others take a structural approach, viewing segregation as a feature of inequalities in power, resources and discrimination” (Spencer and Cooper, 2007: 36). All in all, it seems clear that national and local specificities are a key variable in this respect. National and local history, urban context and institutional arrangements are decisive in explaining immigrants’ residential patterns in different cities (Asselin *et al.*, 2006). Several case studies carried out on the EU confirm this wide heterogeneity – such as, for example, when Northern are compared with Southern cities (Malheiros, 2002). There is also no evidence on whether segregation is generally increasing or not across the EU space. Segregation has long been equated with a deficit of integration (Asselin *et al.*, 2006). However, a challenging theme of recent research deals with its positive aspects. First of all, the existence of social problems, such as unemployment and social exclusion, is often wrongly associated with segregation. As Asselin *et al.* (2006: 144-145) recall, “(...) segregation of elite migrants is never classified as a problem (...). There is evidence from a lot of European cities that some elite migrant populations manifest high levels of segregation”. But more than this, even segregation of low income immigrants may not be problematic, enhancing further capabilities of these groups to integrate. According to Spencer and Cooper (2007: 38-39), “there is no agreement in the literature on whether segregation is negative for migrants or ethnic minorities (...). Some argue that it is the continuing correlation between ethnic segregation and deprivation which is the problem (...). Although extreme levels of segregation may hinder integration, evidence suggests this may not be the case with moderate levels of segregation. Evidence from Amsterdam shows that minorities in similar levels of segregation vary in their performance on other indexes of integration such as education, employment, social and cultural values and political integration (...). Furthermore, ethnic clustering, by facilitating the development of community infrastructures and social support networks, can enable migrants to feel a sense of belonging”. In short, residential segregation could be a positive aspect of immigrants’

lives, if it does not lead to isolation and exclusion from other opportunities and networks.

2.2.3.3 Culture and identity

Culture is a complex and dynamic aspect of immigrants' lives, reflecting modifications over time but also causing further changes. According to Spencer and Cooper (2007: 7), "cultures among migrants, as among host populations, are diverse - by ethnicity and faith but also region, class, gender, age and legal status. Cultural integration involves changes in the attitudes and behaviour of migrants and in those of the host society (in its impact on the arts and cuisine for instance). The literature focuses almost exclusively on changes among migrants". Oliver Asselin *et al.* (2006: 137) also share this opinion, stating that policy initiatives assume a more or less linear path of "integration", disregarding the fact that assimilation is not a "one-sided concept" and that immigrants have led to changes in European societies.

In general terms, much of the debate around culture revolves around the concepts of assimilation and multiculturalism. The notion of assimilation derives from the traditional North-American experience. It supposes that immigrants adapt gradually to the host society, by accepting a homogeneous culture practised by the majority. Alternatively, the notion of multiculturalism, mostly developed in the European context (and also Canada), implies that cultural differences between ethnic groups are assumed as long-lasting. Both concepts may be understood at the level of actual practices and at the level of policies. In the latter case, they are linked to the different models of citizenship and nationhood outlined in a previous section. Although in some cases an analysis based on policy objectives may conceal actual cultural outcomes, a large body of research has in fact been inspired by the policy discussion (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004; Asselin *et al.*, 2006).

When viewed in detail, both assimilationist and multiculturalist approaches have displayed many shortcomings over the years. According to Vertovec and Wessendorf (2004), when multiculturalism developed in Europe after the 1980s, it represented a turn away from classical assimilationist approaches. Both researchers and policy makers then agreed that the latter were impracticable in the European context, which required the acceptance of cultural diversity. However, after a period when multiculturalism prevailed, a return to assimilationism has taken place in the new century. Referring to the European experience, Asselin *et al.* (2006: 134-137) state that "(...) the comeback of the term «assimilation» is associated with a growing fear that, without staunch policy measures, immigrants and their descendants will *not* integrate and will pose a serious danger to the cohesion of European societies. (...) (There is) a growing awareness that minority formation among migrants is leading to and reinforcing ethnic stratification, which lends support to positions and policies that are critical of cultural pluralism and multiculturalist principles (...)". Countries such as the Netherlands, the UK and Germany are therefore viewed as replacing multiculturalism with assimilation, although under the new designation of "integration programmes".

Some research lines prefer changing from a broad discussion of cultural diversity to a more specific discussion of some of its manifestations, such as religious and linguistic

diversity (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004). The latter are crucial areas for observing cultural belonging, since they not only concern the public domain but also the private lives of immigrants, including families and households. Although religious issues are far more controversial, EU states have shown a higher degree of acceptance of religious than linguistic diversity. As admitted by Kymlicka (1995), this results from modern states' need to build a common language, whilst the separation of state and church often occurs in liberal nation-states.

Studies on religious diversity have focused on the growth of religious fundamentalism, the confrontation of religious norms with the principles of the liberal nation-state, and the importance of secularism in increasingly plural societies. Public manifestations of religion have been one area under study. It has been emphasized that they may act as a factor strengthening collective belonging and identity, also contributing to the management of social problems (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004). Other studies have addressed the institutional recognition of religion. In this respect, the recognition of religious minorities and the involvement of religious organisations in policymaking, particularly at the local level, have had positive impacts on integration.

The growth of Muslim immigrants has been one of the major topics under study. With reference to the UK, Spencer and Cooper (2007: 23) state that "(...) Muslims are found to be disproportionately young, concentrated in deprived urban areas, more likely to live in public housing and to have fewer qualifications. They experience discrimination and negative stereotypes on the basis of their faith. The negativity of the Muslim experience has led to religion becoming a more important marker of identity for young Muslims, who seek recognition in the public sphere based on their faith rather than ethnicity". However, the debate has also revolved around the heterogeneity of Muslim communities (they are diverse in terms of cultural background, language and plurality of views) and the dynamic character of identities. Therefore, the practice of religion is plural and the acceptance of multiple identities (such as European and Muslim) is possible (id., *ibid.*).

Language is another important marker of identity. At least in the first generations of immigrants, the maintenance of the original language is seen as vital, whilst for subsequent generations this role is mainly attributed to other cultural artefacts. As previously stated, linguistic diversity does not fit as neatly into the principles of EU states as religious diversity. As explained by Vertovec and Wessendorf (2004: 30), "(...) it is justifiable to require an immigrant to learn another language, whereas it is rather problematic to ask an immigrant to change his/her religion. Hence, language assimilation is generally interpreted to be more compatible with liberal values than religious assimilation, because the acquisition of language does not prevent people from freely expressing their moral convictions". This helps to explain why the issue of mandatory language courses as a pre-condition for integration has been accepted in recent years. In the case of immigrants' children, the incidence of bilingualism has also been the object of scrutiny. In spite of the evidence concerning higher school failure among these youngsters, some efforts are still being made to establish mechanisms for bridging cultural and linguistic differences, thereby encouraging the acceptance of multilingual contexts in everyday life (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2004).

The issue of cultural diversity has recently taken an important leap with the introduction of the notion of “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2006). Referring to the UK context and, particularly, the experience of London, the author argues that diversity of national origins and ethnic belonging, among immigrant groups, is no longer enough to explain the current dynamics. According to him, “over the past ten years, the nature of immigration to Britain has brought with it a transformative «diversification of diversity» not just in terms of ethnicities and countries of origin, but also with respect to a variety of significant variables that affect where, how and with whom people live. These additional variables, which importantly must be seen as mutually conditioning, include a differentiation in immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, labour market experiences, gender and age profiles, spatial factors, and local area responses by service providers and residents. Rarely are these factors described side by side, and often issues of ethnic diversity and the stratification of immigrants’ rights are explored separately” (id., *ibid.*: 1). In sum, “a simple ethnicity-focused approach to understanding and engaging minority groups in Britain, as taken in many models and policies within conventional multiculturalism, is inadequate and often inappropriate for dealing with immigrants’ needs or understanding their dynamics of inclusion or exclusion” (id., *ibid.*: 17).

This means that the positioning of immigrants in relation to the access to resources and life chances is an increasingly complex matter. Traditional sociological categories, such as labour market incorporation (and social class) and ethnic belonging, were already powerful predictors of difference. However, in the case of contemporary immigration, other factors now add to the discussion, including – as suggested by Vertovec – legal status, gender and age profiles, spatial patterns and policy responses. In an already plural EU, this represents an entire program of research for many years to come.

2.2.3.4 Second generation

Studies on the second generation are crucial for understanding immigrants’ integration. This mostly results from the time perspective which is so important in migration studies. As has been known since the classical theories in the field, only a long-term perspective can measure the success or failure of migration projects. Time is needed to pay off the costs of migration, to acquire new human and social capital, and to overcome obstacles to integration. Studies on intra-generational and, particularly, inter-generational mobility are thus crucial in integration processes. Moreover, second generations often may acquire the citizenship of the host country – which is, in many respects, the main obstacle to integration and participation. Hence their success or failure is telling us about the way a society is dealing with its new members. Under the term “second generation” are usually subsumed the native-born children of immigrants (foreign-born parents) and, in some cases, also the children who arrived before primary school. Sometimes the term “1.5 generation” is also used to designate children who arrived very early in their lives or immediately after starting their school careers.

Second generations in Europe are still recent. Taking into account the major inflows that took place after the 1950s, most of the immigrants' offspring is still in an early stage of its life. The majority of the immigrants' descendants attended primary school in the 1980s and secondary school in the 1990s, and are now entering the labour market. This explains why most of the studies until now observed the educational attainment and the transition from school to work, but not yet the occupational trajectory. This means there are a number of differences compared to the study of second generations in traditional immigration countries, such as the United States – although the study of the “new second generation” in this last context provides an interesting parallelism (King *et al.*, 2006; Thamson and Crul, 2007). As stated in a previous section, the fact that these studies in Europe are at any early stage does not hinder its long-term future. Immigrants' offspring are increasingly a part of the European demography, meaning that ever larger generations of children with an immigrant background are entering, year by year, into families, schools, work and public life.

The number of studies on the second generation in Europe is increasing. In general, they have shown that, in educational terms, immigrants' children perform worse than children with no immigrant background, although better than foreign-born children. When observing their early performance in the labour market, we confirmed their lower employment rates, vulnerability to unemployment and lower access to skilled jobs, when compared with native youngsters, although again showing better indicators than foreign-born youngsters. These gaps are justified by the low socio-economic background from which they come (third country immigrants in the EU are usually characterized by low education and/or low socio-economic condition), worse access to social networks in the labour market and discrimination (Castles and Miller, 2009: 227-229). Since many of these descendants have acquired national citizenship, the fact that discrimination is not only based on nationality, but also on ethnic origin, explains part of the problem ²⁹.

When viewed in detail, the situation of second generations in Europe is however more complex (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; King *et al.*, 2004 and 2006). Much recent research has highlighted many differences among EU countries and among immigrant groups. On the one hand, national contexts explain a large part of the variability in integration patterns. This is often less related to immigrant oriented policies than to educational and labour market national arrangements, such as type of schooling (vocational or non vocational) and access to higher education. On the other hand, immigrant communities display heterogeneity and polarization (even when coming from the same sending country), between and within EU countries. This means that one may observe a fraction of second generation youngsters, for example Turks, performing well in some EU countries, and at risk of becoming an underclass in others.

²⁹ For example, according to Spencer and Cooper (2007: 23), “a recent edited volume on France finds consensus (...) that the French aspiration to equality has not protected ethnic minorities from discrimination, for instance in working class jobs, university admissions or central government policy making. As a consequence, it finds disadvantaged minorities are increasingly expressing their ethnic identity (...)”.

Factors affecting second generation outcomes are thus complex. As expressed by King *et al.* (2004: 50), two sets of determinants “(...) shape the integration processes of the second generation: external factors, such as levels of discrimination and the degree of social and residential segregation; and factors intrinsic to ethnic groups, including the ability to access social support networks, level of education and skills, and the amount of financial resources available. Intrinsic cultural values, though they risk attributing behavioural differences to «culture» alone (...), do offer insights into why certain ethnic groups attain higher levels of social mobility than others despite similar socio-economic backgrounds. An apt example is the value that immigrant parents attach to their children’s education”. Comparisons between the EU and other receiving contexts are also problematical, given greater European variety. According to the same authors (*id.*, *ibid.*: 52), the theory of “segmented assimilation”, developed in the United States to understand recent integration patterns of the second generation, is inadequate for the EU since it disregards “(...) differences between European countries in terms of education policy, citizenship laws, discourse on immigration and race, and inequalities in society as a whole”, as well as internal differences within ethnic groups.

In the light of these challenges, several EU cross-national projects have been developed in recent years³⁰. They have confirmed the complexity of integration patterns among the second generations; the wide variety according to national contexts; some contradictory situations within the same groups; differing degrees of ethnic closure; and even unexpected variations in time. For example, “the position of second-generation Turks, Moroccans and other migrant groups varies widely between the different countries in Europe, and it is not easy to make an overall assessment of trends. The picture is further complicated by the polarizations within ethnic groups that exist in some countries. Moreover, if we view the development of different groups over time, we do not see a linear process. The Moroccan community, for instance, once seemed headed for downward assimilation, but now seems to be rising. This

³⁰ Among these, two main projects must be taken in account. The first is EFFNATIS –“Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies Towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective” –, which lasted from 1998-2000. The project, coordinated by Friedrich Heckmann, from the European Forum for Migration Studies, University of Bamberg, Germany, and funded by the EU Commission under the TSER framework programme, aimed to compare different national integration policies and their effect on second-generation integration in six European countries. Taking into account that EFFNATIS did not compare the same ethnic groups in different countries, another European project emerged in 2003 – TIES, “The Integration of the European Second-Generation”, coordinated by M. Crul and J. Schneider, from the Institute of Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam, and funded by several European institutions (see http://www.tiesproject.eu/component/option,com_frontpage/Itemid,1/lang,en). This latter limited its comparative dimension to the study of three distinct immigrant communities – the Turkish, Moroccan and ex-Yugoslavian second-generation (for some results see, for example, Crul, 2008). More recently, another two projects took place in the European context: TRESEGY and EU MARGINS, both funded by the EU. The first, TRESEGY – “Toward a Social Construction of an European Youthness: Experience of inclusion and exclusion in the public sphere among second generation migrated teenagers”, was coordinated by Luca Queirolo Palmas (University of Genoa, Italy), and lasted from 2006-2009. The second, EU MARGINS – “On the Margins of the European Community - Adult Immigrants in Seven European Countries (Spain, UK, Italy, France, Estonia, Sweden and Norway)”, funded by the EC 7th Framework Programme and coordinated by Max J. Demuth (Oslo University, Norway) and will last from 2008 to 2011 (this project is devoted to the study of the inclusion or exclusion of young adult immigrants).

underscores “the hazards of premature classification” (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003: 982-983).

An interesting study was recently carried out on the French case (Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2009). It concluded that, in many respects, the integration of immigrants’ descendants was being a success. According to the authors, this is the outcome of a major change occurring within these families: the “unchaining of generations”. By this concept they mean the cultural shock taking place between first generation immigrants and their children, since several discontinuities emerge between them: language, culture, family values, identity, memory, life experiences and social trajectories. The result is a relatively favourable setting for the second generation’s integration, although several factors still hinder simple generalisation. The latter include socio-economic status (which constrains mobility more than cultural and ethnic traits), gender (immigrants’ daughters perform better, particularly at school, than sons) and parents’ behaviour (stronger adherence on the part of immigrants to host society norms and values makes their children’s integration easier).

2.3 Concluding remarks on families and migration

Research on immigration in Europe is extensive and plural. The nature of its object of study explains many of its characteristics. Viewed from today, immigration is already a long-lasting feature of European societies. Immigrants entered mostly after the end of the Second World War and, from then on, flows never ceased. National origins, educational background, occupational profile, immigration strategy, culture and identity are extremely varied, as much as their specific destination. One after another, all North, Western and Southern European countries became countries of destination – even as they were also sending countries –, and Central and Eastern European countries are now also involved. Europe is now a mosaic of immigrants, whose numbers do not lag much behind traditional immigration countries, whose patterns are not easily categorised, and whose structural role in future European societies is undeniable.

The different facets of immigration in the EU have been the object of numerous studies. In this review, three major areas were identified: policy issues, family-related issues and integration patterns. In each, a brief synthesis of the main research trends and findings was tentatively made. The main sub-themes addressed were: in the policy area, admission and control policies, integration measures and citizenship models; in the family area, demographic impacts, family migration, gender and age related migration; and, in the integration field, labour market incorporation, spatial distribution, identity issues and second generations. The picture that stands out is a complex one, resisting a simple summary. Policy initiatives were multiple and ever-changing, as the immigration context and policy framework varied. Family patterns were heterogeneous, adding to the pre-existing richness of family diversity in Europe. Integration patterns were complex, oscillating between (formal) equality and stratification, and between assimilation and continuous difference. All this is more intricate when the different national contexts of reception are taken into consideration, as well as the different characteristics of immigrants received in each European nation.

The changing patterns of international migration at the turn of the century add further challenges to this field of study. Currently, new forms of mobility are becoming common, surpassing the traditional settlement migration known until recently. Temporary and seasonal migration have become common again, as well as a frequent circulation and the holding of multiple interests in multiple countries. The notion of transnationalism has received very wide attention over the last few years (Vertovec, 2008). Different aspects of transnationalism have been highlighted in this report, including political (dual citizenship), familial (transnational families), economic (remittances, entrepreneurship) and identity-related issues. This means that individuals' lives no longer remain attached to one single location (and country), as in classical migration theory and social research.

Despite the abundant literature on migration issues developed over recent decades in Europe, there are still many gaps existing in current research. A comprehensive

overview of some themes deserving further attention has been already made by some other states of the art in this field (see, for example, Penninx *et al.*, 2006 and 2008; Spencer and Cooper, 2007). In the following paragraphs, only a brief summary of some research gaps will be made, mainly referring to family and integration issues.

First and foremost there is a need for more complete and comparative data. As seen above, data on immigration in the EU is currently limited. Concepts and sources vary, and several areas are poorly covered. Beyond the description of some major variables, an in-depth comparative study of immigrants' characteristics, families and the second generation is barely possible under current datasets. Longitudinal studies that provide for an understanding of the mobility experience are also generally not available. As Spencer and Cooper (2007) remind us, the lack of statistics on many areas, the use of different criteria to identify migrants, and even the use of different concepts to mean overlapping issues (for example, integration, cohesion and inclusion), make it difficult to compare immigration and integration across the EU³¹.

At the policy level, some of the areas deserving better scrutiny are the impact of family reunification on immigrants' strategies (settlement, integration and participation); the impact of specific legislation on family life (spouse's access to employment, right to social housing, right to public education and health services); the consequences of recent policy restrictions for family reunification and formation; and the use of irregular channels by family members for immigration and integration. In other words, the role of family reunification and family formation channels, of family support measures and of the family itself as a mechanism for integration is still understudied (Spencer and Cooper 2007). The mechanisms providing full citizenship, as well as their outcomes, could also be more thoroughly studied. A deeper analysis is still to be done on the reasons why naturalization and dual citizenship are used (or not) by immigrants and their offspring; their outcomes on individuals' lives and prospects, both in the destination and the sending countries; and the effects of (limited) political participation on immigrants' integration.

At the family level, much more research is needed on immigrant families and changes resulting from migration. Some of themes which deserve further attention are related to family strategies: these include the role of families in migration decisions; the constraints exerted by the economic and policy framework on collective strategies; and the role of the family in promoting the overall integration of its members (including descendants). Other themes deserving study are related to family structures: this is mainly the case of transnational families, marriage migration and mixed marriages. The latter could be observed under the perspective of its national and cultural combinations; its impact on relationships, children and host country attitudes; and the difference between contacts started in the host country and in a

³¹ Besides the full implementation of the EC Regulation on migration statistics produced in 2007 (see above), a study funded under the 6TH Framework Programme may overcome some of these problems. The objective of this study – PROMINSTAT – is “to promote comparative quantitative research in the field of migration and integration”, providing an online database for 27 European countries (25 EU, plus Norway and Switzerland). The project, started in 2007, is coordinated by Albert Kraler, from the International Centre for Migration Policy Development Research and Policy (RaP), Vienna (see <http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/?q=node/64>).

foreign context (for example, EU citizens travelling, studying and working abroad). Finally, changes within the family resulting from immigration (for example, conflicts about women's roles) could also be further analysed. In general, it may be argued that family migration has been much less studied than other related issues, such as gender

³².

With regard to gender, the most needed work seems to be on immigrant men. As King *et al.* write (2004: 41), "we recommend attention be paid to the connections between migration processes and the construction of masculinity: this reflects the view that constructions of masculinity have not been given due regard within anthropology and the social sciences". Eventual changes in masculinity may both affect immigrants and the non-migrant populations in the host country. Also deserving attention is the impact of transnational family arrangements on women's (and men's) lives. The enactment of transnational support may be gendered, affecting family members differentially. With regard to age-related migration, more study is needed on student migration and retirement migration, including, in the latter, the existence of multiple residences.

At the integration level, a vast amount of research remains to be done. With regard to the labour market, more studies are needed on immigrants' professional mobility; linkages between work and integration (in the sense of inclusion or structural exclusion); employers' recruitment strategies; role of social networks in providing employment and mobility; entrepreneurship; and (mostly in the current recession) strategies to overcome unemployment. With regard to cities and residential segregation, themes to be explored are the subjective experiences of immigrants (and second generations) at the local level; landlords' strategies for profiting from immigrants' housing needs and policy regulations; immigrants' strategies in the housing domain, including residential mobility; the relationship between residential segregation and integration; spatial accessibility to education resources and health care systems; and spatial mobility of the second generation. With regard to culture and identity, themes calling for further exploration include the impact of immigrants on the host society's culture; the evolution of cultural difference and multiculturalism; the possible combination of cultural (including religious and linguistic) differences and overall integration (differences may not conceal integration in an already highly complex and differentiated host society); the role of religions other than Islam in influencing the integration process; the conflict between religion and secularism; the reasons and outcomes of the immigrants (and second generation)'s attachment to their original language; the role of immigrants (and second generation)'s cultural productions as forms of political expression; and ongoing discrimination on cultural and ethnic grounds. Finally, with regard to the second generation, research is needed on its performance in the education system; mobility within the labour market; and the impact of irregular immigrants' conditions over their children life chances.

In sum, migration research is an area with a rich past and a promising future in the EU. Since immigration became part and parcel of European societies, immigrants and their

³² On the gaps on family related research, see also King *et al.*, 2004; Kofman, 2004; and Spencer and Cooper, 2007.

offspring have become a structural aspect of European populations. Moreover, much of the recent social change has resulted from migration – and the future study of immigration and its outcomes will be rightly equated with the study of Europe itself. The variety in policy issues, family life and integration patterns will be partly a heritage of a former Europe, in which international migration was not an issue, and partly the result of years of unprecedented inflows.

3. Families and Poverty

As an introduction to this chapter, it is important to summarize how the research review on this topic has been carried out. First, CESIS's (Centre for Social Studies on Social Intervention) research expertise in the field of poverty and social exclusion was used as a resource to identify relevant studies and/or sources of information. An internet-based search was the main procedure used to select and download recent (since 1990) project reports, articles and other publications. This was done mainly by searching the sites of research funding bodies, universities, research centres, and selected scientific journals / publishers.

The collection of relevant research was based on the combination of three main criteria: a focus on poverty, independently of discipline and methods; a family/household based approach, with the aim of including as many references as possible to diverse family types; comparative studies of different countries, although always including European member states.

In terms of **structure**, this report opens with the presentation of some trends in the EU based on existing statistics regarding families and poverty.

The next section focuses on the main results of the research review, organized according to six main topics: the sex profile of poverty; the age profile of poverty; household events, household types and the shaping of poverty; work, families and poverty; poverty dynamics; and welfare regimes and poverty.

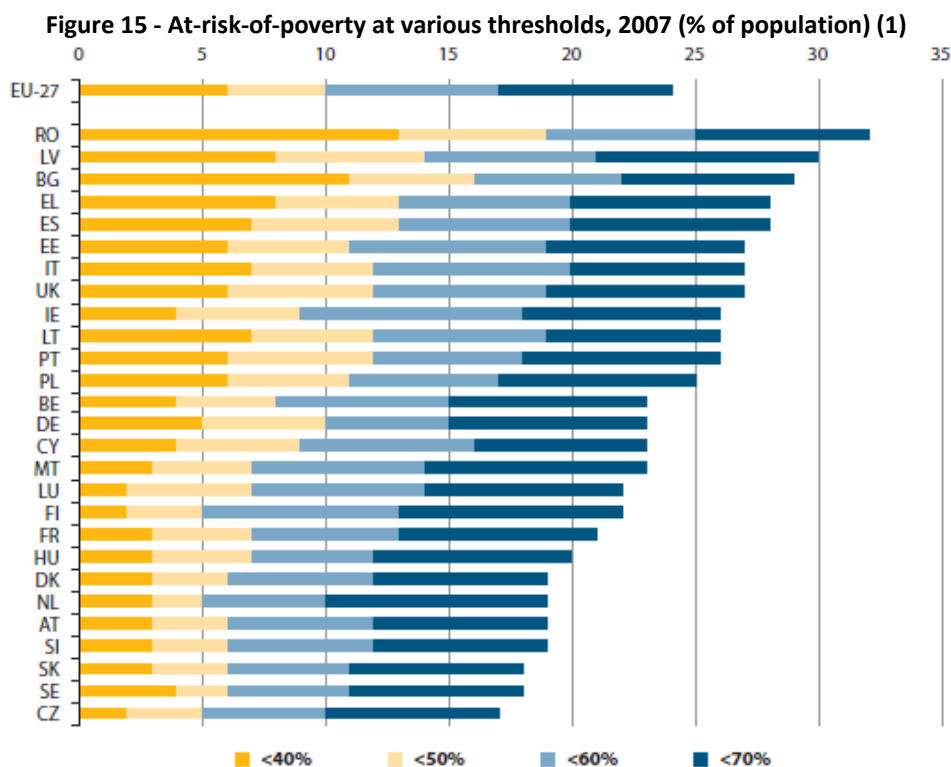
The main conclusions, including the major findings and issues and the discussion of gaps in existing research, are presented in part 3.

3.1 Families and poverty: major trends in the EU based on existing statistics

Distribution of income and risk of poverty in the EU

In 2007 around 17% of the Europeans were considered to be at risk of poverty (meaning that 17% households in the EU-27 had an equivalised disposable income that was less than 60% of the respective national median income) (Figure 15). This is the most common threshold applied to at-risk-of-poverty indicators in the EU; however, to better understand the distribution of income and the risk of poverty within the EU, various poverty thresholds may be applied (less than 40%, 50% and 70%).

Looking at the following figure and at the EU-27 as a whole, we find different levels of people being at-risk-of-poverty according to the different thresholds: 6% of the population had an equivalised disposable income that was below 40% of the median; 10% had an income that was less than half the EU-27 median, and 24% had an income that was less than 70% of the EU-27 median.



Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Almost one third (32%) of Romania's population had an equivalised disposable income that was less than 70% of the national median. Romania also had the highest proportion (13%) of persons with less than 40% of national median income. In contrast, only about one sixth (17%) of the population of the Czech Republic had an income below 70% of the national median, the lowest proportion among the Member States, while just 2% of the population of the Czech Republic had an equivalised disposable income below 40% of the national median.

Distributions of income varied considerably between the Member States. The same proportion (4%) of people in Ireland and Sweden had an income that was less than 40% of the national median, despite the share of people having an income that was less than 70% of the national median being much larger in Ireland (26%) than in Sweden (18%).

3.1.1 Incidence of poverty risk by activity status, gender, education, age and types of household

3.1.1.1 Gender and activity status

Different groups in society are more or less vulnerable to poverty (Table 8). **Women** are generally at greater risk of living in a poor household. In 2007, 18% of women of all ages had an income below the threshold, against 16% of men.

There are considerable differences in the at-risk-of poverty rates of people according to **activity status**. The unemployed are a particularly vulnerable group: 43 % of unemployed persons were at-risk-of-poverty in the EU27 in 2007, with higher rates in the Baltic Member States. About one in six (17%) retired persons in the EU27 was at-risk-of-poverty in 2007; rates were much higher in the Baltic Member States, the United Kingdom and, in particular, Cyprus. Those in employment were far less likely to be at-risk-of-poverty (8 % in the EU27), with relatively high rates in Greece (14 %) and Romania (18 %).

Table 8 - At-risk-of-poverty rates by gender, educational level, tenure status and activity status, 2007 (%) (1)

	Gender		Level of education attained - ISCED (2)			Tenure status		Activity status		
	Female	Male	0-2	3-4	5-6	Owner	Tenant	Empl-oyed	Retired	Un-empl-oyed
EU-27	18	16	23	13	7	14	25	8	17	43
BE	16	14	23	12	6	10	29	4	20	34
BG	23	21	38	12	5	21	29	6	23	56
CZ	10	9	18	7	2	7	19	3	6	48
DK	12	11	17	11	6	8	20	4	17	31
DE	16	14	24	14	9	10	22	7	18	51
EE	22	17	33	19	10	19	27	8	37	62
IE	19	16	27	13	6	13	36	6	27	43
EL	21	20	26	15	8	20	23	14	22	35
ES	21	19	23	15	8	18	32	11	22	36
FR	14	12	17	11	6	9	21	6	11	33
IT	21	18	25	13	5	17	32	10	16	44
CY	17	14	33	10	4	14	28	6	51	28
LV	23	19	36	19	8	20	28	10	38	57
LT	21	17	33	17	5	19	22	8	30	57
LU	14	13	17	9	5	9	30	9	8	46
HU	12	12	18	9	2	12	22	6	8	46
MT	15	14	16	7	5	13	19	4	23	39
NL	11	10	11	10	6	6	18	5	9	27
AT	13	11	20	9	6	9	18	6	12	42
PL	17	18	23	16	3	17	23	12	6	43
PT	19	17	18	8	3	16	28	10	23	32
RO	25	24	41	14	1	25	11	18	23	46
SI	13	10	24	9	2	10	26	5	17	36
SK	11	10	20	8	3	10	16	5	8	45
FI	14	12	21	14	4	9	25	5	21	41
SE	11	11	11	9	8	7	20	7	11	26
UK	20	18	34	16	7	14	34	8	31	58
IS	11	9	10	10	5	9	17	7	16	:
NO	14	11	17	11	8	8	38	6	13	44

(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

(2) Pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education - levels 0-2 (ISCED 1997); upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education - levels 3-4 (ISCED 1997); tertiary education - levels 5-6 (ISCED 1997).

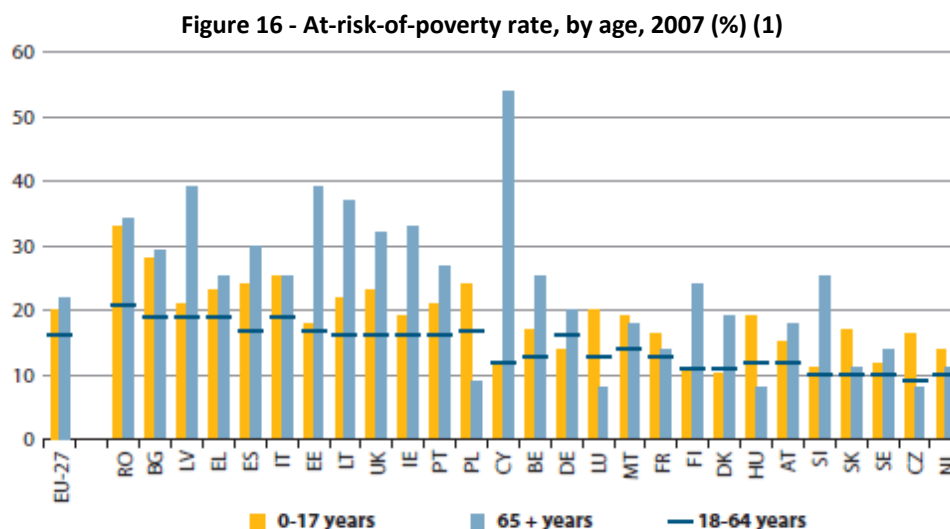
Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

3.1.1.2 Education

The **level of education** attained also appears to play an important role in whether or not people are more vulnerable to poverty; across the EU27 in 2007, those leaving education with no more than a lower secondary education were more than three times as likely to be at-risk-of-poverty than persons with a tertiary education.

3.1.1.3 Age

Children and the elderly tend to face a higher risk of poverty than the rest of the population (even after social transfers). In 2007 one in every five children (20 %) across the EU27 was at-risk-of-poverty, with a slightly higher proportion (22 %) recorded amongst the elderly (Figure 16).



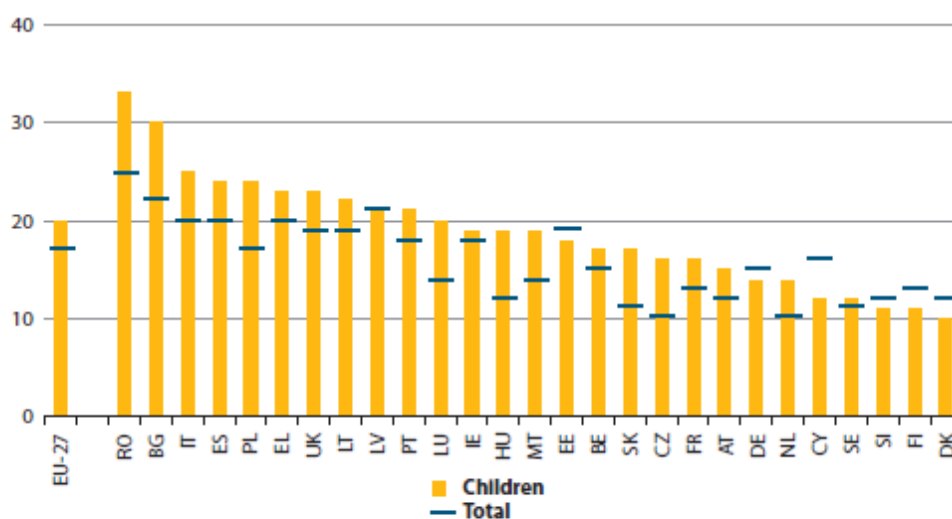
(1) Sorted in descending order according to the total at-risk-of-poverty rate. The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

3.1.1.4 Child poverty

Across the EU-27 and in the majority of the Member States, children were at a greater risk of poverty than the average rate for the total population (20% compared with 17%) (Figure 17). Only in Denmark and Finland (where about 10% of children were at-risk-of-poverty) as well as Cyprus, Slovenia, Germany and Estonia were children less at risk than the overall population. In contrast, children were at much greater risk of poverty than the total population in Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Luxembourg, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Indeed, in Romania, one in every three children was at-risk-of-poverty in 2007 (Figure 17).

Figure 17 - At-risk-of-poverty rates, children and total, 2007 (%) (1)



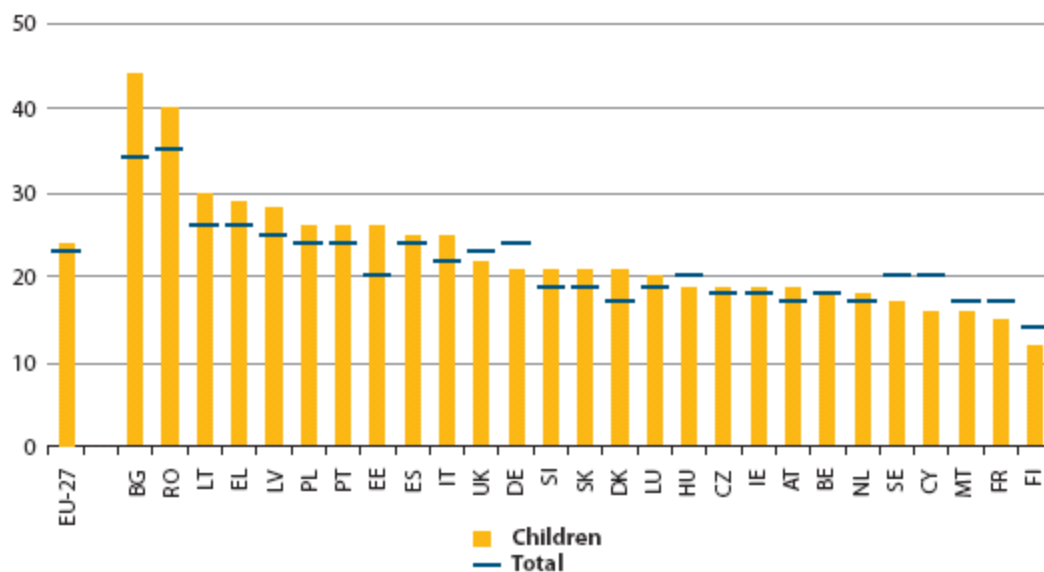
(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Across the EU27, the risk of poverty among children from single parent households is almost double the average risk of poverty for all households with dependent children in 2007 (34% compared with 18%). In some Member States (Slovenia, Cyprus, the Netherlands, Germany, the Czech Republic, Malta and Estonia) the risk of poverty for children from single parent households was closer to three times as high as the national average for all households with dependent children (Figure 17).

The risk of poverty for children from large families (with three children or more) in the EU27 was also much higher than the average for all households with dependent children (25% compared with 18%). Between 40% and 71% of children from large families in Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Portugal and Italy were at-risk-of-poverty, about two to three times as high as the average for all households with dependent children in each of these countries. Germany was the only Member State where the risk of poverty for children from large families was no different to that for all households with dependent children, although the difference was also relatively small for children from Sweden, Finland, France, Belgium and Ireland. (Figure 19)

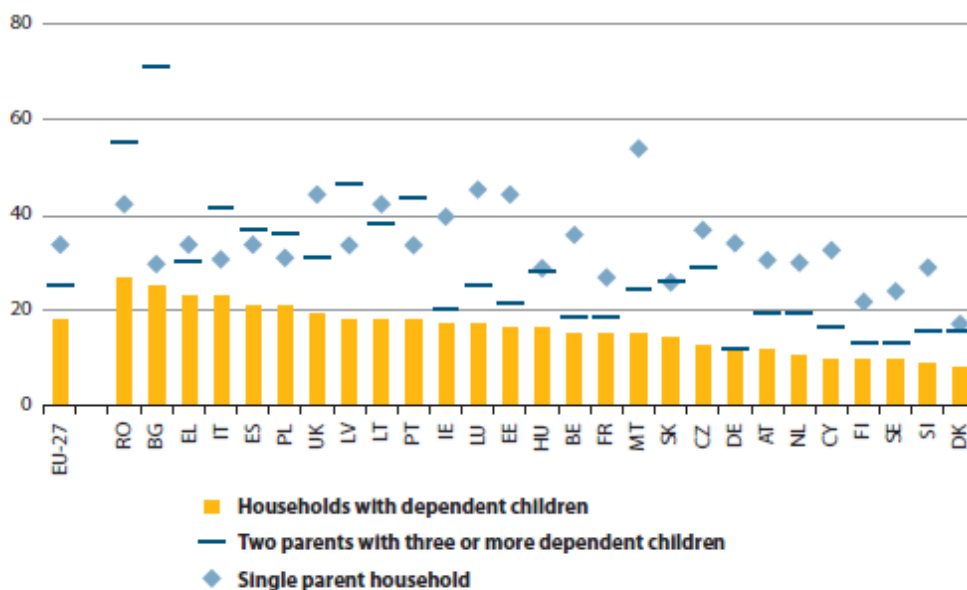
Figure 18 - Relative median at-risk-of-poverty gap of children vs. the overall population, 2007 (%) (1)



(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Figure 19 - At-risk-of-poverty rate of all children and of children living in households most at risk, 2007 (%) (1)



(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

The risk of poverty for children from large families (with three children or more) in the EU27 was also much higher than the average for all households with dependent

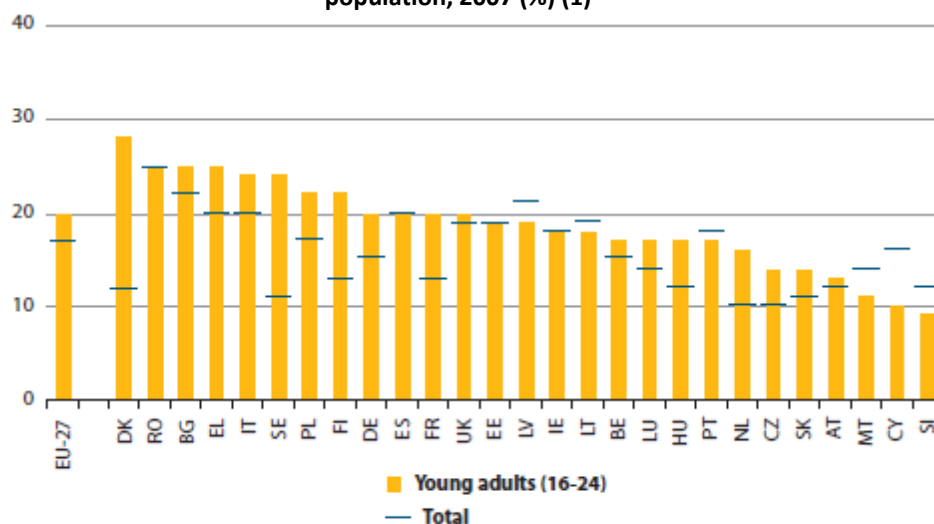
children (25 % compared with 18 %). Between 40 % and 71 % of children from large families in Bulgaria, Romania, Latvia, Portugal and Italy were at-risk-of-poverty, about two to three times as high as the average for all households with dependent children in each of these countries. Germany was the only Member State where the risk of poverty for children from large families was no different to that for all households with dependent children, although the difference was also relatively small for children from Sweden, Finland, France, Belgium and Ireland (Figure 19).

3.1.1.5 Young Adult Poverty

One in every five (20%) young adults aged between 16 and 24 was at-risk-of-poverty within the EU-27 in 2007, a higher proportion than across the whole population (17%) (Figure 20). The risk of poverty for young adults was highest in Denmark (28%), where, as in other Nordic Member States, it was about twice the rate for the whole population.

The risk of poverty for young adults should be interpreted with care. Rates tend to be highest in countries where young adults live on their own, either with or without parental help. However, there is an increasing proportion of young adults who continue to live in their parents' homes and are, therefore, less likely to be recorded 'at-risk-of-poverty' since they share in their parent's income. This does not necessarily reflect their true situation, which may often be characterised by a lack of access to a decent income of their own. However, we must also take into consideration that young adults in the Nordic countries who leave the parental home early on may not always have the necessary means to afford to live on their own.

Figure 20 - At-risk-of-poverty rate, among young adults between 16 and 24 years of age and the total population, 2007 (%) (1)

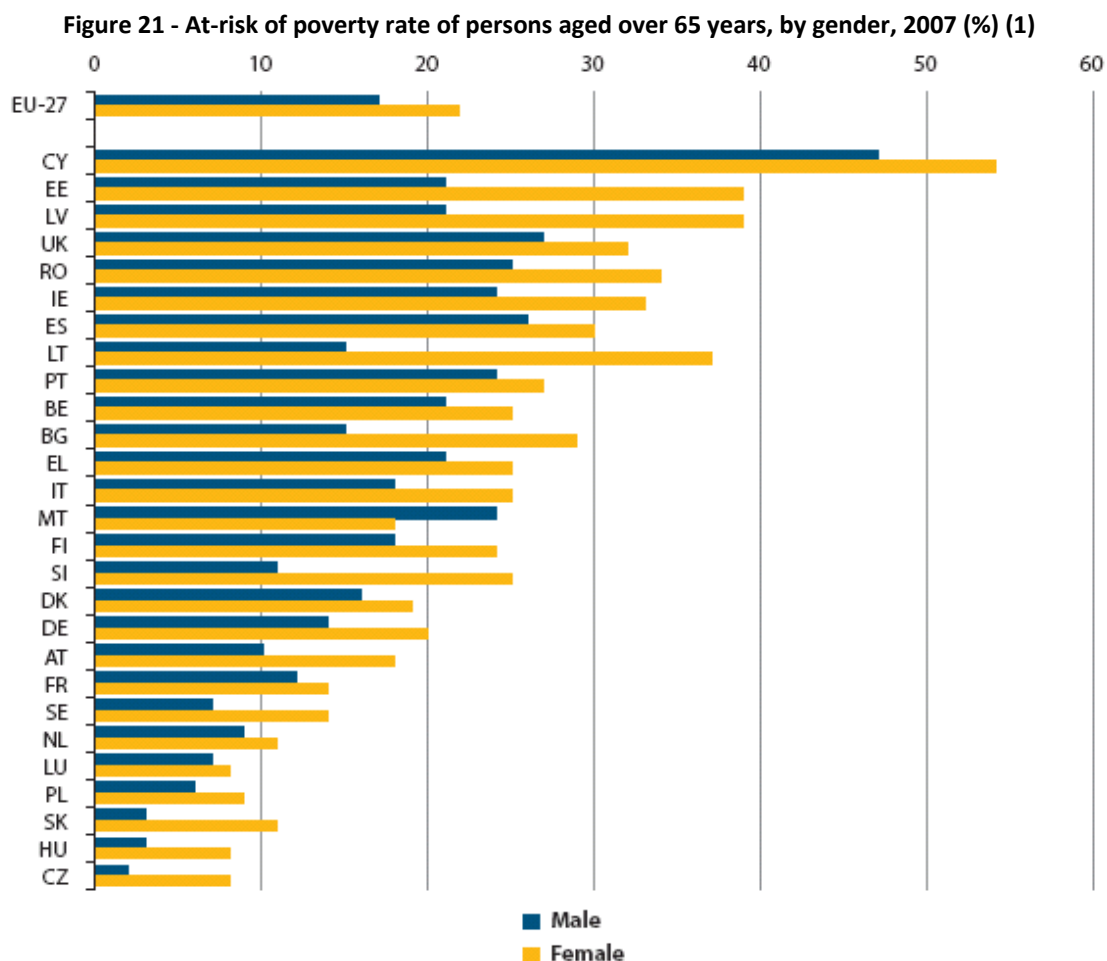


(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

3.1.1.6 Poverty of elderly persons

Although **the elderly** were at greater risk of poverty than the population of the EU-27 as a whole, there was a notable difference between men and women (Figure 21): elderly women were more at-risk-of-poverty than elderly men (22% compared with 17 % in 2007). This gender inequality was widest in the Baltic Member States, Slovenia and Bulgaria, but relatively narrow in Luxembourg, France and the Netherlands. Malta was the only Member State where elderly women were less at-risk-of-poverty than elderly men.



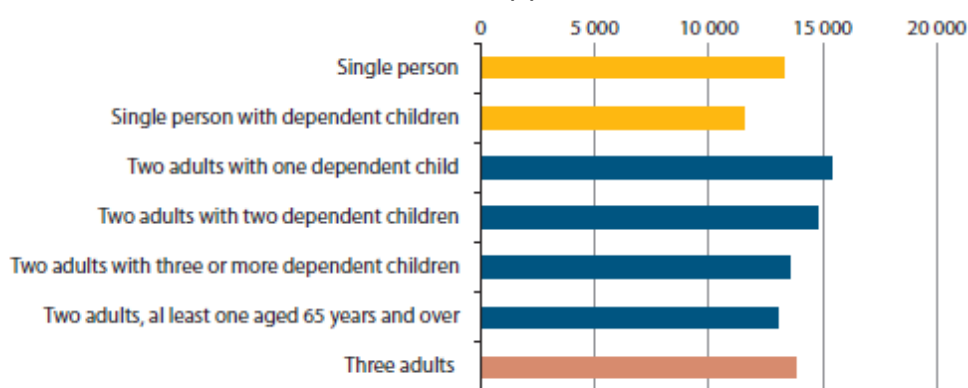
(1) Sorted in descending order according to the total at-risk-of-poverty rate for persons aged over 65 years of age. The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

3.1.2 Household Type

Single persons with dependent children are the type of household with a lower median equivalised disposable income (Figure 22).

Figure 22 - Median equivalised disposable incomes of various types of household, EU-27, 2007 (EUR)
(1)



(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Across the Member States, large households (comprising three or more adults) were typically less likely to be at-risk-of poverty, reflecting wider opportunities to pool resources (Table 9). In a majority of Member States, households comprising two parents and two children were also less at-risk-of-poverty than the average for the whole population. The **types of household** that were at greater risk of poverty than others were (Table 9): **single person households, single parent households with dependent children and households comprising two adults with three or more dependent children (so-called large family households)**. Single parent households and large households have been identified as more vulnerable to poverty over the last few decades, whereas single person households, in particular of young adults, have emerged more recently as more vulnerable.

Single person households were most at-risk-of-poverty in Denmark, Estonia, Ireland, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia and Finland. Single parent households were most at-risk-of-poverty in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, France, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Large family households were most at-risk in Spain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Bulgaria.

Table 9 - At-risk-of-poverty rates by household type, 2007 (%) (1)

	Single person	Single parent with dependent children	Two parents with two dependent children	Two adults with three or more dependent children	Three or more adults	Households with dependent children	Households without dependent children
EU-27	25	34	14	25	10	18	16
BE	26	36	8	18	6	15	16
BG	44	30	22	71	10	25	18
CZ	16	37	8	29	2	13	6
DK	25	17	4	15	3	8	15
DE	27	34	8	12	9	12	17
EE	49	44	12	21	8	16	23
IE	45	40	10	20	8	17	19
EL	27	34	22	30	15	23	18
ES	35	34	22	37	12	21	18
FR	17	27	10	18	10	15	11
IT	27	31	23	41	11	23	17
CY	46	33	9	16	7	10	26
LV	59	34	16	46	10	18	26
LT	49	42	13	38	7	18	20
LU	15	45	14	25	6	17	9
HU	16	29	14	28	4	16	8
MT	21	54	15	24	4	15	14
NL	15	30	5	19	7	11	9
AT	20	31	11	19	4	12	12
PL	16	31	20	36	10	21	11
PT	33	34	17	43	9	18	19
RO	36	42	22	55	17	27	22
SI	39	29	7	15	6	9	15
SK	17	26	12	26	4	14	6
FI	32	22	5	13	6	10	16
SE	21	24	5	13	5	10	12
UK	30	44	13	31	11	19	19
IS	26	23	7	12	2	9	11
NO	28	29	5	8	6	10	15

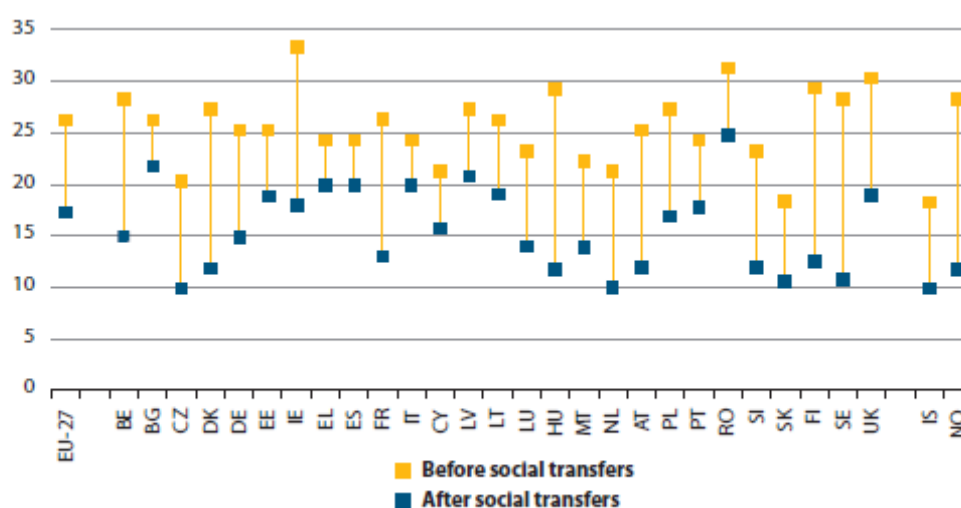
(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*

3.2 The role of social transfers

The at-risk-of-poverty rate is defined as the proportion of the population with an equivalised disposable income that is below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold, set at 60 % of the national median. This rate is expressed before or after social transfers (excluding pensions) with the difference measuring the hypothetical impact of national social transfers in reducing poverty risk. It should be noted that this indicator does not measure wealth, per se, but relatively low levels of current income (in comparison with other persons in the same country), which does not necessarily imply a low standard of living. The impact of social benefits, as measured by those persons who were removed from being at-risk-of-poverty by social transfers, was lowest in Bulgaria and a number of the Mediterranean Member States (Greece, Spain, Italy and Cyprus). In contrast, more than half of those persons who were at-risk-of-poverty in Hungary, Sweden, Finland, Ireland and Denmark were removed as a result of social transfers (Figure 23).

Figure 23 - At-risk-of-poverty before and after social transfers, 2007 (% of population) (1)

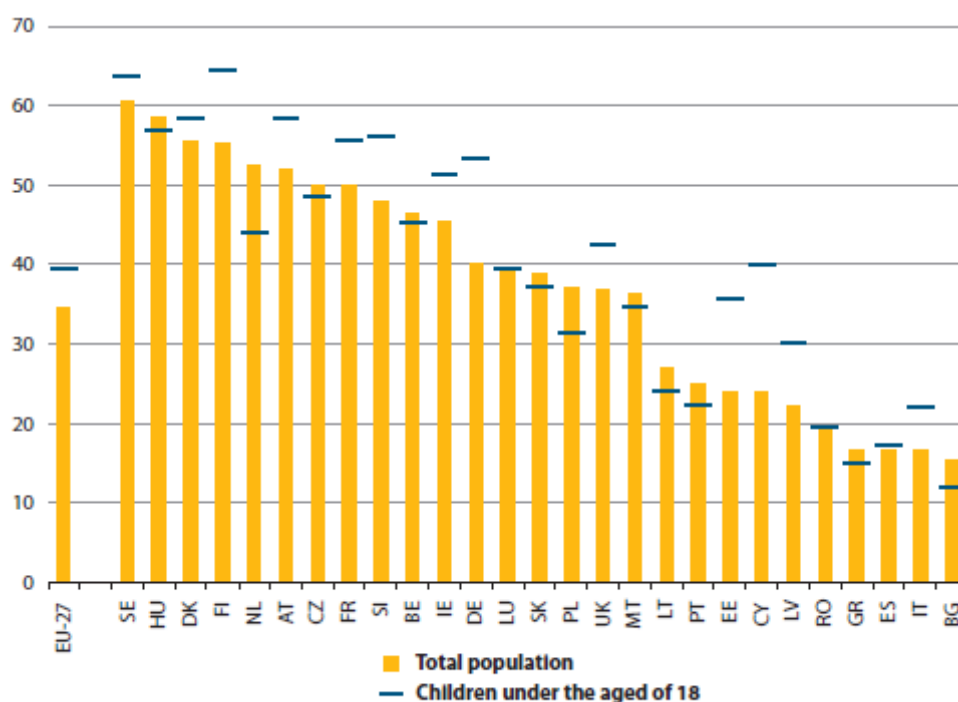


(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Social transfers had a significant impact on reducing the risk of poverty among children (under the age of 18); they contributed to remove 39.4 % of children from the risk of poverty in the EU27 in 2007. The reduction was greater than the average across the whole of the EU27 (where 34.6 % of persons were removed from the risk of poverty by social transfers), suggesting that targeted expenditure on children had some positive effects. Social transfers had a relatively important impact upon children in Cyprus, Germany and Estonia, as the proportion of children who were taken out of the risk of poverty was at least ten percentage points higher than the corresponding share for the whole.

Figure 24 - Reductions in the at-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers, 2007 (% change) (1)



(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

Social transfers had a relatively important impact upon children in Cyprus, Germany and Estonia, as the proportion of children who were taken out of the risk of poverty was at least ten percentage points higher than the corresponding share for the whole population. On the other hand, particularly in the Netherlands, but also Bulgaria, Portugal, Lithuania, Greece, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Belgium, the proportion of persons removed from the risk of poverty as a result of social transfers was higher across the whole population than it was for children.

There appeared to be little gender bias in the impact of social transfers on reducing at-risk-of-poverty rates; for both males and females, EU27 at-risk-of poverty rates after social transfers were nine percentage points lower than before transfers. Social transfers reduced the at-risk-of-poverty rate for those below 18 years from 33 % to 20 %. In contrast, they reduced the risk of poverty among the elderly by just four percentage points. As a result, following social transfers, 20 % of both age groups remained at-risk-of-poverty (Table 10).

Table 10 - At-risk-of-poverty rate before and after social transfers, by age and gender, 2007 (% of relevant population) (1)

	Before social transfers				After social transfers			
	Under 18	Over 65	Male	Female	Under 18	Over 65	Male	Female
EU-27	33	24	25	27	20	20	16	18
BE	31	27	26	29	17	23	14	16
BG	34	28	25	27	30	23	21	23
CZ	31	12	19	21	16	5	9	10
DK	24	34	26	29	10	18	11	12
DE	30	18	24	26	14	17	14	16
EE	28	36	23	27	18	33	17	22
IE	39	42	31	35	19	29	16	19
EL	27	28	23	25	23	23	20	21
ES	29	31	23	25	24	28	19	21
FR	36	18	25	27	16	13	12	14
IT	32	24	23	25	25	22	18	21
CY	20	55	19	23	12	51	14	17
LV	30	37	25	29	21	33	19	23
LT	29	34	24	27	22	30	17	21
LU	33	10	23	24	20	7	13	14
HU	44	11	30	29	19	6	12	12
MT	29	23	21	22	19	21	14	15
NL	25	17	20	22	14	10	10	11
AT	36	17	23	26	15	14	11	13
PL	35	12	27	26	24	8	18	17
PT	27	29	24	25	21	26	17	19
RO	41	35	30	31	33	31	24	25
SI	25	30	21	25	11	19	10	13
SK	27	13	18	19	17	8	10	11
FI	31	31	27	31	11	22	12	14
SE	33	23	26	30	12	11	11	11
UK	40	38	28	32	23	30	18	20
IS	23	20	17	19	12	15	9	11
NO	32	25	26	30	12	14	11	14

(1) The income reference period concerns the year preceding the survey year for the majority of countries.

Source: Eurostat (2010) *Combating poverty and social exclusion: a statistical portrait of the European Union 2010*.

3.3. Results of the Research Review

3.3.1 The Sex Profile of Poverty – A Gendered Poverty

Research has shown that poverty and deprivation disproportionately affect women (e.g. CASP, ed., 2000). Families headed by women are more prone to poverty than those headed by men. In the US and continental Europe, families that experienced poverty in the early 1990s were almost twice as likely to have a female head of household as those that did not (Walker and Collins, 2004). A study conducted in Hungary (Fodor, 2006) exposes the particularly gendered daily practice of poverty in Hungarian families. At a theoretical level, this study demonstrates that men and women “do poverty” differently, and in the process they enact, reinforce, and sometimes reinvent expectations and practices concerning gender. One of the major gender differences in the experience of poverty is that men often find themselves in a gender role crisis when they are too poor to function as successful breadwinners. Women, on the other hand, tend to feel their roles as caretakers intensified and thus avoid a conflict with (newly) hegemonic ideals of femininity. As a response, poor married couple families devise ways in which they try to alleviate men's gender shame.

3.3.2 The Age Profile of Poverty: Child Poverty and Youth Poverty

3.3.2.1 Child Poverty

Child poverty has merited increasing research interest, and policy focus, in recent years. Förster and Mira d'Ercole (2005) are among the authors who argue that relative poverty is, in most countries, more common among children than among the entire population, and this increased further in the second half of the 1990s. While child poverty rates are lower in countries with higher levels of maternal employment, there is much diversity in country experiences, suggesting that specific factors increase the risks of destitution for children in some OECD countries. However, Walker and Collins (2004) stress that in European and Scandinavian countries characterized by generally low levels of poverty, the risk of poverty in childhood is below average, often due to the effects of universal income maintenance payments to children and plentiful, subsidized child-care.

The European Task Force on Child Poverty and Child Well-Being (2008) conducted a detailed analysis of child poverty, following a demand made by the 2006 Spring European Council to the Member States and the Commission to take decisive steps to eradicate poverty among children. The analysis that follows was largely taken from the report drafted by this Task Force.

In 2005, 19 million children lived under the poverty threshold in the EU-27, meaning that 19% of children were at risk of poverty, against 16% for the total population. In

most EU countries children are at greater risk of poverty than the rest of the population, except in the Nordic countries (where 9 to 10% of children live below the poverty threshold), SI (12%), CY (13%), and EL (20%) where the child poverty rate is lower or equivalent to that of the overall population. In almost half of the EU countries, the risk of poverty for children is above 20%, reaching the highest levels at 25% in RO, 27% in LT and 29% in PL.

In one third of countries (MT, IE, BG, IT, ES, EE, LV, PL) the intensity of poverty is 3 to 6 points higher for children than for the overall population. In these countries the median equivalised income of poor children is 20% to over 30% lower than the national poverty threshold. In contrast, the intensity of child poverty is lower than for the overall population in FI, AT, FR, CY, SI, SE, DE, and the UK. In these countries the child poverty gap is less than 20%. In EL, even though the poverty gap for children is higher than 20%, it is lower than for the overall population. It is in the countries with the highest child poverty rates that the intensity of poverty is most severe.

In the EU, half of the poor children live in the 2 types of households that are most at risk of poverty: 23% live in lone-parent households (against 13% for all children together) and 27% in large families (against 21% for all children together). However, the extent to which lone parent households and large families experience greater risks of poverty both depends on their characteristics (age, education level of parents, etc.), and on the labour market situation of the parents (joblessness, in-work poverty, etc), which can be influenced by the availability of adequate support through access to enabling services such as childcare, measures of reconciliation of work and family life, and in-work income support. On the other hand, the distribution of poor children by type of households varies greatly across countries, as shown in Table 11. This shows that the Member States are faced with different policy challenges in their fight against child poverty.

Table 11 - Position of EU countries according to the prevalence of family types where children live and to the level of child poverty risk (PR), EU-25, 2005

Table 4: Position of EU countries according to the prevalence of family types where children live and to the level of child poverty risk (PR), EU-25, 2005

Prevalent family types (proportion of children living in these family types much higher in the country than in the EU as a whole)	Low poverty rates (PR ≤ 15%)	Medium poverty rates (18% ≤ PR ≤ 21%)	High poverty rates (22% ≤ PR ≤ 29%)
Lone parents	DE	UK, EE	LT
Large families	FI, FR, AT, NL	HU, LU	
Both	DK, SE	BE	IE
Other	SI, CY (couples with 2 children)	EL (couples with 2 children) CZ (lone parents and couples with 2 children) SK (large families and complex households)	LV (complex households) ES, IT, PT (couples with 2 children and complex HH) MT (large families) PL (large families and complex households)

Children in the EU whose parents are below 30 have a significantly higher risk of poverty than those living with older parents: 27% when the mother is below 30; against 19% when the mother is between 30 and 39, and 16% when she is between 40 and 49. The age of the parents is indeed a determinant of the financial situation of households with children insofar as in all countries, in-work earnings show a strong progression from the early 20's until the mid 50's. Besides, the incidence of joblessness is greater among the youngest.

The educational level of parents is another key determinant of children's current and future situation since it impacts both on the current labour market and income situation of the parents and on the children's own chances of doing well at school. In the EU, most children are raised with at least one of their parents having completed secondary education. The parents' education profile of poor children differs significantly from their peers, since for more than 30% of poor children none of the parents reached a secondary level of education (against 16% for all children), and only 16% of them have a parent with higher education (against 32% for all children).

Children living in a migrant household (defined as a household where at least 1 parent is born abroad) face a much higher risk of poverty than children whose parents were born in the host country. In most countries the risk of the poverty rate they face reaches 30% or more and is two to five times higher than the risk faced by children whose parents were born in the country of residence.

This study was mostly based on income level analysis. However, it also included some indicators of material deprivation. At the level of the total population, the figures show large variations across countries in terms of the share of people affected by problems

of material deprivation. In Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Sweden, around 10% of the population suffers from at least two problems of economic strain, whereas the share is much higher – above 40% - in Czech Republic, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, and Slovakia. In the strain aspect, children are generally at higher risk than the total population (except in Greece and Latvia), indicating that the presence of children in the household can increase financial constraints. Not only do children have a higher probability of deprivation, but they often also have a higher probability of accumulating these deprivations. In the durables aspect, children tend to be equally or even less deprived (EE, FI, GR, LV, PL) than the total population. In the housing aspect, differences are in favour of children in Greece, Portugal and Malta.

A first analysis of the results from the 2005 EU-SILC module on the intergenerational transmission of disadvantages is included in this study, as presented in the 2007 Social Situation Report. This module consisted of questions about the social status of the parents of respondents when the latter were aged 12 to 16 years. The report looks at correlations between educational achievements of parents and children as well as the main occupational groups. The results suggest that inequality of opportunities remains a serious problem and that people from disadvantaged families still face considerable obstacles in realizing their full potential and achieving better living standards for themselves and their children. The EU-SILC module provides strong evidence that coming from a low-educational background represents a major obstacle to achieving a high level of education. This is particularly the case for tertiary education, since people whose fathers have attained tertiary education are more than twice as likely to attain it themselves as compared with people whose fathers had only a low or medium level of education in DE, FI and the UK, and up to nine times as likely in HU, PL and the CZ. The strength of this influence often differs between sons and daughters: in general, having a father with a low level of education has more of an influence on a woman's level of education, in the sense of increasing the chances that she too will have a low educational level, than that of a man.

In a recent article, Franzini and Raitano (2009) analyze the intergenerational transmission of income inequality in 13 European countries (the EU-15 countries - excluding Germany, Greece and Portugal, because information about financial distress has not been recorded in these countries - plus Norway) on the basis of information provided by the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions 2005 dataset. From their point of view, an especially interesting question arises in connection with the existence of financial problems in the household when the interviewee was a young teenager, which can be taken as a proxy for family economic conditions. Franzini and Raitano's estimates confirm that family economic conditions have a significant marginal negative effect on educational attainments. Moreover, they identified a specific and direct effect of economic conditions of the parents on the wage earned by their sons, independently of school achievements, i.e. an effect showing itself across individuals with the same formal education. On average this effect over all countries is sizeable, but shows a large variability across countries. Results largely confirm in the specific and so far unexplored field of inequality transmission the traditional distinction of Welfare regimes: in most Nordic countries

such effects are really small while the opposite holds for Mediterranean countries. In this respect the differences that have emerged when comparing countries and groups of countries may, according to the authors, be of great value and can offer interesting insights for shaping an effective policy to combat this channel of persistent inequality.

The European Task-Force on Child Poverty and Child Well-Being report (2008) included a grouping of the EU countries based on the child poverty outcomes. These child poverty outcomes result from complex interactions between joblessness, in-work poverty and the impact of transfers and the countries achieving the best outcomes are those that are performing well on all fronts, notably **by combining strategies aimed at facilitating access to employment and enabling services (child care, etc.) with income support**. A detailed description of the 4 groups of countries identified follows:

- **Group A** includes the three Nordic countries (DK, FI, SE) as well as AT, CY, NL, and SI. These countries reach relatively good child poverty outcomes by performing well on all three fronts. They combine relatively good labour market performance of parents (low levels of joblessness and of in-work poverty among households with children) with relatively high and effective social transfers. Nordic countries achieve these goals despite high numbers of children living in lone parent households. They seem to succeed in so doing notably by supporting adequate labour market participation of parents in these families, through childcare provision and a wide range of measures for reconciling work and family life. While the impact of social transfers on child poverty is relatively low in CY, children in this country have so far been protected against the risk of poverty by strong family structures dominated by two-adult families and complex households in which most working age adults are at work. In the NL, while children in part benefit from the low levels of inequality in the country and from relatively good integration of parents in the labour market, child poverty outcomes may be further improved by addressing the intensity of poverty and improving the impact of social transfers (which is lower than for other countries in this group).

- **Group B** includes BE, CZ, DE, EE, FR, and IE, which achieve relatively good to below average poverty outcomes. The main matter of concern in these countries is the high numbers of children living in jobless households. While 8% of children or more live in families suffering from joblessness, families at work experience lower levels of poverty than in other EU countries. In most of these countries, around half of the children in jobless households live with a lone parent. In FR the high numbers of children living with jobless couples is also a matter of concern. Among these 6 countries, DE and FR seem to be more successful at limiting the risks of poverty for children than the others through relatively high and effective social transfers. The interaction between the design of these benefits, the availability and affordability of child care and the labour market participation of parents merits further analysis. Policies aimed at enhancing access to quality jobs for those parents furthest away from the labour market may contribute to reducing child poverty in these countries.

- **Group C** includes HU, MT, SK, and the UK, which record average or just below average child poverty outcomes, despite a combination of high levels of joblessness

and inwork poverty among parents. In the UK, joblessness mainly involves lone parents, while in HU, MT and SK it involves mainly couples with children. The main factors in in work-poverty are low work intensity in MT (very few 2-earner families) and the UK (incidence of part-time work) and low pay or low in-work income in HU and SK, where the poverty rates of dual-earner families are among the highest in the EU. In this group of countries, the UK and HU partly alleviate very high risks of pre-transfer poverty among children through relatively effective social benefits. In MT and SK, despite the relatively poor integration of their parents in the labour market, children benefit from low pre-transfer risk of poverty, probably as a result of family structures that so far remain protective; in SK the rather narrow income distribution may also play a role. In these four countries, different policy mixes may be needed to give access to quality jobs to parents living in jobless households, to enhance the labour market participation of second earners and to adequately support the incomes of parents at work.

- **Group D** covers EL, ES, IT, LT, LU, LV, PL, and PT. These countries have relatively high levels of child poverty (except LU). While they have low shares of children living in jobless households, they experience very high levels of in-work poverty among families. The main factors of in-work poverty in these countries are low work intensity (the number of 2-earner families are among the lowest in ES, EL, IT, LU, PL) combined (or not) with low in-work incomes (the poverty rates of 2 bread winner households are among the highest in ES, EL, LT, PT and PL). In these countries (apart from LU), the level and efficiency of social spending are among the lowest in the EU. The analysis indicates that in these countries family structures and intergenerational solidarity continue to play a role in alleviating the risk of poverty for the most vulnerable children. Living in multi-generational households and/or relying on inter-households transfers, whether in cash or in kind, may partly compensate for the lack of governmental support for parents in the most vulnerable situations. These countries may need to adopt comprehensive strategies aimed at better supporting families' income, both in and out of work, and at facilitating access to quality jobs, especially for second earners.

Already in 2002, Bradshaw and Finch had proposed a ranking of countries based on the comparison of child benefit packages. The following groupings of countries were devised:

- *Leaders*: Austria, Luxembourg, Finland.
- *Second rank*: France, Sweden, Germany, UK, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Australia.
- *Third rank*: Ireland, Israel, Canada, USA and Italy.
- *Laggards*: New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, Japan, The Netherlands, and Greece.

As noticed by the authors, the rankings that have been obtained bear little relationship to the rankings that would be inferred using Esping-Anderson's (1991) regime types. One main conclusion of this study is that the countries with the most generous overall child benefit package are the countries that deliver most, if not all, of their value as a non-income-related child benefit. 'Those countries that make most effort to transfer resources horizontally have the more generous child benefit packages. They are also

the countries with lower relative child poverty rates and most of them have higher levels of fertility. Policy matters.’ (Bradshaw and Finch, 2002: 189)

OECD is another international organisation which recently issued a study offering an overview of child well-being across the OECD countries (OECD, 2009). It compares policy-focused measures of child well-being in six aspects, chosen to cover the major aspects of children’s lives: material well-being; housing and environment; education; health and safety; risk behaviours; and quality of school life. Table 12 presents a ranking of the countries.³³

³³ The numbering included in the snapshots of the tables and figures in this Chapter 3 should be ignored. These numbers come from the original sources. The correct number is always included before each table or figure.

Table 12 - Comparative policy-focused child well-being in 30 OECD countries**Table 2.1. Comparative policy-focused child well-being in 30 OECD countries**
1 ranks the best performing country

	Material well-being	Housing and environment	Educational well-being	Health and safety	Risk behaviours	Quality of school life
Australia	15	2	6	15	17	n.a.
Austria	5	9	18	27	27	11
Belgium	11	11	20	26	13	19
Canada	14	n.a.	3	22	10	16
Czech Republic	18	24	19	5	23	17
Denmark	2	6	7	4	21	8
Finland	4	7	1	6	26	18
France	10	10	23	19	12	22
Germany	16	18	15	9	18	9
Greece	26	19	27	23	7	24
Hungary	20	21	12	11	25	7
Iceland	8	4	14	2	8	1
Ireland	17	5	5	25	19	10
Italy	19	23	28	17	11	20
Japan	22	16	11	13	2	n.a.
Korea	13	n.a.	2	10	2	n.a.
Luxembourg	3	8	17	7	14	23
Mexico	29	26	29	28	30	n.a.
Netherlands	9	17	4	8	9	3
New Zealand	21	14	13	29	24	n.a.
Norway	1	1	16	16	4	2
Poland	28	22	8	14	20	15
Portugal	25	20	26	18	6	21
Slovak Republic	27	25	24	1	22	25
Spain	24	13	21	12	16	6
Sweden	6	3	9	3	1	5
Switzerland	7	n.a.	10	21	5	13
Turkey	30	n.a.	30	30	29	12
United Kingdom	12	15	22	20	28	4
United States	23	12	25	24	15	14

Note: To create the table, each indicator was converted into a standardised distribution. Then a within-dimension average was taken. This within-dimension standardised average was then used to rank countries in each dimension. Using standardised figures each country with half a standard deviation higher than the OECD average is coloured blue on that dimension, whilst countries in dark grey are at least a half standard deviation lower.

n.a.: no country data.

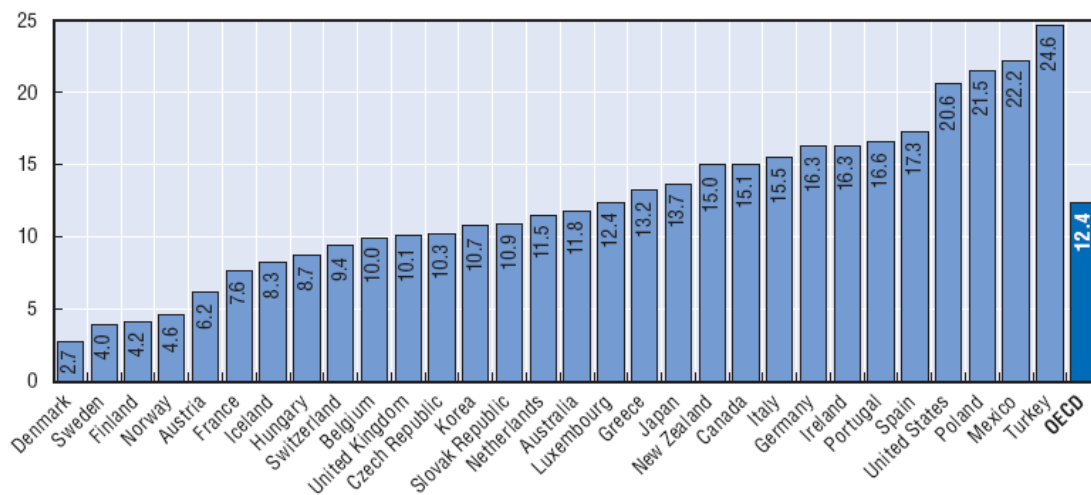
Source: OECD based on analysis in this chapter.

Child poverty is measured here by the proportion of children who have an equivalised family income below 50% of the median family income of the total population. Child poverty rates across OECD countries vary considerably. Denmark has the lowest proportion of children living in poor families, with around one in 40 children being poor. The other Nordic countries – Sweden, Finland, and Norway – are also outstanding performers on this indicator. On the other hand, as many as one in five or more children in the United States, Poland, Mexico, and Turkey live in poor families.

Figure 25 - Percentage of children living in poor households (below 50% of median equivalised income) (circa 2005)


Figure 2.2. Child poverty is nine times higher in Turkey than in Denmark

Percentage of children living in poor households (below 50% of the median equivalised income), circa 2005



Note: The child poverty measure used is the proportion of households with children living on an equivalised income below 50% of the national median income for the year 2005. Children are defined as those aged 0-17 years. All OECD countries are included.

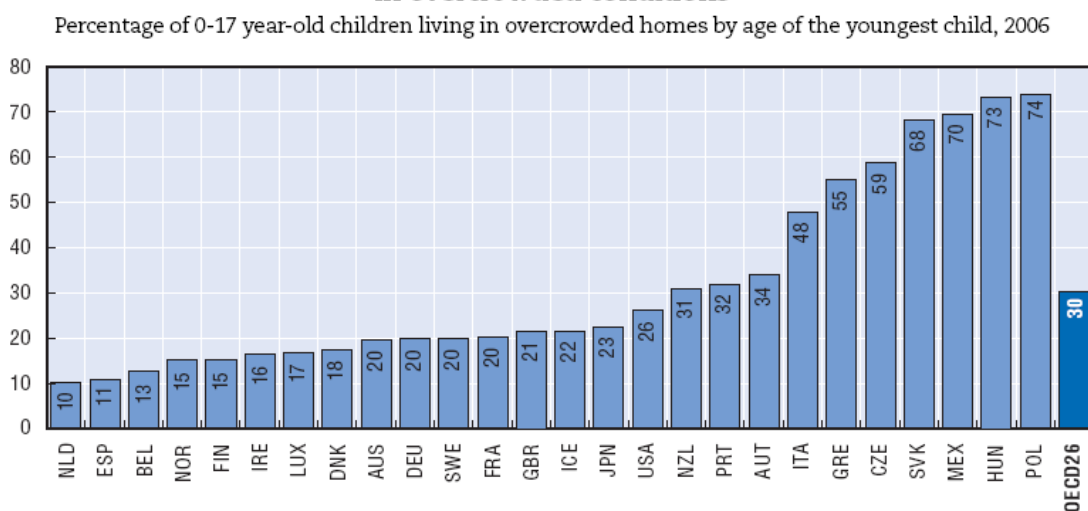
Source: OECD Income Distribution database, developed for OECD (2008b), *Growing Unequal: Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries*.

StatLink  <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/10813160324>

Overcrowding is one of the indicators selected for the housing and environment aspect. Children live in overcrowded conditions when the number of people living in their homes exceeds the number of rooms in the household (excluding kitchens and bathrooms). Though the extent of crowded housing for children varies considerably between OECD countries, in every country at least one child in ten lives in an overcrowded home (Figure 26). Overall, on average around one in three OECD children live in crowded conditions. Children in Eastern Europe experience overcrowding the most, and crowding is also high in Italy and Greece, while children in the Netherlands and Spain are least likely to suffer from overcrowding.

Figure 26 - Percentage of 0-17 year old children living in overcrowded homes by age of youngest child (2006)

Figure 2.4. On average, one in three children across the OECD lives in overcrowded conditions



3.3.2.2 Youth Poverty

Whereas there is a well-developed literature on poverty among households in general, very little research has focused on poverty among young adults. The literature on youth poverty has only very recently emerged.

Young adults traditionally were at a lower risk of poverty or deprivation. Across all countries, unemployment, inactivity and low educational levels were highly correlated with an increased chance of being in and remaining in poverty. In all countries, especially those in Southern Europe, family support systems were likely to affect deprivation risks advantageously for young adults. (CASP, 2000). However, parental dependency may impact on youth poverty in different ways (Hammer, 2002). It may strengthen the process of inter-generational transmission of poverty in deprived areas. At the same time, parental support may be essential for the prevention of poverty among unemployed youth and may also lessen homelessness and social exclusion, especially in Southern Europe. Aassve, Davia, Iacovou and Mencarini (2005) claim that although there are significant differences across countries, living arrangements (in particular living in a single person household) is one of the most important predictors of youth poverty and deprivation. Living in the parental home, or living with a partner, provide significant protection from poverty. Leaving home is always related to a higher risk of poverty and deprivation, but the impact is far stronger in Finland, Denmark and the Netherlands (where young people leave home early, and to live alone) than in Southern countries (where they tend to leave late, and live with a spouse on leaving home).

As to the effects of union formation and childbearing, still according to the same study, both marriage and cohabitation appear to protect young individuals from poverty and deprivation, though marriage generally has a stronger effect than cohabitation (indeed, cohabitation does not appear to protect against deprivation in Portugal, Spain and Italy). The effects of having children are smaller than the effects of marriage and cohabitation, and in the opposite direction: having children is associated with a general higher risk of poverty and deprivation. The exceptions are, interestingly, Finland and Denmark, where children do not have any influence on the likelihood of poverty.

In another study, Aassve, Iacovou and Mencarini (2006) use the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) and provide a detailed description of youth poverty in Europe. Across the European Union youth poverty varies greatly, being higher in Southern European countries, as well as in the 'liberal' regimes of the UK and Ireland. However, there are also large variations in the extent of youth poverty within countries, between what we might term "younger youth" (aged 16-19) and "older youth" aged (25-29).

The research report mentioned above argues that for individuals at the very start of the transition to adulthood, the factors associated with youth poverty are similar to the factors associated with child poverty. The majority have no incomes of their own, and their risk of poverty is thus largely dependent on the incomes of adult members of their households (mainly, their parents) in relation to the size of their households. However, as young people move towards adulthood, the factors associated with youth poverty become more complex. Young people's incomes vary widely – both between countries, and within countries. Young people may be in education; they may have a job (low-waged or better-paid); they may be unemployed; they may be caring for children; or they may be out of the labour market for other reasons. Young people's living arrangements also vary: many young people live with their family of origin; others have left home and live alone, or with a partner, or with friends. Some have children of their own, with or without a partner. For young people with low or no earnings, living with their parents may protect them against poverty – although conversely, the extra burden their presence places on household finances may throw the whole household into poverty. Young people whose own earnings are relatively high may not be poor if they live apart from their families of origin, and if they do live at home, they may act as a resource for their families of origin, increasing household equivalent income to a level higher than it would otherwise have been.

These authors have shown that young people in many European countries are at higher-than-average risk of poverty and that in some countries, young people are more likely than almost any other group to be poor. Young people's living arrangements and activity status vary widely between countries, with these variations being reflected in the risk of poverty experienced by young people in each country. Living in one's family of origin or living as a couple but without children tends to protect young people against poverty, whereas living alone, or as a lone parent, tends to increase the risk. Leaving aside those over 70, who in most countries suffer high rates of poverty, young people are at a higher risk of poverty than any other age group. In almost all countries, the risk of poverty declines with age past the twenties, and is lower in the thirties than in the twenties. This is partly driven by changes in

occupational status among young people (who are less likely to be studying or unemployed at later ages), but also by a reduced risk of poverty within groups.

Parisi (2008), developed a study on the so-called Southern European countries: Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. The outcomes of this study also show that leaving home is associated with a higher chance of having low income. Moreover, the poorer the family of origin, the more likely the leaver is to be poor. On the other hand, the longer a young person delays leaving the parental home, the more likely the individual is not to be poor if he or she does leave. The explanation is straightforward: remaining in the parental home longer increases the chances of getting a higher educational qualification and hence a better paid job. Perhaps surprisingly, there appear to be no differences in these various patterns across the four southern European countries studied.

Scandinavian countries are the main focus of a study conducted by Aassve, Arnstein, Busetta, and Mendola (2008). The fact that young individuals in Social Democratic countries (i.e. Scandinavian) face a higher poverty risk compared other European countries may be unexpected. With generous and universal welfare benefits, one would expect youth poverty to be much lower in these countries. The rather recent literature on youth poverty shows that out of the many events that take place in young individuals' lives - such as completion of education, entering the labour force, getting married and having children - it is the event of leaving the parental home that is by far the most important driver behind youth poverty. One important answer for why youth poverty rates are so high in Scandinavia lies in the very fact that compared to other countries, young Scandinavians tend to leave home at a much earlier age. However, the poverty experience of young Scandinavians is generally short-lived, implying that poverty by itself may not be a good measure of youth disadvantage.

In this paper an alternative measure of young adult's poverty experience is constructed, and proposed as a better measure of social disadvantage among youth. Using observed poverty spells from the European Community Panel Survey (ECHP) a three-group classification is defined as follows: 1) never poor, 2) socially vulnerable, and 3) persistently poor. On the basis of this definition a generalized ordinal logit model was implemented from which the various factors associated with remaining poor, including living arrangements, are assessed.

The analysis shows that high rates of poverty do not necessarily translate into more permanent poverty. For instance, there is little evidence to suggest that people remain poor longer in Scandinavian countries, even if the latter have higher poverty rates. Thus, the poverty experience resulting from leaving home at an early age does not necessarily translate into any long term youth disadvantage. Generous welfare provision and an effective labour market are able to stave off youth disadvantage. On the other hand, whereas previous studies have reported significant gender differences in poverty rates, the analysis shows that such differences are much weaker when it comes to remaining poor. On the contrary, controlling for a range of background factors, young women are less likely to experience poverty permanence and hence youth disadvantage. Elsewhere, in Mediterranean and Liberal countries, it turns out

that gender is a significant factor, and - in particular - that being a woman is a protective factor against long-term poverty.

For people in Mediterranean countries, living with parents is an effective strategy: findings suggest that the family acts as a protective net against persistent poverty. Living in the parental home neutralizes the potential advantage for women; also, the effect of schooling and cohabitation status becomes irrelevant as regards remaining poor. Equally, the number of children in the household and the presence of a partner or a spouse (as expected) have no relevance to remaining poor. In other cases long-lasting unemployment increases the risk of remaining poor.

The main conclusion drawn from this study is that both structural factors and the effect of welfare regimes play a significant and substantial role in explaining differences in persistent poverty levels. However, what is also clear is that a longitudinally based perspective is necessary if better policies are to be directed at youth poverty in Europe.

3.3.3 Household Events, Household Types and the Shaping of Poverty

3.3.3.1 Household Events

Research has found, almost without exception, that there are large falls in income in the year after a marital split for separating women and children, but not for separating men. Fouarge and Layte (2005) even argue that separation may have a positive effect on the poverty risks.

Jenkins (2008), in a study conducted on the UK only, examines whether the short-term economic consequences of a marital split have changed over time. Using data from waves 1–14 (survey years 1991–2004) of the British Household Panel Survey, he shows that marital splits continue to be associated with short-term declines in income for separating wives and children relative to separating husbands, but the size of the decline has declined markedly over time for women with children, and for dependent children. For the period 1991–1997, the average fall in income for separating mothers between the year before and the year after the marital split was –30%, whereas for the period 1998–2004, the average fall in income for this group was –12%. The corresponding figures for separating husbands were 36% and 31%. The explanation for why the economic consequences of a marital split are no longer so adverse for women with children appears, according to the author, to be relatively straightforward: employment rates for mothers rose regularly over the 1990s and were given a particular stimulus by the introduction of Working Families Tax Credit in 1998.

The analysis of six-year income trajectories also suggests that, after their large fall immediately after the marital split, incomes for separating wives do recover but not to their previous levels: five years after a split, incomes remain about 10% below their pre-split levels on average. However, women who do not have a job in any of the five years after a marital split, or who do not find a new partner, do much worse than this. Women who remain in paid work or who have a new partner fare best. Thus, gender remains a good predictor of whether an adult's income rises or falls after experiencing a marital split.

3.3.3.2 Single Person Households

Single adult person households have been identified as more prone to poverty than other types of family (e.g. Walker and Collins, 2004). Quintano and D'Agostino (2006) carried out an analysis in four European countries (Italy, France, Germany and the U.K.) having welfare systems that represent Mediterranean (Italy), continental (Germany and France) and Anglo-Saxon (U.K.) regimes.

The effect of gender was strong in all countries, indicating that women are at a greater disadvantage than men in each country: the poverty rate was 23% for women and 19% for men in France, 17% for women and 12% for men in Italy, 29% for women and 19% for men in Germany and 21% for women and 12% for men in the U.K.. The effect of age showed an opposite pattern in all countries. Women over 70 years of age had a much higher poverty rate everywhere. In the U.K. it increased to 37%, in Germany to 35%, in Italy to 21% and in France to 28%.

The effect of marital status was interesting; women who had never married had low median incomes and very high poverty rates in all countries. The same effect for divorce was observed except in France where the poverty rate did not change. On the contrary, in Germany and Italy, divorce had a strong effect on poverty rate. German divorced women had a poverty rate of 48%; in Italy this value was 34%. An interesting social aspect for single-person households was also the effect of divorce with respect to gender and age at divorce. The impact of divorce was worse for women than for men, and was more evident in Germany and the U.K. than France or Italy. The effect of age was also strong. Both younger and older divorced women run the risk of poverty in Italy and the U.K.; a different pattern was observed in Germany and France where the older cohorts were better off.

In conclusion, in terms of different welfare systems, the results of this study confirm that the Italian Mediterranean regime penalizes younger generations which suffer from very high poverty rates and remarkable inequality with respect to older generations. On the other hand, the Continental and Anglo Saxon regimes seem to favour younger generations and to penalize the older generations.

Lelkes and Zólyomi (2008) also show that poverty among one-person households can be several times higher than among two-adult households. The reason for this is partly income pooling: in households where two adults cohabit, the impact of temporary income shocks (such as unemployment, sickness) can be cushioned, since they normally affect one household member at a time. Another reason is the characteristics of one adult households: a large share of these are made up of young unemployed or elderly pensioner (dominantly women) groups with a higher than average risk of poverty. Poverty among one-person households reaches over 40% in Cyprus, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia and Slovenia.

3.3.3.3 Lone Parents

There is a wide consensus among researchers that lone parents, which in most cases are headed by a woman, are the type of household most vulnerable to poverty. Fouarge and Layte (2005) are among those who argue that single parents have a greater probability of experiencing poverty. Walker and Collins (2004) also stress that lone parent families are more exposed to poverty than other families; however, they note that lone parents in continental Europe in the mid-1990s were only marginally more exposed to the risk of long-term poverty.

In an EU study focusing on different life-course transitions, conducted under the coordination of CASP (2000), it was concluded that lone parents, who were mainly lone mothers, were the type of family most vulnerable to the risks of poverty and deprivation. Many lone parents relied on low-level social assistance to top up their low earnings, or as their only source of income. The position of lone mothers with non-dependent children was somewhat different. This was the result of household members providing an income in addition to that obtained by the lone parent, and perhaps of maintenance payments received from absent parents. Whereas the experience of poverty differed considerably between lone parent groups within the same country, there were greater similarities within countries with respect to necessity-deprivation.

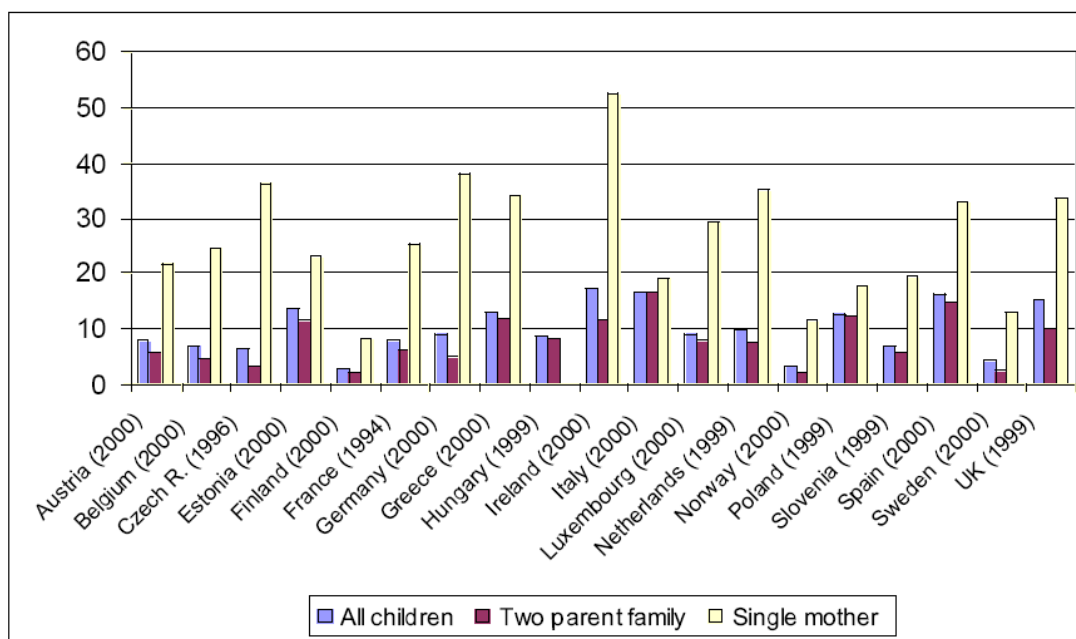
Kröger (2004) pointed out that when the poverty threshold is defined as half of the median national standard of living, one European lone parent family out of four (24%) is poor. The poverty rate was thus twice as high as for all households (11%, in 2001), although this varied widely across countries. Within the family type “lone-lone” parents (those who do not have informal support networks), the necessary and exclusive use of formal services (public or private) constitutes a special form of poverty trap, since it consumes a disproportionate part of their scant revenues.

A few years later, Lelkes and Zólyomi (2008) analysed the EU-SILC 2006 and concluded that the poverty rate of single parents reached or surpassed 30% in the majority of the countries examined. Over 40% of single parents had incomes below the poverty line in the Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Ireland, Portugal, and the UK. Contrary to these countries, the situation of single parents was relatively favourable in international comparison in Denmark, Finland and Norway, where the poverty rate of this group is not higher than 20%. Note, however, that this figure was still higher than national average poverty rates in these three countries.

The Luxembourg Income Study was the basis for the analysis of poverty rates for children by family type (Figure 27) conducted in another study on poverty and social exclusion among lone parent households (Fondazione G. Brodolini, 2007).

Figure 27 - Poverty rates for children by family type

Figure 1.1: Poverty rates for children by family type



Data source: Luxembourg Income Study

Children in single mother families are clearly more vulnerable to poverty than children in two parent families, in every country, and especially in Ireland. On the other hand, according to this study, lone-parent families are in fact affected by much higher risks of economic poverty than the rest of the population and of families with children in particular. To a different extent, this is true for all types of lone parents and for all countries, the only exception being lone-father families, especially in the Mediterranean countries and France.

Taking the group of Mediterranean countries first, the common element in the three countries is that lone fathers are the type of lone-parent family with the lowest poverty risk. By contrast, when considering the Netherlands and Norway it is found that the least disadvantaged group is not that of lone-father families, but that of widows. Thus when considering the relative positions of different lone parent families, systematic differences seem to emerge between the Mediterranean and Northern European countries. In the former, lone fathers are undoubtedly advantaged when compared to all other lone parent families, whereas in the latter, the biggest differences seem to be found between widowed lone mothers on the one hand, and divorced or single lone mothers, on the other. Some outcomes of the study: (i) In Portugal, more than 80% of single mothers are poor; (ii) in France, 41% of all lone mothers are poor; (iii) more than one family out of three is poor among Italian single mothers, Portuguese and Spanish divorced mothers, lone parents in Great Britain and lone fathers in Ireland.

The Fondazione G. Brodolini study focused on 13 countries, ranged according to the welfare state type, as the following table shows:

Table 13 - Welfare State Type

Thus our countries in the sample are ranged this way:

<i>Scandinavian social-democratic:</i>	Norway Denmark
<i>Hybrid type between Continental and social-democratic</i>	France Netherlands
<i>Corporatist etatist:</i>	Germany
<i>Liberal:</i>	U.K. Ireland
<i>Mediterranean:</i>	Italy Portugal Spain
<i>Transition countries:</i>	Bulgaria Poland Slovenia

The analysis of policies and services for lone parents in the 13 countries enabled us to reach the conclusion that these countries show markedly different positions in the main areas of welfare measures involved in the treatment of lone parent families, and/or in background factors, such as family policy, the regulation of income support and of the labour market and social shock absorbers, but, above all, of family obligations. All these dimensions intersect and have an effect on the space within which a lone parent policy may develop. Based on the analysis of these dimensions, a ranking of the countries was developed:

- First rank: Norway, Denmark, France
- Second rank: Netherlands, United Kingdom and Ireland
- Third rank: Germany
- Fourth rank: Transition countries
- Fifth rank: Mediterranean countries (but also Bulgaria).

3.3.3.4 Large Families

Large families are also among the groups more prone to poverty. Bradshaw, Finch, Mayhew, Ritakallio and Skinner (2006) make reference to several previous studies which evidenced this increased vulnerability of large families regarding poverty. Cantillon and Van den Bosch (2002) used Luxembourg Income Survey data and found that the poverty rate among families with three or more children was equally high as that among lone parent families in Belgium, Spain, Finland (although at a comparatively low level), Italy and the UK. The poverty risk of large families generally exceeded that of childless non-aged families, except in the Nordic Countries and the Netherlands. Layte and Fouarge (2004) and Whelan et al (2004) examined the impact of various socioeconomic factors on cross-national differences in deprivation using the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) survey. Logistic regression showed that having a larger number of children (3+) tended to lead to higher levels of deprivation across all countries, but the effect is rather small when compared to other variables, such as long-term unemployment, being a young single person aged 17-24, or lone parenthood. The negative effect of having a large family was strongest in Italy, Portugal and the UK (followed by Germany and Ireland).

Lelkes and Zólyomi (2008), using EU-SILC 2006 data, also showed that the risk of poverty significantly rises with the number of dependent children in the household. In about half of the countries, poverty among families with two children is higher than those with one child. This characterizes the Mediterranean countries and most of the Eastern European countries. The risk of poverty, however, rises substantially among those with three or more children. In countries like Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, as well as Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, at least one in three persons living in households with three or more children have incomes below the poverty line (Figure 28).

Figure 28 - Risk of poverty by type of household

Figure 7a
Risk of poverty by type
of household (households
without children)

Source:
own calculations based on
EU-SILC 2006

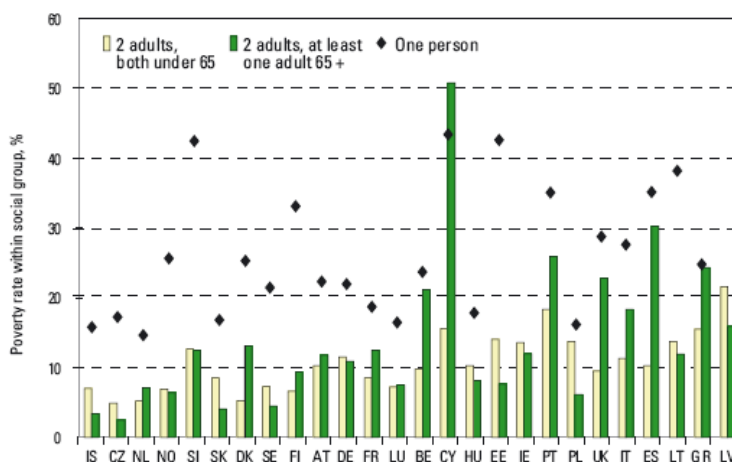
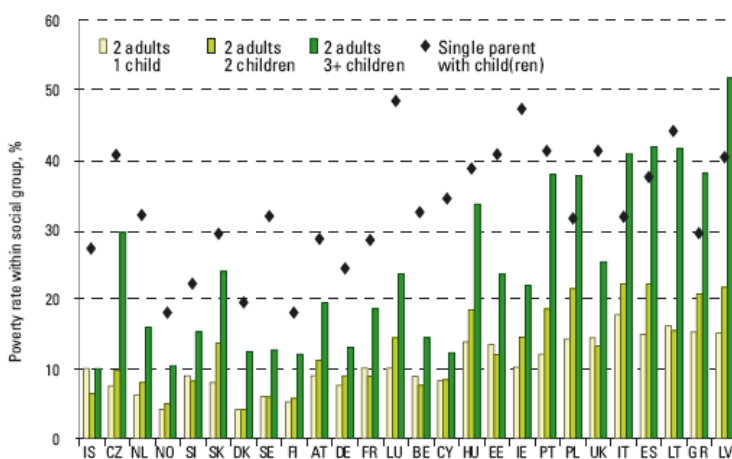


Figure 7b
Risk of poverty by household
(households with children)

Source:
own calculations based on
EU-SILC 2006



Fouarge and Layte (2005), however, make an interesting argument about the fact that changes in the number of children – either more or fewer children – are both associated with an increased and decreased poverty risk. At first sight this finding seems contradictory but can be explained through the effect that changes in household composition have on both household income and household needs. A tentative explanation in this context is that young children coming into the household induce an additional financial burden that is generally less than compensated for by child benefits. Children leaving the household are generally older and have their own market income, which may have negative consequences on the household's income position.

3.4 Work, Families and Poverty

New social risks emerging alongside traditional social needs are tied in with the possibility of experiencing particular needs resulting from the economic and social changes associated with the transition towards a post-industrial society across European welfare states. Policy responses are shaped primarily by regime differences, but some convergence is taking place in specific areas. (Taylor-Gooby, 2004)

According to Taylor-Gooby, one of the main broad categories these risks fall into is balancing paid work and family responsibilities, especially childcare or care for a frail elderly relative. Care responsibilities impact on employment and on incomes. Data from the 1998 ECHP show that, for couple households with dependent children, 90% of prime working age (20-49) men are in employment compared with only 57% of women. When one turns to older couple households with care responsibilities for dependent older people, employment rates fall to 47% for men and 29% for women - the same two-thirds ratio of women to men. The impact of care responsibilities on women's employment in turn affects the risk of family poverty. The Luxembourg Income Study data show that poverty rates for couple households in the EU where only one partner is in paid work are between three and six times higher than those where both work and here the effect is most marked in liberal countries with weaker benefit systems.

Kröger (ed., 2004) refers to the lack of care as a social problem as serious as the lack of income. Affordable care for children and older people is a big issue. Citizens of Europe are not either workers or carers. They are both at the same time. To face the challenges of the future, an integrated policy perspective on work and care is required in Europe, Kröger argues. Social security policies are significant in providing families with the financial means to use formal care services. In particular, policies on pensions and child benefits should be considered in connection with policies on formal care. The affordability of care services for all parts of the population must be ensured. In addition, in order to achieve a better gender balance in caring, the participation of men needs increasingly to be supported by social security policies.

Traditionally, as stressed by Misra, Moller and Budig (2007), welfare states have adopted strategies based on different assumptions about women's and men's roles in society, which then affect women's chances of living in poverty cross-nationally. There is an association between poverty rates and gendered welfare state strategies regarding work-family policies. While family benefits and child care for young children unequivocally lower poverty rates, particularly for families headed by a single mother, long parental leaves have more ambivalent effects. The findings suggest that it is critical to examine the gendered assumptions underlying work-family policies rather than viewing all work-family policies as the same.

These authors also evidence that poverty is much lower in countries with the earner-carer strategy, which emphasizes policy approaches meant to balance care and employment for both men and women. At the same time, poverty rates are significantly higher in countries that employ the earner strategy, which takes a market-

driven approach to care issues. Poverty rates are significantly higher for single mothers and particularly single mothers of young children not only in countries that employ the earner strategy but also in those that employ the carer strategy. Policies that support care outside the home - such as child care provisions for children younger than three - reduce poverty more for single mothers than for partnered mothers.

This study makes a plea for the importance of combining market and transfer income: employed women are less likely to fall into poverty, while family benefits unsurprisingly also decrease poverty. The findings suggest that beyond the positive impact of cash benefits paid to families with children, work-family policies such as child care and short-term leaves have powerful effects on poverty. Yet work-family policies that encourage women to take long leaves for caretaking have more ambivalent effects.

In-work poverty raises specific issues regarding the interplay of work and family. A paper from Lohmann (2008) looks at in-work poverty from the perspective of general comparative poverty research, which argues that a person's welfare is generated at household level. Hence, low personal wages, which are often the focus of studies on the working poor, are regarded as only one cause of in-work poverty. At least two other factors influence a worker's poverty risk. Other earners may contribute to household income. Furthermore, (social) transfers may play a crucial role in lifting poor workers out of poverty. In general, the results confirm the overall hypothesis that both welfare state measures and labour market institutions have an influence on in-work poverty.

By analyzing influences on pre-transfer poverty and poverty reduction separately, Lohmann shows that such factors have varied effects on in-work poverty. While bargaining centralisation proved to be relevant for the distribution of pre-transfer incomes only, the set-up of the transfer system (unemployment replacement rates, expenditure on family cash benefits) mainly impacted the extent of poverty reduction. Against his initial expectations, the availability of family services strongly influences the extent of poverty reduction but has hardly any effect on pre-transfer poverty rates. Furthermore, workers with children are more likely to be poor in countries with higher spending on family services. If one argues that the availability of family services - mainly childcare - is expected to increase the number of workers within family households the opposite result would be expected. Individual and household-related factors also play an important role in explaining who is working but poor and who is not. The analysis of pre-transfer in-work poverty indicates that the risk profile of the working poor does not differ from the risk profile in general poverty studies. Workers with low resources who are living in households with higher needs and face larger restrictions are more likely to be poor. But also the extent of poverty reduction is structured by individual and household-related factors. While workers with children are more likely to be pulled out of poverty, in particular in countries with high family cash benefits expenditures, other groups like migrants not only face a higher risk of being poor relative to the pre-transfer poverty line but are also less likely to receive transfers. It is likely that not only the differing availability of benefits but also

differences in take-up rates shape the profile of the working poor after transfers are paid.

3.5 Poverty Dynamics: The Ins and Outs of Poverty

Research on poverty dynamics, although crucial to an understanding of the processes shaping entering and exiting from poverty, was made possible only fairly recently (at least in quantitative terms and on the basis of a cross-national comparative approach), with the dissemination of panel data. The first wave of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP) dates back to 1994.

The above mentioned 2000 project, coordinated by CASP, conducted an analysis of inter-country and inter-group patterns of poverty and deprivation dynamics (based on ECHP data). This has demonstrated the added risk of poverty and deprivation faced by life course and risk transition groups. Moreover it has highlighted two distinct clusters of risks. First there are those who experience above average poverty rates but no great probability of entering or exiting poverty and deprivation (e.g. lone parents with dependent children in Portugal, lone parents with non-dependent children in the UK). Secondly, there are those with below average poverty rates but also low exit rates (e.g. lone parents with dependent children in Austria and Germany; lone parents with non-dependants in Austria).

As to pensioners, the same study mentions that there is a specific situation in Portugal. Although Portuguese pensioners suffered a greater risk of becoming deprived than the non-retired population, they were, at the same time, more likely to exit deprivation. It would appear that family networks, at least in Portugal, were able to provide non-monetary goods and services, and thus reduce the risk of lengthy periods of deprivation.

The poverty exit and entry rates among children have been the focus of other studies. Also in 2000, Jenkins, Bradbury and Micklewright address the issue of children in lone parent households. They conclude that there are notably higher poverty entry rates as well as lower poverty exit rates by children in lone parent households.

Jenkins and Schluter (2001) develop a comparison between child poverty dynamics in Britain and Germany. Child poverty exit rates were significantly lower, and poverty entry rates significantly higher, in Britain. The results point to the importance of the welfare-state-related differences as the principal source of Anglo-German differences in child poverty rates. In particular, relative to British children, German children are better protected against the consequences of adverse labour market events, and positive labour market events are reinforced to a greater extent. When experiencing a trigger event, Germany provides a greater cushion against adverse events and better reinforcement of positive events. Differences in the prevalence rates of trigger events do, of course, also play a role; a notable example being the greater risk of job loss in Britain compared to Western Germany.

The outcomes of a 2001 study conducted in France by Breuil-Genier, Ponthieux and Zoyem stress the importance of family-related factors regarding poverty dynamics. They show that the same activity profile may be associated with different poverty risks, depending on family configurations: two-earner couples, one-earner couples, one single full-time earner, and lone parent families. In particular, whatever the number of children, one non-earner partner decreases the probability of exiting poverty. Family-related factors thus seem to play a decisive role in affecting the probability of exiting poverty.

Fouarge and Layte (2005) develop a detailed analysis of the effects of family-related factors on the probability of exiting poverty. Having a female head of household slows down exit from poverty significantly, as does having a head in the oldest age group (55-64). Less favourable employment conditions for these groups or depreciated stock of human capital are possible explanations for this finding. Interestingly, although being a single parent does not seem to impact on exit, not being married does seem to be significant and negative. Although the number of adults in the household is not a significant influence, each additional child slows exit. The effect for the number of children is not unexpected, as much work shows that in many countries (although France is an exception) larger numbers of children are associated with a greater poverty risk. It is also clear that singles, and especially single parents, are more likely to be persistently poor and have a lower probability of exiting poverty.

A comparison between two European countries – Germany and Great Britain vs. Canada and USA was done by Valletta (2006). According to this study, most poverty transitions, and the prevalence of chronic poverty, are associated with employment instability and family dissolution in all four countries. However, government tax-and-transfer policies are more effective at reducing poverty persistence in Europe than in North America. Changes in family structure are frequently associated with poverty transitions, especially in Canada. In each country, divorce and marriage are the most common family events associated with poverty entry and exits, although poverty entries also are commonly associated with the formation of new families that split off from existing households. Among the events that are related to poverty entries, in all countries divorce has the largest association. Marriage is associated with a large increase in the probability of exiting poverty, although this effect is much smaller in Germany than in the other countries. Members of single adult families with children face low probabilities of poverty exits in Canada and especially the U.S., with statistically insignificant associations evident for Germany and Great Britain.

Regarding more general policies to alleviate poverty, Valletta's findings confirm widely-held beliefs about the key contributions of family stability and work attachment for staying out of poverty in North America and Europe. This suggests, according to the author, important roles for individual behaviour as well as public policies that strengthen family stability and work attachment; child care subsidies may be one example of such policies, enabling cash-strapped and time-strapped parents to effectively balance work and home commitments.

A recent article (Callens and Croux, 2009) uses multilevel recurrent discrete-time hazard analysis to simultaneously model the impact of life cycle events and structural processes on poverty entry and exit across European Regions. They find that the impact of individual changes on poverty transitions is most important. While employment-related changes are important for women and (even more) for men, demographic events are only important for women. But the welfare regime and regional gross domestic product growth turn out to be important factors for poverty entry and women's poverty exit respectively.

This analysis shows that, for women, divorce is the event that has the strongest effect on the probability of becoming poor. Women who divorce have odds of becoming poor about five times higher as women who are not divorced. A marriage significantly reduces the risk of becoming poor, as expected. Becoming employed, quite surprisingly, increases the odds for women of becoming poor by 56%. Finally, becoming unemployed seems to increase the odds of becoming poor, but the effect found is not statistically significant. The authors see two possible explanations for this unexpected effect of employment. First, a portion of the new jobs may be part-time and/or low-paid and therefore might insufficiently replace eventual loss of social benefits. Second, women may already anticipate their future income position by getting a job before they actually become poor. For example, women who are in the process of divorcing may already get a job before they actually divorce. Poverty entry risks are also modulated by household type. Living in a couple nearly halves entry risk compared to living as a single, irrespective of the presence of children.

For men, on the other hand, the most important individual event associated with poverty entry is unemployment. Unemployment raises the odds of becoming poor by 61%. Becoming employed, again quite surprisingly, increases the odds for men of becoming poor by 47%. The other two events all seem to slightly increase the odds for men's poverty entry. But, these findings are not statistically significant. Turning to the results of this same study for female poverty exit, a marriage almost doubles the risk of poverty exit, while a divorce more than halves the risk of women's poverty exit. Economic events also show, as expected, opposite effects: whereas employment increases the odds of poverty exit by 168%, unemployment seems to decrease the odds of poverty exit. However, the latter effect is not statistically significant.

For men's poverty exit, marriage has no significant effect, while divorce seems to increase men's poverty exit, but this effect is also not significant. For men, thus, demographic events seem to be of little or no importance. The impact of men's economic changes is more pronounced. Finding a job increases the odds of poverty exit by 350%; whereas losing a job seems to decrease the odds of poverty exit by 17%. Callens and Croux also show that the type of welfare regime has an impact on the likelihood of poverty entry but not on the likelihood of poverty exit. In the conservative and the southern type, the probability of becoming poor is only about half the risk of becoming poor in the liberal and social-democratic regimes. In countries of these types there are fewer poverty dynamics (meaning that there are less 'ins and outs' of poverty). Such results point to a weakness inherent in using broad classifications of countries such as Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare

regimes. This typology is based on a mix of several underlying aspects, such that if any effects are found, they tend to be theoretically ambiguous.

3.6 Welfare Regimes and Poverty

Several studies have developed comparative analyses on the role of welfare regimes in reducing poverty. Sainsbury and Morissens (2002) covered a wide array of countries: Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. The analysis reveals that **during the 1990s the poverty rate increased in most countries and in many instances for vulnerable groups; an exception was the elderly. Means-tested benefits assumed growing importance in alleviating poverty**, but reforms also produced diversity in the safety nets across Europe. Contrary to earlier theorizing which emphasized that means-tested benefits are marginalized in the social democratic welfare state regime, these authors found that the safety nets in these countries often equalled or surpassed that of the UK in reducing poverty. Finally, apart from impressive poverty reduction, the policies of the three candidate countries did not form a distinctive poverty regime. Instead they tended to cluster with other member countries.

Fouarge and Layte (2005) also argue that country welfare regimes strongly influence long run poverty, with social democratic countries reducing the level of persistent and recurrent poverty. Liberal and Southern European regime countries have both higher rates and longer durations of poverty. Despite their dissimilar patterns of poverty duration, European welfare states display rather similar patterns of exit from poverty, once we control for duration. There is some evidence that high initial exit rates from poverty in social democratic and corporatist countries decrease quickly whereas those in liberal and Southern European countries remain high, which could suggest lower levels of incentives in the former. Although the country differences are large, it does seem that grouping by welfare regime does make sense. Overall, the countries of the social democratic type display lower rates of poverty. The next highest rates are found in the countries of the corporatist type. In countries belonging to the residual and liberal welfare regimes, poverty is not only higher but it is also more recurrent and persistent.

In a more recent paper, Fouarge and Muffels (2009) draw on empirical data from the ECHP, covering twelve European countries – Corporatist (Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg, France, Italy); Social-Democratic (Denmark, The Netherlands); Liberal (Great Britain, Ireland); Southern (Greece, Spain, Portugal) - over the 1994-1996 period, to explain the level of deprivation across Europe. They focus on the comparative analysis of the level of deprivation and pay less attention to income poverty and inequality. Because the authors consider deprivation to be part of the concept of social exclusion their results also provide evidence on how welfare regimes across the EU cope with social exclusion.

Among the factors that influence deprivation, this study considers personal and household characteristics determining individual preferences; needs differences, determined by household size and household structure; household formation and dissolution events reflecting the 'biographisation' of poverty.

The performance of regimes in tackling income poverty turns out to be rather different from their performance in tackling resource deprivation. Looking at the difference across regime types it became clear that deprivation poverty tends to be more prevalent in Southern and Liberal regimes and less so in Corporatist and Social-Democratic regimes. Nonetheless, Fouarge and Muffels found that most of the variance is not explained by country or regime type differences but by common structural factors like the needs of the household, the human capital of its members, the turnover and dynamics on the labour market and the distribution of permanent income. Particularly interesting is the large contribution of socio-economic status variables to explaining deprivation, which reflects the traditional impact of class, education and employment status.

Some other studies with similar aims focused on Central and Eastern European countries. Förster and Tóth (2001) suggest that social transfers in general, and family benefits in particular, made a significant contribution to reducing child poverty in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. However, reduction rates decreased between the early and the late 1990s. Current and future reform considerations should therefore, according to the authors, include the objective of reversing this trend.

Cerami (2003) argues that there can be little doubt that welfare institutions have played, and will probably continue to play, a crucial role in limiting the negative effects of income and social inequality, namely in Central and Eastern Europe. They have helped to reduce not only the negative repercussions of the economic crisis, but have also helped to maintain a sense of public responsibility and solidarity, which has reinforced social cohesion during these difficult times. The results of this paper show that although access to these benefits is no guarantee of leaving poverty, social transfers significantly improve the economic conditions of families in need. Without the existence of these types of provisions, Central and Eastern European societies would not only be more unequal societies but would be also more atomised and disaggregated societies. In the long run, this might seriously damage further reforms or the democratization process itself.

The impact of welfare policies on child poverty has also merited specific attention in recent research. Chen and Corak (2005) point out that family and demographic forces play only a limited role in determining changes in child poverty rates. These forces change only gradually and are limited in their ability to cushion children from detrimental shocks originating in the labour market or in the government sector, which are the sources of the major forces determining the direction of change in child poverty.

As to public policies, Matsaganis, O'Donoghue, Levy, Coromaldi, Mercader-Prats, Rodrigues, Toso and Tsakloglou (2005) argue that there can be little doubt that a

concerted policy effort aimed at combating child poverty in Europe must assign a higher priority to the universal provision of family services than to that of cash benefits. The European Task-Force on Child Poverty and Child Well-Being (2008) sought to assess the impact of social transfers on child poverty. A first step in this assessment is simply to relate the child poverty performance of individual countries to the total amounts they spend on social protection that are most likely to benefit to children. The countries with the lowest child poverty rates are clearly those who spend most on social benefits (excluding pensions), with the notable exception of CY and – to a lesser extent - SI. This partly reflects a wealth effect that is observed among EU countries whereby the richest countries are those who can afford the highest levels of social protection and redistribution. However, a number of countries with similar wealth and similar shares of GDP invested in social benefits achieve very different child poverty rates (e.g. UK and BE vs. AT or the NL).

According to this report, on average in the EU social transfers other than pensions reduce the risk of poverty for children by 44%, which is a higher impact than for the overall population (38%). The impact of social transfers is higher on child poverty than on overall poverty in most EU countries, except in BE, CZ, MT, NL, PL, PT and SK where it is slightly smaller. In DK, FI and SE, social transfers (other than pensions) reduce the risk of poverty for children by more than 60%, against 44% on average in the EU. Only FR and AT show similar results. In BG, EL and ES, this reduction is less than 20% (also for the overall population). The countries in which benefits have the strongest impact in reducing child poverty are those in which expenditures specifically identified as family benefits in EU-SILC. In HU, AT, SI, FI and SE, family benefits reduce the risk of poverty of children by 36% or more (up to 49% in AT), and by 26% to 32% in CZ, DE, EE, FR and LU.

3.7 Concluding remarks on Poverty and families

3.7.1 Major trends

Around 17% of the Europeans were at risk of poverty in 2007³⁴.

Research has shown that poverty and deprivation disproportionately affect women. Women are generally more exposed to poverty, compared with men: the at-risk-of-poverty rate is respectively 18% and 16%. The greater vulnerability of women regarding poverty is deeply rooted in the unequal gender sharing of family responsibilities, especially childcare or care for a frail elderly relative. Care responsibilities impact on employment and on incomes. And welfare states have adopted strategies based on different assumptions concerning women's and men's roles in society, which then affect women's chances of living in poverty cross-nationally. There is thus an association between poverty rates and gendered welfare state strategies regarding work–family policies.

There are considerable differences in the at-risk-of-poverty rates of people according to activity status. The unemployed are a particularly vulnerable group: 43% of unemployed persons were at-risk-of-poverty in the EU-27. Also those leaving education with up to a lower secondary education (with a rate of 23%) were over three times more likely to be at-risk-of-poverty than persons with a tertiary education.

In most EU countries children are at greater risk of poverty than the rest of the population. One in every five children (20%) across the EU-27 was at-risk-of-poverty. Half of the poor children live in the two types of households that are most at risk of poverty: 23% live in lone-parent households (against 13% for all children together) and 27% in large families (against 21% for all children together).

Also one in every five (20%) young adults aged between 16 and 24 was at-risk-of-poverty within the EU27. However, the literature on youth poverty has only recently emerged. Across the European Union youth poverty varies, being higher in Denmark and other Nordic countries. One important reason why youth poverty rates are so high in Scandinavia lies in the fact that compared to other countries, young Scandinavians tend to leave home at a much earlier age. However, the poverty experience of young Scandinavians is generally short-lived.

An even higher proportion (22%) of at-risk-of-poverty is recorded among elderly people, elderly women in particular (22% compared with 17% among elderly men). The types of households that were at greater risk of poverty than others were: single person households, lone parent households with dependent children and households comprising two adults with three or more dependent children (the so-called large family households). Poverty among one-person households can be several times higher than among two-adult households.

³⁴ Unless stated otherwise, the statistical data quoted in the following paragraphs refer to 2007.

There is, on the other hand, a broad consensus concerning the fact that lone parent households, which in most cases are headed by a woman, are the type of household most vulnerable to poverty. Lone-parent (or lone-mother) families are in fact affected by much higher risks of economic poverty than the rest of the population and of families with children in particular.

Large families are also among the groups more prone to poverty: the risk of poverty significantly rises with the number of dependent children in the household.

The impact of social benefits, as measured by those persons who were removed from being at-risk-of-poverty by social transfers, was lowest in Bulgaria and a number of the Mediterranean Member States (Greece, Spain, Italy and Cyprus). In contrast, more than half of those persons who were at-risk-of-poverty in Hungary, Sweden, Finland, Ireland and Denmark were removed as a result of social transfers.

Research on poverty dynamics, although crucial to an understanding of the processes shaping entering and exiting from poverty, was only rather recently made possible with the dissemination of panel data. Some interesting research results show that different factors impact differently on men and women's entry or exit from poverty. While employment-related changes are important for men in particular (but also for women), demographic events are only important for women. For women, divorce is the event that has the strongest effect on the probability of becoming poor. For men, on the other hand, the most important individual event associated with poverty entry is unemployment. As to female poverty exit, a marriage almost doubles the risk of poverty exit, while a divorce more than halves the risk of women's poverty exit. For men's poverty exit, finding a job increases the odds of poverty exit by 350%; whereas losing a job seems to decrease the odds of poverty exit by 17%.

Research focusing on poverty dynamics often links this analysis to a discussion about the role of welfare regimes. Some of the major outcomes of these studies point to the fact that welfare regimes have an impact on the likelihood of poverty entry but not on the likelihood of poverty exit. In the conservative and the southern type there are fewer poverty dynamics (i.e. fewer entries and exits, mainly due to the fact that living in poverty is more longstanding, with some people for example being born and never exiting material deprivation). Country welfare regimes, on the other hand, strongly influence long run poverty, with social democratic countries reducing the level of persistent and recurrent poverty. Liberal and Southern European regime countries have both higher rates and longer durations of poverty. Despite their dissimilar patterns of poverty duration, European welfare states display rather similar patterns of exit from poverty, once we control for duration.

3.7.2 Main gaps in existing research on families and poverty

Most existing research on families and poverty including a comparative approach between EU member states adopts a **focus on income poverty**. The “at-risk-of poverty” (i.e., living with a low income) is a key aspect (although rather a narrow one) of living conditions for which the current EU social indicators and statistics are abundant. The Luxembourg Income Study was the first large comparable dataset forming the basis for most quantitative studies focusing on cross-sectional data. More recently, the European Community Household Panel and, in the last few years, the Survey on Income and Living Conditions provide the basis for new approaches on poverty dynamics drawing on comparative longitudinal panel data, with distinctions being made between transient, long-term, and recurrent kinds of poverty.

The dominant focus on income poverty provides a very specific outlook centred on the notion of “poor people” rather than on the experience of poverty and how this affects family life and individuals within families. **Few** (both quantitative and qualitative) studies, at least with a comparative focus, **highlight the experience and social patterns of poverty and families in poverty**. In this regard, however, it is interesting to mention that, according to Walker and Collins (2004: 212), qualitative studies indicate that ‘families with low incomes share common pressures and experiences irrespective of the country in which they live, but that these are molded by local institutions. They show, too, that dimensions, other than income and time, (...) are important in shaping experiences of poverty. These include loss of dignity, choice, and control; limited access to social capital and to assets of other kinds; poor health; few opportunities; and an uncertain future’.

Social analysis of families and poverty would also benefit from a **reinforcement of the household/family as a unit of analysis**. This does not imply that the individual should no longer be the main unit of reference, otherwise the risk of rendering invisible the specific vulnerabilities of specific groups (e.g. of children) within families would increase. However, it would be extremely important to go into greater depth in the analysis of the individual (the child, the elderly person...) as a member and in the context of a particular household/family.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the dominant focus of existing research is on income poverty as such (at-risk-of-poverty rates, effects of social transfers, entering and exiting poverty) rather than on the origins, experiences or consequences of poverty and material deprivation within families. The **focus on the production and transmission of poverty and material deprivation in families** is not very significant and merits particular attention in future research.

4. Families and Family Violence in Europe

4.1 Introduction

Issues covering *violence phenomena* within the family have been a concern over the last few decades in many areas of civil society, in international organizations, governments and many other organizations, thus reflecting a global interest in exploring its consequences and, above all, a joint will to prevent and diminish its associated burden. Domestic violence is seen as a violation of Human Rights, and has become an important public concern of contemporary societies. Several International bodies (e.g. the European Commission, the United Nations, the World Health Organization) have taken up the fight against violence to children, women and the elderly as one of the priorities of the international political agenda, leading several countries to implement legislation protecting victims of domestic violence and their fundamental rights.

Although systematic efforts have been made to identify and analyze violence in the family, it has been difficult to reach consensus regarding its definitions and theoretical boundaries. Several researchers have attempted to clarify definitions and operationalize concepts, but it has not been easy to obtain simple, organized and clear results. The conceptual diversity of this field is a significant obstacle to comparisons, thereby resulting in substantially diverse perspectives, terminologies, methodologies, instruments and, most importantly, in different conclusions and subsequent actions.

As an example of the complex web of concepts and definitions in which this topic is embedded we can look at the following well-known index of terminologies: the MeSH (the U.S. National Library of Medicine's controlled vocabulary used for indexing articles for MEDLINE/PubMed). The MeSH database provides a consistent way to retrieve information that may use different terminology for the same concepts. If we type in the word "violence" on their website³⁵, a conceptual tree of terms may be observed, showing that this word was first introduced in 1968 and indexing all the publications from that library which may be related to "Individual or group aggressive behavior which is socially non-acceptable, turbulent, and often destructive. It is precipitated by frustrations, hostility, prejudices, etc." In this same search, the two terms "Domestic Violence", introduced in 1994, were also obtained, with the phrasing "Deliberate, often repetitive, physical abuse by one family member against another: marital partners, parents, children, siblings, or any other member of a household."

Still following this example, we can further explore how this "conceptual tree" is organized, and quickly find that these topics have been indexed since 1966 (first date for the word "Aggression"), and that the fields covering the issue may be tracked in the following order: Anthropology, Education, Sociology and Social Phenomena Category – Social Sciences – Criminology – Crime – Violence – Domestic Violence. An alternative

³⁵ <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/mesh>

path that leads to the same topics includes the fields of Sociology/Social Problems after the Social Sciences “hat”, and arrives at the same, more specific, categories. Also, within Domestic Violence, the subcategories “Child abuse, Elder abuse and Spouse abuse” are used to classify publications.

This was the example of U.S National Library of Medicine, one of the most cited, worldwide sources of scientific information. However, many others exist and use similar frames of reference. Altogether, they provide a preliminary indicator of how the topics of violence and violence in the family have been difficult to deal with in the recent past.

Given the above-mentioned problems of conceptual and terminological diversity, this chapter will be structured as follows:

- 1) First, we will briefly outline the search results we obtained for different concepts or topics within the wider framework of the concept of Family Violence, retrieved from the major databases used in the Social and Medical fields (EBSCO and PUMED); by using different search words (such as “domestic violence”, “family violence”, “child abuse”, “elder abuse” and “spouse abuse”) and covering different periods of time, our aim was to identify major trends in the number of publications over the last few decades.
- 2) Secondly, we will carry out a systematic review of the findings related to a more focused search on the concepts of “Family Violence” and “Europe”, on the basis of publications that provide information on violence issues in European countries over the last two decades.
- 3) Thirdly, we will review the recent findings of two important European cross-national studies in order to highlight major trends in two main areas of family violence: interpersonal violence and corporal punishment. The first study is on the *State of European Research on the Prevalence of Interpersonal Violence and its impact on Health and Human Rights*, a report by Martinez *et al.* (2006); the second one provides an overview of *The effect of banning corporal punishment in Europe* (Bussman *et al.*, 2010).
- 4) Finally, in the conclusions we present the major trends outlined by the review of existing research and also discuss the main gaps and challenges for research.

4.2 Publications - Main Topics And Developments In Time

In this section we present the results of the searches performed in the databases covered by EBSCO and PUBMED³⁶, in which we have used different search words such as “domestic violence”, “family violence”, “child abuse”, “elder abuse” and “spouse abuse”. Our purpose here was to clarify the time-trends of how these concepts have “exploded” in the scientific indexed literature over the last few decades.

Figure 29 and Figure 30 show the results obtained regarding the number of publications retrieved for each search word over the last few decades. In EBSCO, “Child Abuse” is the term with by far the highest number of citations, with nearly 46,000 publications retrieved, followed by “Domestic Violence” and “Family Violence”. On the other hand, “Elder abuse” and “Spouse abuse” have a much lower number of indexed publications. In PUBMED, “Domestic Violence” reaches the highest figure, with close to 13.500 publications indexed, followed by “Child Abuse” and “Battered Women”.

Performing an updated search with the different terms in EBSCO, it is possible to observe the source database of the publications. This is shown in Table 14. PsycINFO (the database from The American Psychological Association) has the highest number of indexed publications for all the terms, except for “Elder abuse” and “Spouse abuse”. “Family violence” reaches the highest number of citations in Academic Search Complete and “Elder Abuse” is more cited in CINAHL (the Cumulative Index to Nursing and Allied Health Literature). “Spouse Abuse” has the highest number of citations in MEDLINE. This might be illustrative of the importance which the different fields of research attribute to what may be seen as distinctive features of the broader “violence” phenomena.

³⁶ These databases retrieve results from Academic Search Complete, Business Source Complete, CINAHL, Dentistry & Oral Sciences Source, E-Journals, EconLit, Education Research Complete, ERIC, Fonte Acadêmica, GreenFILE, Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts, MedicLatina, MEDLINE, PsycARTICLES, PsycBOOKS, PsycCRITIQUES, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, PycINFO, Regional Business News, SPORTDiscus, Teacher Reference Centre, The Serials Directory, World History Collection, Art & Architecture Complete, Political Science Complete

Figure 29 - Publications in EBSCO

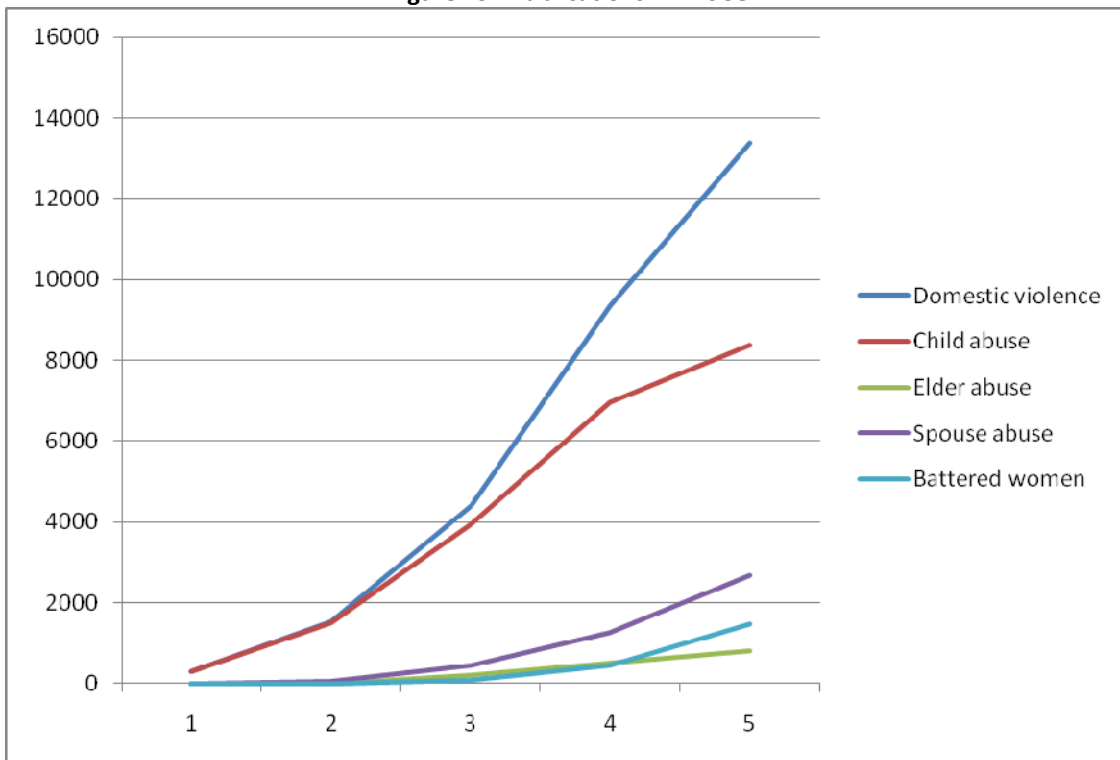


Figure 30 - Publications in PubMed

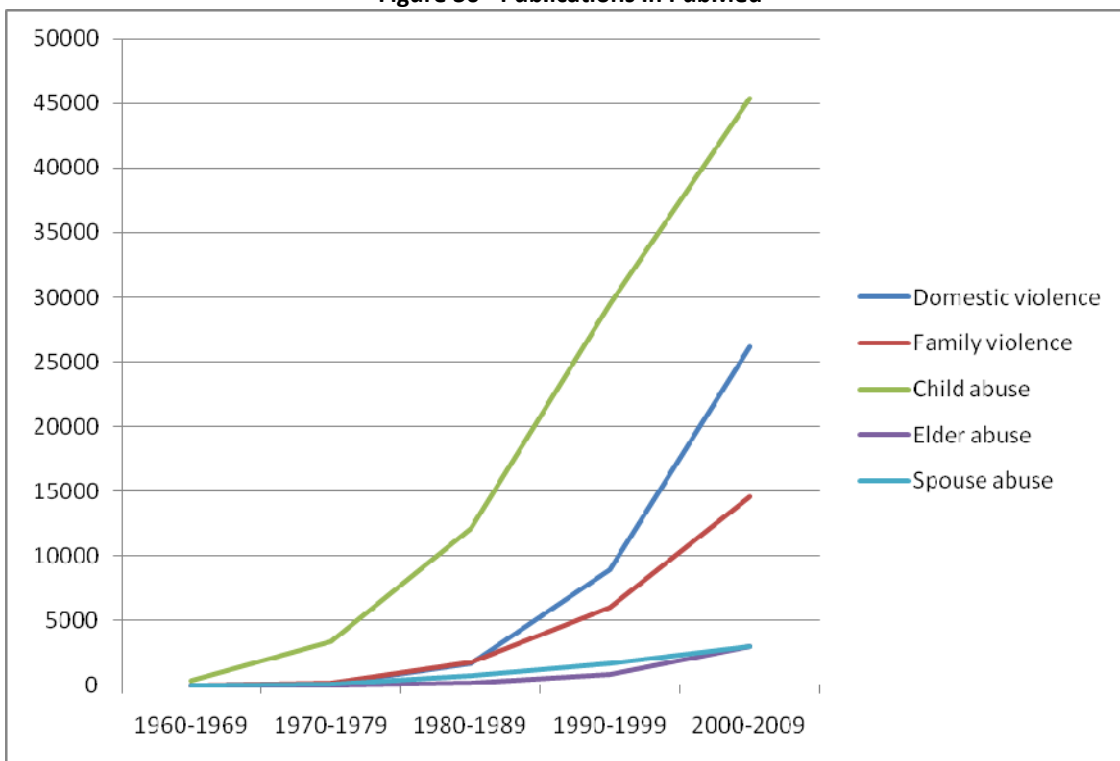


Table 14 - Number of publications from EBSCO using different words (performed in March 2010).

EBSCO:	Since first publication to 2010				
	Domestic Violence	Family violence	Child abuse	Elder abuse	Spouse abuse
Academic Search Complete	7660	8379	13475	1050	241
Business Source Complete	1444	1327	1695	113	30
CINAHL Plus with Full Text	4841	506	9680	2297	78
Dentistry & Oral Sciences Source	37	40	71	13	1
E-Journals	3673	1710	4776	887	168
EconLit with Full Text	126	14	32	4	0
Education Research Complete	1490	2356	5695	146	82
ERIC	790	1784	7409	159	77
Fonte Acadêmica	30	30	22	5	1
Fuente Académica	36	63	32	1	0
GreenFILE	10	4	7	5	0
Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts	120	182	332	1	2
MedicLatina	23	24	48	1	0
MEDLINE with Full Text	5137	792	21127	1535	4473
PsycARTICLES	277	74	787	3	19
PsycBOOKS	125	51	180	9	2
PsycCRITIQUES	122	63	319	14	10
Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection	987	1818	3229	113	81
PycINFO	8917	3191	21166	1032	460
Regional Business News	1054	238	760	50	2
SPORTDiscus with Full Text	154	172	368	20	4
Teacher Reference Centre	148	200	633	21	4
The Serials Directory	9	7	22	6	2
World History Collection	48	49	26	0	1
Art & Architecture Complete	55	41	49	0	0
Political Science Complete	398	329	235	11	5
Total	37711	23444	92175	7496	5743

4.3 Family Violence in Europe

4.3.1 A systematic review of family violence in Europe

In this section we will carry out a systematic review of the main findings of research related to Family Violence policies and practices in Europe, published over the last two decades. The review is based on 21 studies selected on the basis of a more focused search on “family violence” in “Europe”. The search was performed in the following databases: LARA Database; Social and Human Sciences – Publications; Academic Search Complete; SSRN Social Science Research Network; and PUBMED.

Titles and abstracts were reviewed by two researchers, independently, using as inclusion criteria the focus on Family Violence and the use of data from a European country or a set of European countries. A limit for studies published after 1990 was used in all databases.³⁷

Following the above-mentioned methodological approach, the review is based on a description of 21 studies: 17 studies pertain to scientific research, either in the form of national surveys or other research assessments; 5 studies cover issues concerning legislation or policies/practices; 1 study examines laws and policies concerning Domestic Violence (DV), including EU country comparisons; 1 study is a cross-national European survey and the last one analyses both laws and policies as a drop back for a national survey on DV.

This description has been divided into two parts, according to the database source of the articles. First, we present a table (see table 12) and the description of the articles obtained from LARA Database, Social and Human Sciences – Publications, Academic Search Complete, and SSRN Social Science Research Network. Secondly, we present a table (see table 13) and the description of articles obtained from searching the PUBMED database.

³⁷ A total of 143 documents published between January 1999 and January 2010 were found. From the total of 143 articles retrieved, 41 were not available for analysis*. Considering the remaining 102 documents that were available for analysis, 39 articles were not related to Family Violence issues; 28 articles pertained to studies from countries outside Europe; 5 studies were newspaper articles; 3 articles were lists of specific bibliography on specific issues not related to family violence; 5 articles respected personal opinions or descriptions of life stories, 1 was excluded because it was written in German. Finally, 21 were selected to be analyzed.

Articles obtained through LARA Database, Social and Human Sciences – Publications, Academic Search Complete, SSRN Social Science Research Network:

Searching LARA Database, Social and Human Sciences – Publications, Academic Search Complete and SSRN Social Science Research Network we found 9 articles published between 1991 and 2009 which present, in varied ways, the reality of domestic violence in countries such as Hungary, United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Luxembourg, Sweden, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, Belgium, Ireland, Malta and Poland (Table 15).

In 1991, Koltai (1991) examined the situation of women in Hungary. The sociological analysis refers to women's position in politics, the way they are looked at by the media, the laws associated with women and the sociological problems that women had to face (e.g. domestic violence). Findings emphasize that during the 80s family violence crimes were scarcely reported. Still, the tendency was to report this type of crimes because they were on the increase. Even so, the rule was "what is not talked about, doesn't exist", so domestic violence against women was often ignored. According to Koltai, women usually adopted a silent and passive attitude, because they did not know whom to turn to, what their rights were and whether they would have any legal redress.

In 1998, an Editorial of a well-known journal (*Gender and Development*) considers that theories of violence which attribute male violence to social causes could encourage policymakers to condone male abuse, and fail to challenge the general societal apathy which still surrounded men's violence against women. Such theories had also been advanced by various organisations including the United Nations, which had described violence as a way of life in situations of poor housing and economic vulnerability. In the 1990s, human-rights perspectives on violence against women not only stressed the need to change international and national legal systems, but also underlined the need for these to be held accountable for failures to enforce laws set up to protect women.

The same editorial considers that laws alone cannot protect women from male violence. In particular, it focuses on the need to create linkages between violence against women in the home and the public sphere. For example, it refers to estimates by The World Bank underlining the fact that the wider category of 'gender-based victimisation' was responsible for one out of every five healthy days of life lost to women of reproductive age.

In 2002, Kitzinger's article refers to statistics revealing that one in four women was suffering domestic violence at some period of her life. Data on the UK showed that every three days a woman was killed by her partner or ex-partner. In pregnancy, violence was more common than the problems for which women were routinely screened, such as pregnancy-induced hypertension and diabetes. Much of the violence against pregnant women and new mothers involved sexual abuse. Research findings also showed that around 30% of abuse starts when a woman is pregnant and that, in an abusive relationship, violence escalates with pregnancy. Until 2002, only 27% of

health authorities in the UK had written policies about domestic violence, and less than half had a designated officer to tackle the problem.

In Spain, according to Meil (2005), the first statistics on cases of maltreatment of women began to be published by the Home Ministry in 1983, and a major step forward in social policy was taken in 1984 with the first shelters for battered women. In 1986, a task force for investigating maltreatment of women was set up in the Senate Committee on Human Rights, which issued a report and recommendations in 1989. In 1985, the creation of the Spanish Women's Institute was an important step forward. Throughout the 1990s, this Institute began to finance research on the scope, characteristics, causes and consequences of gender violence, in addition to articulating demands for a comprehensive policy to tackle the problem. In 1997, this organization set up the first programme for combating domestic violence. When this plan ended (2001), a second plan was implemented in 2002 and ran up to 2004. The objectives of these plans were to foster education based on dialogue, respect and tolerance in order to prevent future generations from reproducing patterns of violent behaviour stemming from gender stereotypes, and to raise awareness in society with the objective of generating attitudes of rejection toward violence as well as combating violent behaviour. These plans were also committed to improving legislation and legal procedures in order to achieve greater efficiency in court cases, thereby bringing about greater protection of victims and heavier penalization of the aggressors; they were also committed to providing care and assistance for all women victims, and to fostering coordination of the actions carried out by the various bodies and social organizations that work to prevent and/or eliminate domestic violence. The measures developed by the plans were grouped into four major areas of intervention: (a) preventive and awareness-raising measures; (b) legislative and procedural measures (preventive measures to protect potential victims, sanctioning measures against aggressors, procedural measures aimed at streamlining court cases, and measures to palliate the effects of violence suffered by victims); (c) assistance and social intervention measures (increased resources to respond to the needs of victims, such as facilitating the filing of complaints, providing health care and economic, job or psychological assistance); (d) measures to foster research (the measures in this area were aimed at obtaining reliable data on domestic violence, improving and enriching the available statistical information, and promoting research on aspects related to the complex phenomenon of gender violence). In order to better assess domestic violence in Spain, a major national survey took place, carried out by the Women's Institute in 1999 within the framework of the first plan. This survey was replicated in 2002 in the framework of the second plan, and a further replication was scheduled for 2005. These replications were conceived as a tool for ascertaining how the phenomenon was developing and the impact of the measures introduced through the successive plans.

In 2005, Meil focused his attention on the two macro surveys on domestic violence carried out by the Women's Institute. In 1999 and according to the definition of maltreatment, 4.2% of women stated they had been maltreated by a member of their family during the previous year. In 2002, this proportion dropped to 4.0% and an almost identical proportion appears when the question was whether the interviewed woman knows of any maltreated woman in the family. No more than 14% of the

women stated that they both felt maltreated and also knew someone maltreated in their family. This indicator registered a slight decline in 2002 as compared to 1999. Still, in 2002, there was a total number of 640,000 maltreated adult women. The main perpetrator of the maltreatment was the husband or partner. However, among younger women who still live in their parents' home, the parents, and in particular the fathers, are the main perpetrators. The maltreatment was more evident when the question refers not to the previous year but rather over the course of one's lifetime, reaching the following figures: 11.6% of women maltreated in 1999, and 10.2% in 2002. On the one hand, and based on those macro surveys, it was found that many factors associated with family overload are strongly related with being and feeling maltreated by the spouse or by the partner. Having children and the greater their number, the greater the risk of being and feeling maltreated. A woman's unemployment, but not her spouse or partner's unemployment, is also associated with a higher risk of being maltreated. Women belonging to lower social classes, measured both by the woman's own educational level or that of her spouse, or by income, also show a higher risk of being maltreated and feeling maltreated. Also, women who had finished a marriage and had established a new relationship during the previous ten years had a higher risk of being and feeling maltreated than women who have not. Non-marital cohabitation was not related to a lower risk of maltreatment. Independent women were therefore at a greater risk of being maltreated. Hypogamic marriage (where women have a higher educational level than their husband or partner) was also associated with a higher risk of maltreatment. Finally, the study revealed that the phenomenon of marital violence is found more frequently in urban areas than in rural areas. According to Meil, this could indicate that anonymity, privatisation and individualisation inherent to the urban world do not protect women from maltreatment. Instead, the lesser degree of social control over individual behaviour and the greater social isolation of the privatised world of urban societies might seem to facilitate marital maltreatment.

In their 2005 article, Muratore & Sabbadini also describe the different phases and the findings of the Italian Violence against Women Survey. In 2001, the Italian Department of Equal Opportunities, through the European Social Fund and the Structural Funds, agreed to provide financial support for the survey. Before developing a questionnaire, some objectives were defined, such as the analysis of the national and international literature on violence against women, in particular on domestic violence, and of the studies carried out by international statistical bodies, as well as involvement in the planning of the United Nations International Violence Against Women Survey beginning in 2001. The objectives of the survey were to evaluate several aspects of violence against women, such as prevalence and incidence rates of different types of violence (psychological, economical, physical and sexual), with particular emphasis on domestic violence by a current or former partner, the characteristics of those involved, the personal and social costs of violence and the risk and protective factors related to individuals as well as to socio-demographical and family of origin factors. This survey took place in 2005-2006, with a sample of 25000 women aged 16-70 years.

In 2007, Knickerbocker & Heyman published a study on co-occurrence of partner and child physical maltreatment in the United States and in Europe. In their state of the art on the European situation, the authors show that many estimates were based on official reports and that the latter sometimes tended to present lower numbers than real values. For instance, according to a public health report, of the approximately 6% of women and 4% of men who self-reported being victims of partner aggression in the previous year, only 21% of partner violence incidents against females and 7% against males were officially reported. The researchers also consider that there are three main challenges to operationalizing maltreatment. First of all, similar constructs are often defined differently across studies, making it difficult to compare results. The variable application of terminology and the inconsistency of definitions for maltreatment across studies and regions create disorganization in the literature and in the advocacy fields. Also, operational definitions of physical abuse and assault differ in their inclusiveness, with some studies including any aggressive behaviour regardless of consequences and others only identifying aggressive behaviours with a high likelihood of injurious consequences. For example, one review of child maltreatment prevalence studies in Europe reported child physical abuse rates ranging from 5% to 50%, mainly because some studies included spanking in their definition of physical abuse. Secondly, the authors believe there is a frequent mismatch between the operationalizations used in a study and the construct that the authors were interested in investigating. This is due to the lack of clarity in identifying the concept of maltreatment and also to the lack of empirical research that would clarify the boundaries of concepts. And thirdly, the authors find that the rigid application of the terms perpetrator and victim when referring to the roles of men and women involved in physically aggressive relationships can be misleading when the aggression is bidirectional. The article emphasizes that the solution to definitional problems in the field is to develop reliable, valid operationalizations of all forms of child and partner maltreatment, which can then be applied by both clinicians and researchers.

Also in 2007, McQuigg wrote a report on domestic violence in different European countries. This document resulted from the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which had analysed the domestic violence issue in 11 Western European countries (Luxembourg, Sweden, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, Belgium, Spain Ireland and Italy). When a state becomes a party to CEDAW, it has to submit an initial report to the Committee and then a periodic report every four years. These reports contain information on the prevalence of violence against women and the legal, protective and preventive measures that the state in question is taking to protect women from violence.

From the perspective of research on social policy, it is interesting to summarize briefly what the United Nations Committee report says about policy developments in each country.

In 1997, Luxembourg recommended that all appropriate measures should be taken to ensure the protection of women against domestic violence. The next report, following these recommendations, described how public awareness campaigns had been implemented and training had been offered to those working in women's shelters.

Also, in 2000, the Committee had urged the government to develop legislation on domestic violence. During the following year, such legislation was introduced. It seems that the government also followed the recommendation of the Committee to develop other policy measures to prevent domestic violence, so that shelters were opened and further measures taken to raise awareness of the issues surrounding domestic violence, both within society and among law enforcement officers. The Committee had requested this country to gather further information on the prevalence of domestic violence, and the bill of the following year included a provision whereby police officers would be required to collect data on domestic violence. The report considers that Luxembourg provided an example of international human rights standards having an effective impact on governmental response to domestic violence. Still, although domestic violence legislation was introduced in 2001, it still had not been implemented in 2003.

Regarding Sweden, the first report from the Committee emphasized that the policy experience of the Swedish Government provided a good model for other States. It was proposed by the Committee that various professionals, such as doctors, police officers, judges and social welfare officers, should receive training on issues surrounding domestic violence and that there should be increased levels of coordination between authorities at local and regional levels. Funds had been allocated to the police to protect women who had been threatened with violence. Also, action was taken to increase the penalties for crimes of trivial assault.

It was also noted in the Swedish report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in 2001 that criminal acts perpetrated by men against women with whom they have a close relationship are punished more severely than acts perpetrated against strangers. It was commented in the report that Sweden had amended the Higher Education Ordinance to include issues surrounding violence against women in the examination requirements for lawyers, medical practitioners, social workers, police officers and secondary school teachers. It seems that the Committee was largely in agreement with the actions of the government in this area. In fact, Sweden seems to have a good record of compliance with human rights standards in other fields, and this would appear to indicate that it could also be prompted by human rights concerns in the area of domestic violence.

In contrast, in relation to The Netherlands, the Committee made no mention of domestic violence in its Concluding Observations, beyond that of urging the country to take measures to eliminate violence against women in immigrant and minority communities. It could be inferred that The Netherlands constitutes another example of a country that is complying with international human rights standards in this field.

In 1997, the Committee called the Danish government's attention to the absence of a specific law on violence against women. The Committee requested more information concerning levels of violence and expressed concern about the absence of measures to raise the awareness of the public, the police and the judiciary in relation to domestic violence. It recommended that more research be conducted on violence against women and on the advantages of passing legislation aimed specifically at reducing

such violence. After the setting up of the Danish action plan, the Committee expressed concern about the persistence of stereotypical attitudes towards women in that country. It was stated that these attitudes made women vulnerable to domestic violence and, in answer to that, Denmark was required to take further measures to eliminate such stereotypical attitudes through awareness campaigns directed at the general public and the media.

Another concern from the Committee was that the position of foreign married women with temporary residence would become more vulnerable if a planned amendment to the Aliens Act, increasing the required number of years of residence before a permanent permit was issued, was approved. In the opinion of the Committee, these women would refrain from seeking assistance for fear of deportation.

In 1995, the Committee described how violence committed by spouses had increased in Norway. Still, the Committee praised the legal measures that had been taken by this country, particularly an amendment to the Penal Code that allowed cases of violence in families to be prosecuted unconditionally. There was reason to believe that the number of prosecutions in domestic violence cases had risen due to this amendment. Nevertheless, the Committee still urged Norway to take serious steps to address the problem of violence against women.

Also, in 2003, the Norwegian government claimed that one of its highest priorities was to combat violence against women and that the standard of assistance to victims had greatly improved. The Committee was concerned because domestic violence was regarded as falling within the private sphere and the extent of such violence was unknown. This concern was expressed because a predominant number of women in shelters were immigrant women and also due to the fact that an extremely low number of reported rapes resulted in convictions, with police and prosecutors dismissing more and more such cases. The Committee therefore recommended that Norway make further efforts to address the problem of domestic violence as a human rights violation. It underlined that Norway needed to introduce measures to prevent violence, provide support for victims, and prosecute and rehabilitate perpetrators in accordance with General Recommendation.

In 1995, Finnish government representatives stated that violence against women was deeply rooted in society and that its elimination had become one of the main objectives in promoting equality. Legal remedies for domestic violence were contained in the penal code, which was under revision. Rape within marriage was considered a criminal act and acts of violence, whether committed within or outside the house, would become equally punishable. Assault and battery, apart from petty cases, would always be prosecuted by the public prosecutor and these abuses could be prosecuted without the consent of the victim, although a trial could only take place in the victim's presence. There was a helpline for victims and special training was given to social workers, doctors and police officers.

In 2001, Finland implemented a multi-media "zero tolerance" campaign. It is also important to underline that, since 1997, the Criminal Procedure Act has given victims

of domestic violence the right to support from a legal assistant during the investigation and trial and the Act on Restraining Orders had been extended to allow for the eviction from the family home of a perpetrator of domestic violence. In sum, the Finnish government recognized domestic violence as being a very serious human rights problem.

Regarding Germany, the report states that, in 2000, all authorities and NGOs that dealt with violence against women had been involved in the formation of the plan, which encompassed prevention, legislation, cooperation among institutions and projects, nationwide networking of assistance services, work with offenders, awareness-raising and international cooperation.

In 1996, the Belgian government representative informed the Committee that rape within marriage was classified as a criminal offence. Belgium was also praised for its efforts to combat violence against women by mobilizing the media. Government assistance had been given to refuges for victims of domestic violence and training programs for law enforcement agencies had been developed.

In 2001, a Belgian campaign had been launched to raise awareness of domestic violence. Local measures had been initiated to gather information and to assist victims and a national plan to combat violence against women was reviewed. The Committee praised the state for introducing a 1997 law to combat violence between partners, because it was particularly concerned that a mediation procedure that had been established to facilitate reconciliation between the victim and the perpetrator could appear to condone violence by encouraging compromise.

In Spain, between 1998 and 2000, a Plan of Action on violence against women was put into effect. The Committee commended this country on its adoption of this plan and on the fact that specific resources had been allocated to each area encompassed by the strategy. Still, the Committee also urged Spain to include issues surrounding domestic violence in the training given to law enforcement personnel. It was also stated that domestic violence cases should be treated on a par with other criminal offences, in relation to their investigation and prosecution. In 2004, Spain underlined that a domestic violence monitoring unit had been established to increase awareness and to facilitate positive action. However, the Committee expressed concern about persistent stereotypes regarding the role of women that contributed to the occurrence of gender-based violence. So this country was urged to intensify its efforts to address the problem of domestic violence and to adopt, implement and monitor the effectiveness of laws and policies, in order to prevent violence, provide protection, support and services to the victims and punish and rehabilitate offenders. The Spanish government should ensure that professionals coming into contact with victims of domestic violence, such as social workers, health care providers, law enforcement officials and the judiciary are educated on issues surrounding violence against women. Also, public awareness campaigns should be implemented.

By 1997, Ireland had also established a plan to act on domestic violence. The objectives of this plan included developing public awareness campaigns, services, support and criminal justice intervention. Regional Committees on Violence had been

formed. This entity was designed to draw together the available services in order to provide a consolidated and sympathetic approach to victims. Still, the Committee was concerned that no comprehensive strategy had been adopted to deal with the issue of violence against women, although the national plan had been established to develop such a strategy. In 2005, legislation had been enacted that clearly defined domestic violence as a criminal act, support measures for victims had been developed and efforts to raise public awareness had been made.

Regarding Italy, the Committee stated that the reports exhibited an imaginative and forward-looking policy approach and explained the logic behind government policies and priorities. The approval of the Domestic Violence Act in the Italian parliament in 1997 was welcomed and evaluated as being complementary to the 1996 Violence Act. However, the Committee also expressed concern about the lack of measures taken to sensitize the general public and also healthcare professionals, the police and the judiciary, to issues surrounding domestic violence. The Committee commented that without the adoption of such measures, legislation on violence against women would not ensure the accurate reporting and rigorous prosecution of such violence. As a consequence, Italy stated that protecting women from violence was put high on the policy agenda by the government and that strict provisions had been enacted. Yet, the Committee expressed concern at the persistence of domestic violence and the lack of a comprehensive strategy to combat violence against women.

To summarize, McQuigg (2007) concluded his report saying that, in general, the eleven countries in this survey had displayed mixed responses to the recommendations of the CEDAW Committee in relation to the issue of domestic violence. Certain countries, such as Luxembourg, Sweden and the Netherlands, appear to have adopted particularly positive approaches to solve the domestic violence problem. However, the author also notes that it cannot be assumed for certain that the measures taken by these countries were necessarily prompted by international human rights standards. Indeed, it is extremely difficult to isolate the influence of bodies such as the CEDAW Committee on change occurring at the national level, as countries rarely say that they are taking action because of the recommendations of such bodies. In other words, it seems that there are certainly major difficulties surrounding the implementation of human rights law. The United Nations human rights bodies have no real means of compelling states to abide by their treaty obligations. Instead, they have to persuade them to do so.

In 2008, Velleman, Templeton *et al.* wrote an article about domestic violence experienced by young people living in families with alcohol problems. The study was part of the European DAPHNE project. It involved ten EU countries (Germany, Austria, England, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Malta, Netherlands, Poland and Spain), involving interviews with young people aged 12-18 from Germany, Poland, Spain, England and Malta on their experiences of living with parental alcohol misuse and parental violence. Every child had parents involved in treatment for alcohol problems. The European project DAPHNE, although not exclusively, was designed to collect information from a variety of European countries on the nature of family conflicts and domestic violence experienced by young persons in families with parental alcohol

problems, the resulting problems that these young people experience and their coping and support mechanisms. In this particular survey, the final sample was made up of 45 children affected by parental alcohol problems from Germany (N=21), Poland (N=10), Spain (N= 6), England (N= 5) and Malta (N= 3), and 12 young people recruited as comparison cases. In the sample of children affected by parental alcohol problems there is more violence (although not more psychological aggression) from fathers to children as opposed to mothers to children. Findings thus show some interaction between gender and alcohol problems. Fathers without alcohol problems but in relationships with mothers with alcohol problems show similar levels of aggression and minor assault towards their children as mothers without alcohol problems that are in relationships with fathers with alcohol problems, but the latter do show more severe and extreme assault towards their children. There were also very high percentages of children reporting minor (48% from fathers, 35% from mothers) and severe (respectively 21% and 14%) physical assaults. Although extreme physical assaults towards children were not common (12% from fathers, 9% from mothers), when they occurred they had significant effects, such as injuries needing medical treatment, or still being in pain the next day, or having to miss school.

Children affected by parental alcohol problems report having often lived under considerable stress for long periods, having to deal with family and parental environments where there was serious alcohol misuse, and serious domestic abuse, frequently moving into family violence. They experienced considerable levels of violence and aggression, including psychological aggression, which, as previous research has shown, can be as damaging to emotional development as physical violence.

In summary, findings show a complex interaction between gender, alcohol problems and child/spousal abuse. Children of parents with an alcohol problem reported considerably higher levels of all forms of aggression and violence against themselves than did children in the comparison group. Children with fathers who had alcohol problems reported more violence towards themselves as compared to those with mothers with alcohol problems, although there was no difference in levels of psychological aggression. Men with alcohol problems were equally as aggressive or violent towards their spouses as were women with alcohol problems towards their spouses. On the other hand, men who did not have alcohol problems themselves but were in relationships with women who did have alcohol problems were much more likely to be aggressive or violent towards their spouses. The opposite was not the case: women who did not have alcohol problems but were in relationships with men who did were no more likely to be violent towards their spouses.

In 2009, Romito, Escribà-Agüir *et al.* published a scientific paper on violence against women who had chosen to have an abortion. Violence is an important health problem for pregnant women, with numerous studies showing that it may compromise maternal and infant health. The authors show that many women who seek an elective abortion (EA) live in difficult personal and social circumstances, in which violence often has a central role. Results from this Italian study are unique in showing the role of

partner and family violence in the lives of women, and especially of younger women, seeking an abortion. The conclusions of this study showed that women having an EA are significantly more likely than women giving birth to report any current or past violence. They were also more likely to be poorly educated, without stable employment, with financial difficulties, living alone, and immigrants. Family violence is a frequent occurrence among younger women carrying out an abortion, but it is almost nonexistent among older women and women giving birth. Also, the results reveal the importance of psychological violence and violence by relatives other than the partner. Moreover, there is evidence that psychological violence, such as being called names, humiliated, denigrated, controlled, could have an effect on women's health as great or even greater than physical or sexual violence. The results showed that compared with postpartum women, EA women were significantly more likely to report any type of current and past violence. The authors conclude that there is a need for sensitive screening for partner and family violence, especially among women seeking an EA and among young women in general. These women often interact with a variety of health providers: social workers, psychologists, nurses, family doctors, anesthesiologists, and gynaecologists. These professionals could be informed and trained to be able to support young women.

Table 16 - Articles obtained through LARA Database, Social and Human Sciences – Publications, Academic Search Complete, SSRN Social Science Research Network

ID	Reference	Year	Theme	Country
1	Koltai, S. (1991). The situation of women in Hungary. <u>International Colloquium on Women in the Process of Democratization in the Central and Eastern European Countries</u> . Prague, UNESCO.	1991	Dealing with violence within the families (violence against children and/or women) in the beginning of the 90's (20th century)	Hungary
2	(1998). "Editorial." <u>Gender and Development</u> 6(3).	1998	Violence against women (United Nations and WHO Data)	-
3	Kitzinger, S. (2002). "Sheila Kitzinger's letter from Europe: Silence is Collusion." <u>Birth</u> 29(3): 207-209.	2002	Violence against women in pregnancy: detecting abuse and acting against it	United Kingdom
4	Meil, G. (2005). "Social surveys on domestic violence against women in Spain." <u>Statistical Journal of the United Nations</u> 22: 279-287.	2005	National surveys about violence against women	Spain
5	Muratore, M. G. and L. L. Sabbadini (2005). "Italian survey on violence against women." <u>Statistical Journal of the United Nations</u> 22: 265-278.	2005	National survey about violence against women	Italy
6	Knickerbocker, L., R. E. Heyman, <i>et al.</i> (2007). "Co-occurrence of child and partner maltreatment." <u>European Psychologist</u> 12(1): 36-44.	2007	Partner and child physical maltreatment	Europe USA
7	(McQuigg, 2007) McQuigg, R. J. A. (2007). "The responses of states to the comments of the CEDAW committee on domestic violence." <u>The International Journal of Human Rights</u> 11(4): 461-479.	2007	Analysis of domestic violence reality in Europe, recommendations on what was needed to change and assessment of the compliance	Luxembourg Sweden The Netherlands Denmark Norway Finland Germany Belgium Spain Ireland Italy
8	Velleman, R., L. Templeton, <i>et al.</i> (2008). "Domestic abuse experienced by young people living in families with alcohol problems: results from a cross-european study." <u>Child Abuse Review</u> 17: 387-409.	2008	To understand the nature of family conflicts and domestic violence experienced by young persons in families where there are parental alcohol problems	Germany England Malta Poland Spain
9	Romito, P., V. Escribà-Agüir, <i>et al.</i> (2009). "Violence in the lives of women in Italy who have an elective abortion." <u>Women's Health Issues</u> 19: 335-343.	2009	Violence against pregnant women and abortion	Italy

Articles found while searching PUBMED database:

As mentioned before, the second part of the systematic review on family violence is a description of existing research found in PUBMED database. 12 scientific documents were found, published between 1999 to 2009, and including the following countries: United Kingdom (3), Italy (3), Portugal (2), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1), Switzerland (1), Norway (1) and Finland (1). The studies may be seen to highlight different types of violence, particularly domestic violence against children and intimate partner violence.

The description of the research found in this database is presented in Table 16, covering the year of publication, the sample that was used (sample size varies between 74 subjects and 5498), the country (sometimes specifying the city) where research took place, the aims of the studies and a summary of main findings.

Findings reveal that the lowest prevalence of child abuse was found in Machado, Gonçalves *et al.* (2007), where 25.9% of parents reported emotional or physical abuse towards children. In this study, the prevalence of intimate partner violence was 26.2%. However, in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sesar, Živčić-Bećirević *et al.*, 2008) results show that 77% of adolescents were emotionally abused, 57% were physically abused, 30% were neglected and 13% of girls and 21% of boys were sexually abused before the age of 14. Also, 20% of these adolescents witnessed family violence. These values are the highest found in this search on family violence.

Yet, in the north of Portugal, Figueiredo, Bifulco *et al.* found that the prevalence of abuse during childhood was reported by 73% of the adults participating in the study, and 9.5% of them referred to themselves as victims of severe physical abuse involving sequels and injuries. In Norway (Ystgaard, Hestetun *et al.*, 2004), the prevalence of sexual and physical abuse during the childhood in a clinical sample was 35% and 18%, respectively. Also, 27% of participants mentioned having been neglected and 31% exposed to family violence during childhood. Baldry (2005) found that one third of participants experienced inter-parental violence and over one-third had themselves been abused by one or both parents.

Table 17 - Articles found while searching PUBMED database

ID	Reference	Publication Year	Sample	Aims	Results	Country
10	Kivelä, S.-L., H. Luukinen, <i>et al.</i> (1999). "Marital and family relations and depression in married elderly Finns." <u>Journal of Affective Disorders</u> 54 : 177-182.	1999	Married elderly (N=5498) living in Ähtäri, Finland (1989); the series of the longitudinal study was composed of married persons non depressed in the epidemiological study in 1984–1985, and followed up until 1989–1990 (N=5347)	To describe the relationships between poor marital and family relations and depression, and the predictive value of these factors for the subsequent occurrence of depression	Family violence may be a consequence of depression or even a risk factor for depression; problems in spouse pairs and families should be inquired about and solved when treating depressed elderly persons	Finland
11	Figueiredo, B., A. Bifulco, <i>et al.</i> (2004). "History of childhood abuse in Portuguese parents." <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u> 28 : 669-682.	2004	Nearly 1,000 parents (506 mothers and 426 fathers) selected through public primary schools from the Northern area of Portugal	To examine the self-reported prevalence of childhood physical and sexual abuse in a large sample of Portuguese parents	The prevalence of abuse was 73%, but more severe physical abuse involving sequel/injury was reported by 9.5%; most physical abuses began prior to age 13, with half continuing after age 13; no gender differences were found for rates of physical abuse; however, among the milder physical abuse without sequel/injury, those women who experienced "whipping" or "slapping/kicking" were more likely to do so from their mothers than fathers; among men who were "slapped/kicked" this was more likely to be from their fathers; low rates of sexual abuse were found at 2.6% with no gender or age differences; lack of a supportive adult in childhood related to the more severe abuses, but only in adolescence	Portugal (North)
12	Ystgaard, M., I. Hestetun, <i>et al.</i> (2004). "Is there a specific relationship between childhood sexual and physical abuse and repeated suicidal behavior?" <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u> 28 : 863-875.	2004	Seventy-four subjects, (65% women), consecutively admitted to a general hospital after having made a suicide attempt, were interviewed as part of the intake interview about prior suicide attempts and self-mutilation; Also, sexual abuse, physical abuse, neglect, antipathy from parents, loss of parents, and severe discord in the family before the age of 18, were assessed	To assess the importance of sexual and physical abuse when compared to other severe childhood adversities with respect to chronic suicidal behavior	The prevalence of severe sexual abuse was 35%, severe physical abuse 18%, neglect 27%, antipathy 34%, loss of caregiver 37% and exposure to family violence 31%; physical and sexual abuse were independently associated with repeated suicide attempts when controlling for the effects of the other childhood adverse factors; no other childhood adversity was related to chronic suicidal behavior	Norway (Oslo)
13	Baldry, A. C. (2005). "Animal abuse among preadolescents directly and indirectly victimized at school	2005	Community sample of 268 girls and 264 boys aged 9-12 (self-reported questionnaire about victimization at home and school, animal abuse and bullying)	To establish the prevalence of animal abuse among adolescents and its relationship with the experience of abuse at home and school, and to peer	Over three-quarters of all participants reported at least one type of victim experience: one-third had experienced inter-parental violence; over one-third had themselves been abused by one or both parents; two in five had been directly or indirectly victimized at school.	Italy

	and at home." <u>Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health</u> 15(2): 97-110.		abuse			
14	Cairns, A. M., J. Y. Q. Mok, <i>et al.</i> (2005). "The dental practitioner and child protection in Scotland." <u>British Dental Journal</u> 199(8): 517-520.	2005	Postal questionnaires were sent to 500 randomly selected general dental practitioners in Scotland, with a further 200 sent to a random sample of the original 500 to increase response rate	To identify from general dental practitioners: undergraduate and postgraduate training experience in child protection; numbers of suspected cases of child physical abuse; reasons for failing to report suspicious cases of child physical abuse; knowledge of local child protection protocols and procedures for referral	Only 19% could remember any undergraduate training and 16% had been to a postgraduate lecture or seminar in child protection; 29% of dentists had seen at least one suspicious case in their career; only 8% of suspicious cases were referred on to the appropriate authorities; reasons for failure to refer revealed that 11% were concerned about a negative impact on their practice, 34% feared family violence towards the child, 31% feared violence directed against them, and 48% feared litigation; only 10% of dentists had been sent a copy of the local child protection guidelines on commencing work and only 15% had seen their Area Child Protection Committee Guidelines via any route	United Kingdom (Scotland)
15	Redman, S. and J. Taylor (2006). "Legitimate family violence as represented in the print media: textual analysis." <u>Journal of Advanced Nursing</u> 56(2): 157-165.	2006	A sample of 244 articles from five different United Kingdom newspapers was examined during 2004	To know how issues around the use of smacking by parents are represented in the print media (to analyse these print media representations about the use of legitimate violence by parents towards children)	Newspaper reportage saying that the parental use of physical discipline has increased over the past 20 years; only one newspaper (The Independent) published on this topic prior to 1994; the discourse about the use of physical discipline by parents has changed over time from one that focuses on the effectiveness of smacking to one that about the human rights of the child; the main themes identified in the print media discourse were the rights of the child, the effectiveness of smacking, long-term effects and consequences, and the role of the state	United Kingdom
16	Machado, C., M. Gonçalves, <i>et al.</i> (2007). "Child and partner abuse: self-reported prevalence and attitudes in the north of Portugal." <u>Child Abuse & Neglect</u> 31: 657-670.	2007	Data collected by questionnaire from a representative sample of parents in two-parent families with children under the age of 18 years; 2391 parents, aged 20-67, participated (1057 males)	To determine the self-reported prevalence of child and partner physical and emotional abuse in the north of Portugal and to investigate attitudes about these forms of family violence	At least one act of emotional or physical abuse towards a child during the previous year was reported by 25.9% of participants (12.3% reported physically abusive and 22.4% emotionally abusive acts); abuse of a partner was reported by 26.2% of participants; at least one act of physical abuse during the previous year was reported by 12% and of emotional abuse by 23.7%; the attitudinal data showed general disapproval of the use of violence, both for disciplining children and within marital relationships; the degree of self-reported support for	Portugal (North)

				physical punishment was higher in participants who reported using abusive behaviour; females more commonly reported acts of child abuse, and males reported acts of partner abuse; both forms of self-reported abuse showed an association with low educational and socio-economic status		
17	Romito, P. and M. Grassi (2007). "Does violence affect one gender more than other? The mental health impact of violence among male and female university students." <u>Social Science & Medicine</u> 65: 1222-1234.	2007	Sample of 502 university students, responding to a self-administered questionnaire; it was considered violence by family members, witnessed family violence, peers/school violence, intimate partner violence, and sexual violence; also, mental health outcomes were depression, panic attacks, heavy alcohol use, eating problems, suicidal ideation and attempts, and self-evaluation of health	To explore whether violence has a different impact on males and females	Both males and females reported similar rates of experienced and witnessed family violence as well as of intimate partner violence, to which women reacted more negatively than men; peers/school violence was more common among men; sexual violence was more common and more severe among females; for both men and women, the more violence, the higher the risk of health problems	Italy
18	Etter, J.-F. (2008). "Perceived priorities for prevention: change between 1996 and 2006 in a general population survey." <u>Journal of Public Health</u> 31(1): 113-118.	2008	742 participants in 1996 (response rate 75%) and 1487 in 2006 (response rate 76%); participants were recruited by postal questionnaire surveys, in representative samples of the general population; they indicated, for each of 13 health problems, a priority rating for the spending of prevention resources	To assess changes between 1996 and 2006 in the opinions of the general public on priorities for the prevention of health problems	In 2006, resources should be spent, with priority, for: the prevention of sexual abuse of children (67% answered "high priority"), illegal drugs (58%), AIDS (55%), tobacco smoking (45%), road traffic accidents (43%), alcoholism (42%), family violence (42%), suicide in young people (39%), mammography screening for breast cancer (37%), abuse of medications (27%), cannabis use (24%), poor diet (22%) and lack of physical activity (20%); however, between 1996 and 2006, the largest change was observed for tobacco smoking (+18.6% answered "high priority"), poor diet (+11.4%), lack of physical activity (+10.8%) and AIDS (-10.8%, p< 0.001 for all change scores)	Switzerland (Geneva)
19	Sesar, K., I. Živčić-Bećirević, et al. (2008). "Multi-type maltreatment in childhood and psychological	2008	A convenient sample of 458 third-grade high-school students (39% boys) aged between 15 and 20 (median age, 17); participants were assessed by questionnaire March 2003	To determine the prevalence and inter-correlation of different forms of childhood maltreatment and psychological problems in adolescents	77% were emotionally abused, 52% physically abused, 30% neglected, 20% witnessed family violence, and 13% of girls and 21% of boys were sexually abused before the age of 14; significant association between the maltreatment by a mother, father, and other adults were found for emotional and physical abuse and for neglect	Bosnia and Herzegovina (Herzegovina Canton)

	adjustment in adolescence: questionnaire study among adolescents in Western Herzegovina Canton." <u>Croatian Medical Journal</u> 49: 243-256.			and witnessing family violence ($r = 0.413-0.541$, $p < 0.001$ to all); significant correlation was found between all forms of abuse ($r = 0.163-0.594$, $p < 0.05$), except between sexual abuse and witnessing family violence ($r = 0.048$, $p = 0.351$); Almost two-thirds of students were exposed to multi-type maltreatment in childhood; family characteristics and maltreatment scores significantly predicted anxiety/depression, withdrawal, somatic complaints, social problems, attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder, rule breaking behaviour, aggression and self-esteem		
20	Al-Habsi, S. A., G. J. Roberts, <i>et al.</i> (2009). "A survey of attitudes, knowledge and practice of dentists in London towards child protection. Are children receiving dental treatment at the Eastman Dental Hospital likely to be on the child protection register?" <u>British Dental Journal</u> 206(4).	2009	A total of 228 dentists were invited to participate in the study [the respond rate was 46% (105/228)]; the survey was conducted by postal questionnaires with 14 closed questions	To investigate the attitudes, knowledge and practices of general dental practitioners, specialists and consultants in paediatric, towards child protection and to analyse if children attending paediatric dental casualty at the Eastman Dental Hospital and those who need treatment of caries under general anaesthesia are on the child protection register	Overall 15% (16/105) of dentists had seen at least one patient with suspected child abuse in the last six months, but only 7% (7/105) referred or reported cases to child protection services; of the 220 children attending for dental general anaesthesia and casualty from October 2004 to March 2005, one child was found to be on the child protection register	United Kingdom (London)
21	Romito, P., <i>et al</i> (2009). "Violence and women's psychological distress after birth: an exploratory study in Italy." <u>Health Care for Women International</u> 30: 1, 160 – 180	2009	352 women who responded to the immediate postpartum questionnaire, 333 agreed to participate in a follow-up interview 8 months later. From September 2004 to March 2005, they were contacted by telephone, reminded about the study, and asked to respond to a questionnaire at a convenient time. Overall, 292 women were	To analyze the relationships between violence and maternal psychological distress 8 months after a birth, taking into account other important psychosocial factors, known to be associated both with violence and with new mothers' mental health	Eight months postpartum, 5% of women showed high psychological distress; 10% were currently experiencing violence from the partner or another family member. After adjustment for covariates, the odds ratio for depressive symptoms was 13.74 for women experiencing violence.	Italy (Trieste)

successfully contacted and
completed the second
questionnaire (83%).

4.3.2 Prevalence studies on interpersonal violence

In this part we examine the results of a Report on *State of European Research on the Prevalence of Interpersonal Violence and its impact on Health and Human Rights*³⁸ which compiles the findings of prevalence studies on interpersonal violence. The report is divided into 5 main topics, namely “Prevalence studies”; “Assessment of the impact of interpersonal violence on the victim’s health”; “Interpersonal violence and violation of human rights”; “Future analyses of prevalence and health impact data”.

The majority of prevalence studies have focused on violence against women³⁹ but also on violence against children and youth. Less research has been carried out on violence against men, elderly people, homosexuals and bisexuals, people with disabilities, and immigrant and minority women.

The prevalence surveys reveal – across gender, age, race, socio-economic class, and cultural factors – high levels of physical, sexual and psychological interpersonal violence in all countries where such surveys have been conducted. However the results of this analysis indicate that, at present, it is difficult to compare the prevalence rates of specific forms of interpersonal violence between different European countries as the existing studies have many important methodological differences.

From a methodological point of view, existing research differs in a) the samples used (dimension, age, ethnicity, etc); b) data collection techniques (self-reported questionnaires sent by post, telephone interviews, face-to-face interviews); c) definitions used and types of violence measured (physical, sexual, psychological); d) contexts observed (home, place of work, public space); e) type of perpetrators (family members, strangers); f) reference period of time concerning the incidence of violence (last year, last 5 years, lifetime). The state of the art report highlights several trends in terms of methodological developments: questions where one asks the interviewee to report violence experiences are being replaced by composed lists of items regarding behaviours (avoiding the use of the term “violence”); the use of multi-method procedures such as, for example, face-to-face interviews combined with written questionnaires about sensitive topics. Moreover, research on violence against women nowadays tends to use only specialized interviewers, mainly female. There is also a great concern over the interviewees’ safety, a significant ethical question to be raised. The authors conclude, however, that there continues to be a lack of systematic

³⁸ Compiled by Manuela Martinez, University of Valencia; Monika Schrotte, University of Bielefeld, February, 2006: (CAHRV).

³⁹ In the domain of violence against women, we have to highlight that while the first studies were centered in domestic violence between intimate partners, during the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, and particularly since 1996, the studies have included other contexts where violence is equally exercised against women, like the public sphere and the place of work. And also have included other type of perpetrators, beyond intimate partners (other family members, etc).

knowledge on the impact of the different modes of data collection on violence prevalence.

Regarding the samples used by the different studies, the report points to some important differences:

- Size: they vary in general between 500 and 22,000 participants. Studies using bigger samples are able to obtain bigger differences in terms of their analysis on the types of victimization, risk factors and violence impact.
- The age strata of participants also vary. The minimum strata would be 16-20 years old and the maximum between 59-85 or more. The response rate seems to decrease with age. As a result, a lower prevalence is obtained when assessing older groups.
- Ethnicity: the building up of samples based on this criterion makes it difficult to determine the legal status of migrants, their language patterns and ethnic contexts. One of the main problems has to do with the fact that migrant women do not fully understand the language of the country. So an under-representation of these groups in prevalence studies is common. In some countries, such as Germany (Schrottle and Muller, 2003), researchers use interviews in different languages.

Regarding violence assessment, the state of the art report emphasizes that there are several differences in studies in terms of the measurement of the types of violence against women, as well as differences concerning the perpetrators and the contexts where violence occurs:

- Types of violence and assessment instruments: the most frequently measured are physical, sexual and psychological violence. Some studies supply specific information about each type of violence experienced by women (Sweden, 1999/2000); others do not differentiate the several types (Lithuania, 2000).
- Instruments: these are various and distinctive. While some studies use short simple questions ("Have you ever been exposed to physical violence?"), most of them use lists of items listing specific acts/behaviours ("Have you ever been victim of kicking, slapping? etc"). Others combine both types of procedures.
- Some studies use well-known validated scales to measure physical violence, such as the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) (Straus *et al.* 1996), others use their own created instruments. The advantage of using known, well-tested instruments lies in the fact that comparisons become possible between prevalence rates observed in different studies. However, instruments for measuring sexual abuse are more diverse, thereby compromising their comparability. Not only are the definitions of sexual abuse different, but the instruments also vary strongly from the point of view of the aspects of sexual

violence to be assessed. In addition, cultural patterns and values influence the reporting of these acts by victimized women. Definitional and measurement difficulties also arise at the level of psychological abuse.

4.3.2.1 Main Findings

The recognition of interpersonal violence as a human rights violation has emerged recently. Until then it was recognized as a public problem for individuals, society and the State. This recognition has its origins in the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was then reinforced by successive Declarations relative to specific social groups, such as women and children (Vienna, 1993; Beijing, 1995). Over the last two decades EU countries have therefore gradually turned their attention to a problem that causes significant deterioration in the victim's health and constitutes an obstacle to their development due to the high human and economic costs derived.

Victims: most prevalence studies in Europe focus on violence against women, children and young people. Violence against men has not been an important topic of research. Some data on this type of violence has been obtained through criminological studies or through bilateral violence research. The lack of studies on violence against men also extends to studies on elder abuse and, in particular, against people with physical disabilities, homosexual/bisexual persons, prostitutes and migrants. However, in some studies on violence against women, some data on violence against elder women, migrants and ethnic minorities has been obtained.

Contexts: the domestic context is the setting for analysis of most studies on violence against women and children. Some studies assess violence in other contexts, such as schools, the workplace and the public sphere.

Types of violence: the majority of studies assess physical and sexual violence. Others include assessment of psychological violence, sexual harassment and bullying. Psychological violence, until recently, was not a current research topic. This situation has changed, since several studies have become concerned about gathering information on the impact of this type of violence on the health and quality of life of victims. Researchers have also come to explore the relation between different forms of victimization over the life course, particularly regarding domestic violence and violence experienced in other relationships or contexts (e.g. work, school).

Prevalence studies on a national level have been carried out in many EU countries, in particular on violence against women. The state of the art report allows us to examine prevalence research carried out in the different European countries according to the main domains of research.

a) Violence against women:

Countries where prevalence studies on a national level have been conducted focusing on violence against women:

Country	Research date	Authors	Publication Year
England and Wales	1995	Mirrless-Black	1999
	2001	Walby and Allen	2004
Estonia	2001	Proos and Pettai	2001
Finland	1997	Heiskanen and Piispa	1998
France	2000	Jaspard <i>et al.</i>	2003
Germany	1992	Wetzels <i>et al.</i>	1995
	2003	Schrottle and Muller	2004
The Netherlands	1986	Romkens	1989; 1997
	1997	Van Dijk <i>et al.</i>	1997
	2002	Van Dijk and Oppenhuis	2002
	2003	Beke and	2003
	2004	Rottenberg TNO Arbeid	2004
Iceland	1996	Girlason	1997
Lithuania	1999	Purvaneckiene	1999
	2000	Reingardiene	2002; 2003
Portugal	1995	Lourenço <i>et al.</i>	1997
Russia	2002	Gorchkova and Shurygina	2004
Spain	1999/2002	Institute of Women's Affairs	1999/2002
		Medina-Ariza and Barberet	2003
Sweden	1999/2000	Lundgren <i>et al.</i>	2002
Switzerland	1994	Gillioz	1997
		Gillioz <i>et al.</i>	1997

Other clinical and regional prevalence studies on violence against women:

Country	Authors	Publication year
Austria	Achs <i>et al.</i>	2005
Finland	Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	2005
Germany	Brzank <i>et al.</i>	2005
Italy	Romito and Gerin Romito <i>et al.</i>	2002 2004
Spain	Raya Ortega <i>et al.</i>	2004
Switzerland	Gloor and Meier	2004

b) Violence against men

Female violence against men remains a neglected area of study in the field of social sciences. There are very few empirical studies available on this issue. A number of important questions regarding female violence remain unaddressed. Little is known about the contexts and the conditions that enhance female violence, its nature, modes and the motives that lie behind its occurrence. Is female violence different from male violence? What are the consequences of female violence? Are abused men willing to talk? Do they recognize women's abuse as violence? And what about women, will they recognize themselves as aggressors?

Studies regarding violence against men in Europe are scarce. Some studies have been performed in the following countries.

Country	Research sate	Authors	Publication year
Germany	2003	Research Group <i>et al.</i>	2004
	2003	Krahé <i>et al.</i>	2003
Studies assessing violence features against men within researches assessing men and women			
Country	Research sate	Authors	Publication year
England and Wales	1995	Mirrless-Black	1999
	2001	Walby and Allen	2004
Estonia	2001	Proos and Pettai	2001
Germany	1992	Wetzels <i>et al.</i>	1995
The Netherlands	1997	Van Dijt <i>et al.</i>	1997
	2002	Van Dijt and	2002
	2003	Oppenhuis	2003
	2004	Beke and Rottenberg TNO Arbeid	2004
Iceland	1996	Girlason	1997

In the early 1990s, Lenz (1993; 1996), approached violence against men with a qualitative focus.

Although scarce, the studies regarding violence against men in Europe are different in their goals and methodology:

- Some focus on sexual violence perpetrated by women against men (Krahé *et al.* (2003); others analyze to what extent violence against men is socially perceived and researched (Germany, Research Group *et al.*, 2004).
- Results from the “Research Group” in Germany (2004), show that men are victims of aggression in long-lasting intimate relationships, in the public domain, during leisure time, in the workplace and in specific institutions (asylums, hospitals). More than two thirds of physical violence reported during adult life by men and nearly one-fifth of psychological violence experienced has occurred in the public domain or during leisure time.
- In contrast, psychological violence is predominant in the work place. The extent of violence in intimate relationships is similar in its magnitude when compared with other life domains for men, although the burden of the different types of violence varies. Four in every 200 interviewed men has suffered an act of physical violence by their most recent partner, at least once, and, in several cases, more than once. This study also reveals that some acts are not perceived as violent. Some forms of violence are perceived as normative in men’s life and they usually have a limited memory for them.
- In the other two studies performed in Germany (Krahé *et al.*, 2003), 25.1% and 30.1% of men reported, at least, one incident of non-consensual sex with a woman, while 23.9% and 23.5%, respectively, reported attempts of non-consented sex by women. Kissing and cuddling are the most cited acts that men report as being part of their non-wished-for sexual activity, followed by sex and oral sex. Prevalence rates are higher for non-consented sex with ex-partners or friends than with unknown women.
- The study developed in Estonia (Proos and Pettai, 2001), on the prevalence of violence against men, indicates that physical violence and psychological violence occur more often in public places (82%) than in their homes or workplaces. Other studies (England and Wales, 1999 and 2004) show that differences between prevalence rates vary with the reference period used to measure violence.
- Violence also occurs in homosexual couples. Some studies show that it is as frequent as heterosexual violence (Krahé, 2000).

c) Violence against children and young people

Since the 1990s there have been a considerable number of prevalence studies on violence against children and young people. They focus mostly on sexual abuse, sexual harassment, parental violence and bullying in school. The following table indicates the studies on this type of violence carried out in different countries.

Research on the prevalence of sexual abuse			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Austria	1993	Kinz and Biel	1993
Finland	1994/96	Sariola and UUtela	1994
France	1989	Lazartigues <i>et al.</i> Choque <i>et al.</i>	1989 1997
Germany	1992 1993 1994 1996	Bange Wetzels Raupp and Eggers Ritcher-Appelt Bange and Deegener	1992 1997 1993 1994 1997
The Netherlands	1988 1998/98	Draijer Timmerman	1988 2003
Norway	1994	Bendixen <i>et al.</i>	1994
Poland	1999	Izdebski	2000
Romania	1999	Roth and Bumbulut	2003
Spain	1995	Lopez <i>et al.</i>	1995
Sweden	1990	Edgarth and Ormstad	2000
Switzerland	1994/95	Halperin <i>et al.</i>	1996
UK	1985 1990 1998/98	Baker and Dunkan Kelly <i>et al.</i> Cawson <i>et al.</i>	1985 1991 2000

Research on prevalence of sexual harassment (mostly in school)			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Finland	1998	Honkatukia	2000
The Netherlands	1998/99 2003	Timmerman De Bruin and Burrie	2002/2003 2004
UK	1998/99	Cawson <i>et al.</i>	2000
Research on prevalence of physical violence (mostly parental)			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Finland	1992	Sariola and Utela	1992

Germany	1995/96 1998 1992	Bussman Pfeiffer <i>et al.</i> Wetzels	2002 1999 1997
Sweden	1994	Edfeldt	1996
UK	1998/99	Cawson <i>et al.</i>	2000
Research on prevalence of psychological violence			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
UK	1998/99	Cawson <i>et al.</i>	2000
Croatia	2003	Puhovski <i>et al.</i>	2004
Research on prevalence of neglect			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Denmark	1999	Christensen	1999
UK	1998/99	Cawson <i>et al.</i>	2000
Research on prevalence of scholar bullying			
Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Finland	1997	Kaltiača-Heino <i>et al.</i>	1999
Italy	1993 1999	Genta <i>et al.</i> Baldry and Farrington	1996 1999
England and Germany* (simultaneous comparative study)	2001	Wolke <i>et al.</i>	2001

*In the scope of research on prevalence of school bullying a large-scale study was performed, integrating data from 31 EU countries, following the same methodology. These countries were: Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Greenland, The Netherlands, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Scotland, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Macedonia, Ukraine and Wales.

d) Violence against the elderly

There are very few studies on the prevalence of Elder Abuse in Europe. Most of the existing research was carried out during the 1990s and in the following countries:

Countries	Research date	Authors	Publication year
Finland	1989	Kivela <i>et al.</i>	1992
Germany	1992	Wetzels <i>et al.</i>	1995
The Netherlands	1994	Comijs <i>et al.</i>	1998
UK	1992	Ogg and Bennett	1992
Spain*	2000	Ruiz Sanmartin <i>et al.</i>	2001

Spain* - this study was conducted in a specific context, namely people were recruited while visiting a health care centre.

These studies are different from a methodological point of view, which makes it impossible to compare them. However, they reveal that the prevalence of violence ranges between 3% and 11%, and the most frequent type of abuse is psychological. Abuse is perpetrated mostly by family members, friends and acquaintances. It occurs more often at home, although several other institutions (foster homes, hospitals) and public spaces (street, commercial centres, etc) must also be taken into account.

4.3.3 The effect of banning corporal punishment in Europe – recent findings

In this section we present a short description of a recent and important article presenting the results of a cross-national research project (five nation comparison) on the effect of banning corporal punishment in Europe.⁴⁰

The authors begin this article by presenting a kind of “chronology of adoption” of the UN Convention (1989) by different European countries, in particular its article 19, which gives children the right to be educated without violence. Nearly 18 EU countries today have this right encoded in their legal frameworks. However, countries like Sweden (1979), Finland (1983), Norway (1987) and Austria (1989) had already banned corporal punishment even before the establishment of the UN Convention. After these countries, the referred Convention was also adopted by Cyprus (1994), Denmark (1997), Lithuania (1998), Croatia (1999), Germany (2000), Iceland (2003), Bulgaria (2003), Ukraine (2004), Romania (2005), Hungary (2005), Greece (2006), the Netherlands (2007), Portugal and Spain (2007). All these countries take their legal regulations from the Swedish model, the first nation in the world legally to establish punishment for the use of corporal punishment of children as an educational practice.

⁴⁰ Bussmann Kai-D; Erthal, C.; Schroth, A., to be published in “A safer world for children; Global progress towards ending physical punishment”, Joan E. Durrant e Anne B. Smith (Eds.) (forthcoming, Spring 2010)

Several international studies have revealed that the prohibition of corporal punishment has contributed to the reduction of parental violence, greatly influencing the attitudes and behaviours of parents. In Sweden, the law has been widely publicized, and due to the action of several Non-governmental Organizations, these campaigns came to be directed not only at parents, but also at children of pre-school and school age. Sweden is the country with the highest incidence of violence against children. However, in this country, discussion of the effects of such a law remains open.

The effects of corporal punishment have been studied in several countries, but with the use of different methodologies and instruments. This gap has been overcome through an initiative of the "German research Foundation," which promoted the first comparative study of the effects of corporal punishment in five EU nations (Austria, France, Germany, Spain and Sweden). This study encompasses countries that had introduced a prohibitive law on corporal punishment (Sweden, Austria and Germany) and others that, at the time of the study, had not (France and Spain).

In terms of methodology, a standardized questionnaire was applied to a sample of 5,000 parents (1,000 per country), between October and December 2007. The target population was made up of parents over 25 years of age, with at least one child under the age of 18. Only parents who were nationals of the countries where the assessment was being done took part.

Findings were as expected: there was a lesser use of violence against children in Sweden, followed by Austria and Germany. In the latter, the incidence was higher than in Austria, because of the intensive educational and informational campaigns. The worst results were found in countries where parental violence is not forbidden, such as France and Spain. The author states that France emerges as the country where there has been the lowest effort in tackling domestic violence.

A typology of educational styles was built up:

- Non-violent educational style: these parents do not apply corporal punishment; however, they use prohibitions and psychological sanctions.
- Conventional educational style: these parents apply all sorts of sanctions, except severe violence.
- Violent educational style: these parents apply all types of sanction (prohibitions, psychological) plus severe violence (corporal punishment, physical aggression, etc), regularly.

The study also shows that parents have been more exposed to parental violence themselves, compared to the violence they impose on their children. This exposure is higher in countries where there was no prohibition of parental violence, such as France. This shows, in some ways, that existing conjugal violence is a risk factor for the adoption

of violent educational styles. In countries where corporal punishment has been accompanied by formative and informational campaigns and long-term measures, the violence levels tend to be lower.

With respect to values, the research findings shows that only a small fraction of Swedes regard corporal punishment as acceptable. The belief that parents have the right to apply corporal punishment to their children still influences the behavior of some parents in Austria and Germany, especially in connection with the less severe forms of violence. In Spain and France, this discussion is even more interesting due to the late incorporation of the prohibition of corporal punishment into their legal framework.

Despite the differences between the analyzed countries, a large majority of parents rejects violence and supports the idea that children should be educated without the use of corporal punishment.

4.4 Concluding remarks on family violence

Domestic violence is seen as a violation of Human Rights, and has become an important public concern in our societies. Several International bodies (e.g. the European Commission, the United Nations, the World Health Organization) have taken up the fight against violence to children, women and the elderly as one of the priorities of the international policy agenda, leading several countries to introduce legislation protecting victims of domestic violence and providing fundamental rights against violence.

The conceptual and methodological diversity of the field leads to difficulties in comparison, as a result of substantially different perspectives, terminologies, methods, and instruments for research.

Taking domestic violence as the focus, we can say that, research today has shown that it is more than a matter of gender. Physical and psychological violence may be related to a large spectrum of factors: psychological and personality traits; the nature and dynamics of conjugality; marital satisfaction; conjugal styles; domestic work, stress and conflicts; domination and control by partners (male or female); feelings of insecurity and interpersonal and inter-relational strategies for calling the partner's attention.

Presently, knowledge of violence against women is much more developed than knowledge of female violence in marital contexts. Most references to female violence or husband abuse come from USA and some from Australia. In Europe, only a handful of published papers and very few books exist on the topic. Qualitative researches in which men are interviewed are those which have provided the largest amount of data on female violence.

To summarize this review of research on family violence, we will briefly outline the major trends, gaps and research challenges for the different types of prevalence studies, by looking at the different areas of what may be regarded as the broad field of *violence*.

4.4.1 Violence against children – trends, gaps and research challenges

- Trends:

The protection of children's fundamental rights evolved after the end of World War II. UNICEF (The International Child Rescue Fund) was created in 1947, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was approved in 1948. These rights were reinforced with the Children's Rights Convention, approved in 1989. By defending the flag of the "superior interest of the child" this Convention became binding for all countries adopting it. At the research level, since the 1990s a considerable number of prevalence studies have been carried out on violence against children, parental violence

and school bullying. Despite the methodological differences between the several studies (study design, types and definitions of violence assessed, contexts where violence occurs), they all reveal relatively high prevalence rates of child abuse. However, prevalence is higher among girls than among boys, except for bullying.

- Gaps

Due to varying definitions and methods and the diversity of data collection methods used in existing studies, it is not possible to arrive at more precise conclusions on the prevalence of violence against children across European societies.

- Research challenges

In order to carry out comparisons, secondary data analysis is needed, and this data has to be collected through common methodologies. It is also important to analyze the impact of legislation in reducing (or not reducing) child abuse in countries adopting the Children's Rights Convention. To this end, international comparative prevalence studies must take place. Eventually, these studies must be followed up by qualitative analysis in order to gather more intensive and in-depth data on the social processes underlying abusive practices perpetrated by parents and educators in general. In this domain, it is also important to organize social intervention (often dispersed across several institutions) in order to evaluate existing prevention programs.

4.4.2 Violence against women – trends and gaps and research challenges

- Trends:

The “gender violence” paradigm has dominated research on violence against women. This is widely sustained by feminist research and, as a consequence, by a unidirectional model. This “gender violence” paradigm, embedded in a neo-Marxist conception, reduces all violence to two basic foundations: male abuse is used to maintain power over women; female violence is defensive and used only for women's own protection. More recently, violence studies against women have mainly been based on two analytical models and measures. The first consists in analyzing solely violence perpetrated by males against females. This is the so-called unidirectional model, and has been adopted by important national and international organizations (e.g. the WHO, in countries such as Spain, France and Germany). It is a model which assesses only violence against women. The second model (bidirectional), assesses violence perpetrated both by male against female and by female against male. In terms of research on violence against women, the following trends should be highlighted: during the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, particularly from 1996 on, studies have begun to include other contexts where violence is also perpetrated against women (e.g. public space, workplace), and other types of perpetrators, beyond intimate partners (e.g. other relatives, acquaintances) (Martinez and Schrottle, 2006). However, most studies collect

information on violence perpetrated by an intimate partner against the woman. Findings show physical, psychological and sexual violence prevalence in different contexts (but mainly in the domestic sphere) and in several countries.

- Gaps:

The “gender violence” research paradigm has been the target of the following critiques: unidirectional female violence is as frequent as male violence (for example, among lesbian couples); Feminist studies tend to extrapolate to the general population on the basis of results obtained with small samples. Generally, women initiate conflicts and aggressions. They reveal more victimization attitudes compared to men (Dutton and Nicholls, 2005).

The so-called bidirectional model is not yet widely accepted, especially in countries where feminist analysis and intervention still has a strong influence on this issue. On the other hand, the unidirectional model is criticized because it only provides data on the incidence of violence against women, unlike bidirectional studies, that have shown similar conflict levels for each gender (Javier, 2009). Finally, social policies on domestic violence sustained by the unidirectional model end up ignoring the “other part of the problem”, reiterate certain pre-conceptions (e.g. female violence is only defensive and used by women to protect themselves), and promote feelings of being “institutionally unprotected” between the male gender and female impunity.

In prevalence studies on violence against women, there is great variety from a methodological point of view, namely in the samples used, the data collection techniques, definitions used and types of violence measured, observed contexts and perpetrators, and length of time measured. There are numerous differences between studies performed in several countries, which makes comparability extremely difficult. Systematized information about the impact on prevalence rates of these differences, in terms of methodologies and conceptual definitions, is non-existent.

- Research challenges

Assessment of the extent of comparability between prevalence rates of violence against women in different countries. Analysis of the impact of methodological differences on violence prevalence rates. The need to promote prevalence studies according to the bidirectional model, with the aim of assessing the extent of mutual violence in couples; this might lead to an eventual re-assessment of social policies that have been, until now, exclusively oriented towards the female gender. The need to develop qualitative studies aimed at providing in-depth knowledge of the meanings of violence for victims and perpetrators. These studies would be also useful for a better understanding of the contexts of violence.

4.4.3 Violence against men – trends and gaps and research challenges

- Trends:

The first analysis of violence against men came in the late 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, by sociologists within Family Violence Research. But prevalence studies of violence against men in Europe are very scarce. Those that do exist focus on two basic lines of research: sexual violence perpetrated by women against men (Krahé, Scheinberger e Bieneck, 2003); and the way violence against men is socially represented, perceived and researched (Research Group *et al.*, 2004).

More recent studies, within the bidirectional model, tend to develop longitudinal approaches (allowing for repeated measures of a set of variables through time, in order to capture the specific circumstances and dynamics of violent episodes), meta-analysis (this is, studies of studies, revealing that violence in the couple is similar for both genders) (Archer 2000 & 2002).

- Gaps:

Existing studies are different in their objectives and methodologies, presenting similar methodological difficulties to those identified for prevalence studies of violence against women.

- Research challenges

It is crucial to promote prevalence studies of violence (physical, sexual, psychological) against men in different contexts. It is also necessary to undertake qualitative studies on violence against men, seeking to understand the social construction processes of a supposed dominant masculinity. These studies are also essential for an analysis of the non-recognition processes of some types of violence against men as being non-violent, and to the identification of mechanisms that are behind their denial and occultation.

4.4.4 Elder abuse – trends and gaps and research challenges

- Trends:

This phenomenon was identified in late 1970s and early 1980s, mostly by healthcare and social professionals. Research in this domain has focused on identifying risk factors for elder abuse. There are still few prevalence studies of elder abuse in Europe. Existing studies were developed mainly in the 1990s.

Research reveals that elder abuse by relatives exists, but its prevalence is relatively low (less than 11%) compared with other types of victimization. Institutional abuse is even less known and assessed. This type of abuse benefited from some broader awareness because of UN's recognition of the problem as a Human Rights concern (United Nations, 2002).

- Gaps

Existing theoretical perspectives are not exhaustive and need to be linked to the wider literature on violence within the family. This is a domain which needs further research. Studies carried out until now are very different in their methodologies, which makes it difficult to compare results.

- Challenges to research:

It is essential to promote prevalence studies of elder abuse in order to acknowledge the types of abuses inflicted, the most frequent contexts in which violence takes place, perpetrators' characteristics, and differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of victims.

Finally, some suggestions for future analysis in the area of domestic violence research in general may be put forward. Existing prevalence studies in Europe reveal that there is more information collected than is being published. It is therefore important to produce secondary analysis of collected data, following specific questions and approaches. In other words, systematic secondary analysis is needed in order to compare particular features of violence against women, men, children and the elderly. It is also crucial to analyze the impact of existing methodological differences on the various prevalence studies. Lastly, it is important to implement qualitative studies on the meanings and processes of violence for victims and perpetrators and to develop research on violence against groups that have received less attention (elderly persons, immigrants, disabled persons, institutionalized persons, men).

5. Social Inequalities and Families

5.1 Introduction

A major challenge for research in all EU countries has been to describe and explain the considerable changes that have taken place in family forms and relationships over the last few decades. Different approaches have emphasized a range of different factors and arguments that seek to explain why and how family life is changing and diversifying. Processes of individualisation, women's claims to equality and their increasing ability to exercise their choices, privatization and changes in cultural contexts, bringing in new sets of ideals and opportunities, and greater emphasis on State support for families, are some of the major factors seen to be driving family processes and relationships. In the context of these approaches, emphasis on the continuing significance of social inequalities for family life has been weak, especially when compared to research on gender inequalities within families or to research on the changing internal dynamics and forms of conjugal life. A review of existing research shows that, overall, the idea that families have been removed from traditional roles and constraints, and individuals from status-based classes, has led to a move away from family studies examining the influence of class-differentiated patterns of family life or the role of the family in reproducing social advantage and disadvantage.

A review of existing research shows nevertheless that social inequality plays a crucial role in family life and is related to family structure and dynamics in complex ways (among others, see: Langman, 1988; Singly, 1987, 1993; Kaufmann, 1993; Lahire, 1995; Paugam *et al.*, 1997; Allan *et al.*, 2001; Attias-Donfut *et al.*, 2002; Cohen *et al.* 2004; Segalen, 2006; Kellerhals *et al.* 2004; Wall, 2005; Crompton, 2006a; Aboim, 2006; Déchaux, 2007). Family forms, events and relationships may be the consequence, or the cause, of various forms of social inequality. In poverty and hardship, some families may be able to activate extended support networks and serve as resource pools to protect against scarcity (of income, lodgings, or care), while others are socially isolated. For the affluent, families are conduits for the intergenerational transmission of wealth, status and social capital, usually promoting educational achievement and social mobility for all members of the family; for others, low income or the burden of caring for dependent persons may impose gender differentiation or impediments to social and professional mobility.

Two main interrelated trends in the relationship between social inequality and families can be identified. First, **families reflect social inequalities**, since the unequal distribution of various resources (economic, educational, social, cultural) and differential opportunities affect the circumstances in which family life is built up and access to certain types of family forms, divisions of work, services or life-styles. Research shows that the tendency of individuals and couples in late modernity to organize family life and intimacy in plural ways and with more freedom, beyond the external constraints of normative context and social control, does not mean that social determinants have disappeared. The formation of couples, the organization of family life, the socialization

of children and parent-child relationships are all influenced by wider social forces and social structure. In sociology, some of the existing research on families carried out since the 1990s, largely in single country research, has thus systematically searched for the impact and effects of social differentiation on family forms and relationships (Van Zanten, 2001; McRae, 2003; Kellerhals *et al.*, 2004; Widmer *et al.*, 2004; Devine, 2004; Widmer *et al.* 2006; Duncan, 2005; Wall, 2005; Bozon and Héran, 2006; Aboim, 2006; Lyonette *et al.* 2007, Crompton *et al.*, 2006c).

Secondly, **families reproduce inequalities**, both in the short term and intergenerationally. Research shows that family background, life-style, and resources, including both material and socio-cultural advantages, tend to affect children's lives and life chances. Transmission of wealth from older to younger generations and support in setting up family life during the transition to adulthood is significant in all European countries, with more affluent families being able to transfer more material and cultural resources. In other words, conjugal and family life seems to foster and reaffirm social and gender orders. In terms of intergenerational effects, families remain perhaps the most important mechanism for the transmission of unequal life chances.

5.2 Social homogamy in couple formation

Social determinants continue to link significantly with the process of mate selection in European societies, with data from several national surveys as well as comparative datasets showing that social homogamy (marriage between partners with similar educational or social backgrounds) remains strong (Herpin, 2000; Rosa, 2005; Bozon and Héran, 2006; Déchaux, 2007; Blossfeld and Buchholz, 2009a and 2009b). In France, Bozon and Héran (2006) found that although the ideal norm has moved away from the idea of the importance of partners' similar social backgrounds for marriage, social class continues to be a main factor in mate selection. The propensity for social homogamy is strongest at the top and at the bottom of the social spectrum, but the tendency is also quite strong in the middle classes. On the other hand, within heterogamic couples, it is 'hypergamic' marriage, i.e. the propensity for women to select a partner with a higher social status that is most frequently found.

These results reveal the persistent and crucial role of marriage/partnership in class and gender differentiation. However, research is careful to point out that these processes are the outcome of a complex aggregate of individual decisions and settings, such as the social segmentation of sociabilities and meeting places, rather than the concerted outcome of choice and normative anticipation.

Comparative research has added on to these conclusions in interesting ways by demonstrating that educational expansion, combined with the propensity for homogamy and the rise in dual-earner couples, has led to unintended consequences from the point of view of social inequality and family life. Blossfeld and Buchholz (2009a; 2009b) found that the increasing participation of women in the labour force impacts the inter-household distribution of income and class status, while also affecting the distribution of resources within the couple. Using data from two international comparative research projects (flexCARREER and GLOBALIFE)⁴¹, Blossfeld and Buchholz (2009a) conclude that educational expansion has led, unintentionally, to a significant increase in the likelihood of educational homogamy. The authors show that the combination of educational homogamy and the increase of the dual-earner model in European societies is a source of increased inequality between families. Today, it is more likely that partners cumulate educational resources (low or high) and this trend tends to reinforce social inequality (whereas, in the past, unequal marriages in terms of resources often contributed to weakening or reducing social inequality between families). Increasing homogamy enables husbands and wives of higher resources to pool them and increase their advantage. In this context, the comparative disadvantage of gender-differentiated couples with low educational resources is further increased: the

⁴¹ Comparable country studies for a total of 17 OECD member states (Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, and the United States)

income and status of the sole breadwinner is more insecure and it is less likely that family income will be supplemented by female income.

5.3 Family diversity, conjugal interactions and social determinants

Recent research carried out in several European countries has underlined the diversity of contemporary conjugal interactions as well as the impact of social class, position in the life course and birth cohorts in shaping the organization and management of family life (for a review, see Widmer *et al.*, 2004). As a result, the distinction between the Institution and Companionships models proposed by Burgess *et al.* (1960) has largely given way to analyses centred on the diversity of contemporary family interactions and their classification into various types (Kantor and Lehr, 1975; Donati, 1985; Roussel, 1985; Finch *et al.* 1991; Widmer *et al.* 2003; Kellerhals *et al.*, 2004; Wall, 2005; Widmer *et al.*, 2006; Aboim, 2006).

Typologies of conjugal interactions have been built up on the basis of dimensions such as the *priority objectives* and values assigned to the couple or the family, the degree of *fusion* (related to the way in which individual resources such as time, money, ideas or feelings are pooled by members of the family), the degree of *openness* to the environment, the degree of *gendering* (of the division of paid and unpaid work, of relational roles and of decisional power within couples), and the degree of *routinization* of family (i.e. the extent to which couples and families follow a fixed set of norms relating to family time schedules, eating habits and other routines).

An important development of the interactionist approach can be found in the research carried out in Switzerland by Kellerhals *et al.* (1982) and by Widmer and Kellerhals (2003, 2004). Drawing on concepts used in micro-approaches, the authors adapted them to extensive quantitative research in order to obtain a representative view of family diversity. They identified various types of family functioning: *bastion* families, characterized by fusional cohesion, normative regulation and closure; *companionship* families, characterized by fusional cohesion, communicational regulation and openness; *cocoon* families, a less gender-differentiated and more intimate form of the bastion family; *parallel* families, characterized by cohesion through autonomy, normative regulation and closure; and *associative* families, characterized by cohesion through autonomy, communicational regulation and openness.

The diversity of conjugal and family interactions is not distributed randomly from the point of view of social groupings. For example, the educational and occupational resources of the couple, as measured by the female or the male partner's level of education, have a strong influence on conjugal interactions. The higher the educational levels, the more frequent the *associative type* of family interactions, to the detriment of parallel, bastion and cocoon types of conjugal functioning. Economic resources are another important shaping factor: high levels of income are associated with the

Associative type and low levels with the Bastion and Cocoon types. Women's professional activity is also strongly related to the Associative and Companionship types of interaction. Overall, these studies show that the conjugal types considered to be furthest away from 'conjugal modernity' and the values of moral individualism (bastion, parallel and, to some extent, cocoon types) are also those that tend to be shunned by couples with high economic and cultural resources.

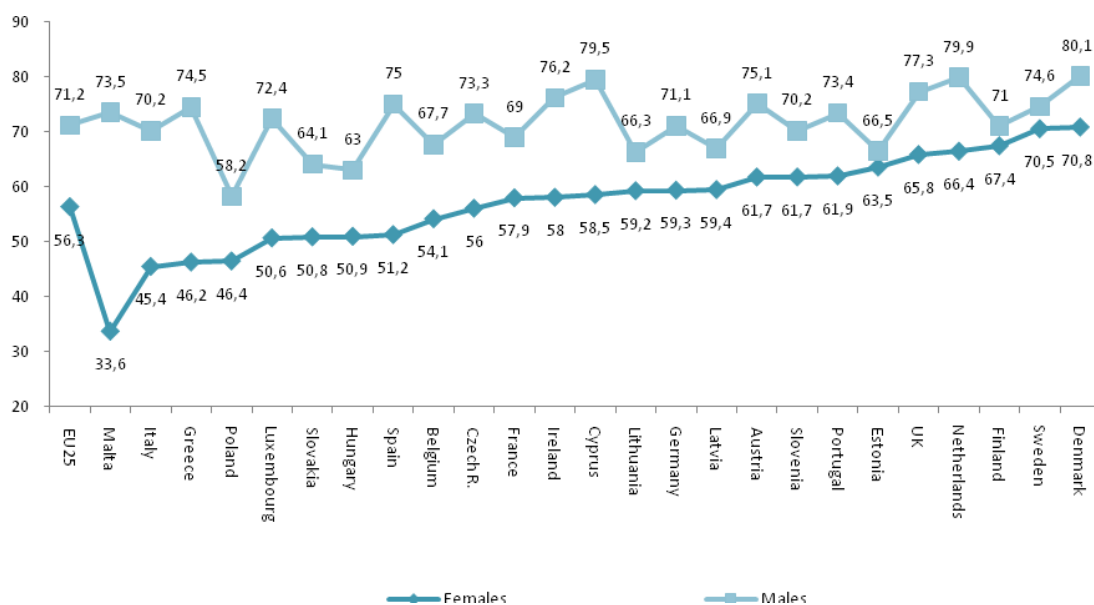
Nevertheless, across families and across societies, this impact of social structural factors would seem to be varied and complex: for example, linkages between social class and family interactions may be strong for some types of families (as mentioned above, modern autonomy-based, equality-oriented families are strongly connected to the highly qualified professional classes) but very weak for others (for example, modern companionship-type families are more transversal to social classes) (Kellerhals *et al*, 2004; Wall, 2005; Aboim, 2006). Work carried out by Aboim (2006) in Portugal shows that each type of family functioning is affected by specific variables, depending on its particular features, rather than by single statistical effects (such as the effect produced by educational capital). Drawing on regression analyses to measure the impact of structural as well as life course and cohort variables, findings on families in Portuguese society confirm that the predictive range of social context and class is stronger than that of life course and cohort variables, but they also reveal the comparatively higher social predictability of some types and the low predictability of others, thereby pointing to the relative autonomy of family interactions and organization.

Comparative datasets and research have not been developed on the basis of these approaches, concepts and methodologies, making it difficult to examine if the above-mentioned findings vary strongly across different European cultures and societies. For example, it would be important to examine whether the high social predictability of some types of family functioning are important in all European societies or if this varies strongly according to societal levels of economic inequality.

5.4 Family division of paid and unpaid work

The generalization of dual-earner couples is a characteristic of the modernization that can be observed in every EU country over the last few decades. In most EU countries over 50% of women are employed (Figure 31). In some Nordic societies (Denmark, Sweden) female employment is in excess of 70%. High percentages (over 60%) are also characteristic of Finland, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Estonia, Portugal, Slovenia, Austria and Latvia. Countries with lowest female activity rates (below 50%) include southern European countries such as Greece, Italy and Malta. Overall, 56% of European women, aged 15 to 64, are working.

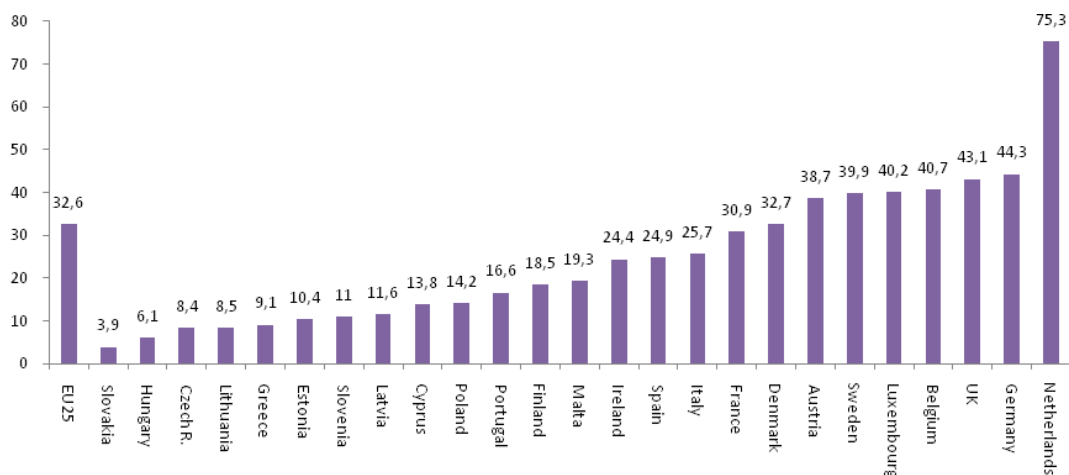
Figure 31 - Employment population aged 15-64 years old, 2005



Source: EuroStat

Regarding the main patterns of female work, there are considerable differences between European countries. The Netherlands stand out as a society where the overwhelming majority of women who work, do so in part-time. Central European countries (Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria), the United Kingdom and Sweden also have a high number of women working part-time (around 40%). Post-socialistic countries (and Greece) are the countries where part-time work among women is less frequent.

Figure 32 - Women in a part-time job (%), 2005



Source: Eurostat, 2008

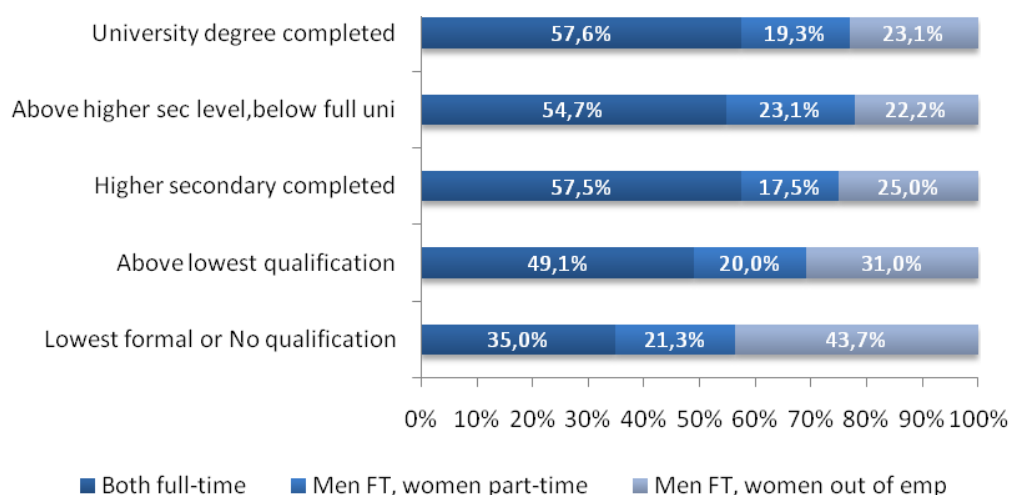
As a result of the rise in women's employment in the EU there has been a strong move away from the male breadwinner model and an increase in the one and a half earner and the dual earner (with both spouses working at full time). However, there are considerable variations between countries and regions (Table 17). Dual earner couples (aged 20-49) are more common in Finland, France, the ex-socialist countries and Portugal. In Spain and Greece there are similar proportions of dual earner couples and male breadwinner couples. The male breadwinner model is the predominant model in Malta and Italy and the one and a half earner model has high proportions in Austria, Luxembourg, United Kingdom, Belgium, and Germany where part-time work is significant. In the Netherlands the one and a half earner model is the predominant model.

Table 18 - Forms of division of professional work in couples aged 20 and 49, in which at least one partner is employed (% of couples)

	Both spouses work full-time	Only Male Works	Male full time / part-time women	Both spouses part-time or part-time man and woman full-time	Only Female works	Total
EU 25	45	29	19	2	5	100
Slovenia	77	13	2	1	7	100
Portugal	67	21	7	1	4	100
Slovakia	66	24	2	1	7	100
Czech R.	64	29	3	0	4	100
Finland	63	21	7	2	7	100
Estonia	62	25	4	2	7	100
Cyprus	62	27	8	1	2	100
Lithuania	60	16	10	4	10	100
Latvia	58	25	5	3	9	100
Hungary	56	33	2	1	8	100
Poland	49	29	8	2	12	100
France	52	25	16	2	5	100
Greece	47	44	5	2	2	100
Italy	38	45	13	2	2	100
Spain	44	43	9	1	3	100
Luxembourg	40	35	21		4	100
Malta	22	67	8	*	*	100
Austria	47	22	27	1	3	100
United Kingdom	44	21	30	2	3	100
Belgium	43	25	24	3	5	100
Germany	37	26	28	2	7	100
Netherlands	27	21	44	4	4	100

Source : Eurostat, European Labour Survey, 2003 Data not available for Denmark, Sweden, and Ireland.

To what extent do social inequalities influence these models of the division of paid labour in families? Cross-national data drawing on educational levels as a proxy for class status suggest that social determinants are an important shaping factor of the patterns of family division of labour. Drawing on ISSP data for EU countries, Figure 33 shows that in couples where men have very low educational levels almost half (44%) of all couples adopt the male breadwinner model and a fairly high proportion (21%) the one and a half earner model. As we move up the educational ladder, the male breadwinner model recedes and the dual earner model becomes the predominant pattern of the paid division of labour.

Figure 33 - Division of Paid Work by Educational Level

Source: EU Countries in ISSP Family and Gender 2002, ICS-UL

Single country research carried out on women's paid and unpaid work also underlines the continuing significance of class-differentiated patterns of behavior and attitudes. Research by Rake *et al.* (2000) shows that low and mid-skilled mothers are more likely to reduce their employment than mothers with higher skills, and that the cost of motherhood (in foregone earnings) is greater amongst these women. Work carried out by Crompton (2006a), using the 2001 British Household Panel Survey and ISSP data, has also demonstrated that differences in women's employment patterns are reflected in conjugal employment strategies, with a clear class gradient in couple's division of paid labour (Crompton, 2006b). Categorizing couple households by the occupational class of the main earner, findings show that in 52% of professional and managerial households, both adults work full-time, as compared to only 23% of joint full-time working amongst unskilled manual families. Similarly, in 26% of professional and managerial households, the man worked full-time and the woman worked part-time, as compared to 43% of unskilled manual couple families. The author concludes that, with the increase in women's employment, these class-differentiated patterns will serve to reproduce and deepen material inequalities between families.

Analysing the connections between behavior and attitudes to mother's employment, research findings from the UK show not only that mothers of young children in the lower occupational categories are less likely to be in employment, particularly in full-time employment, but also that their attitudes to gender roles and family life are rather more traditional than those of professional and managerial women (Crompton, 2006a). However, Crompton is cautious in relation to explanations which see the variations in women's employment behavior as reflecting different 'cultures of family' and goes on to suggest that 'culturalist' interpretations of women's employment behavior run a

serious risk of simply justifying the unequal *status quo* (Crompton and Scott, 2005; Crompton 2006b, pp. 669-674). Based on research examining the family values that impact on mother's employment decisions and on teenager's decisions relating to pregnancy and motherhood, the empirical evidence reviewed by Crompton provides little support for the 'individualisation' thesis (which argues that the enactment of particular preferences is random) and suggests instead that 'decisions are taken with reference to social and moral frameworks that are themselves shaped by the particularities of class and locality, as well as the opportunities that are seen to be available'.

Drawing on the evidence relating to class-differentiated economic and normative/cultural practices and identities, the approach put forward by the above-mentioned authors emphasizes the need to understand the processes of both material and cultural reproduction in order to capture the reproduction of social classes which takes place within the family. It recognizes that the processes of material and cultural reproduction are intertwined, but that they may, analytically, be treated as distinct (Crompton and Scott, 2005). However, in order to move beyond the present state of the art, the authors conclude that 'accurate descriptions of these processes and practices are required (...). Such descriptions may be circular, but this kind of evidence can identify causes, and questions that may be systematically investigated via further research, both quantitative and qualitative' (Crompton, 2006b, p. 671).

Considering the household level again, regardless of the influence of social determinants, it is obvious that the existing data on couple's employment arrangements reflect the rise of a dual-earner model, potentially more equalitarian with regard to gender roles in paid and unpaid work, which is partially eroding the male bread-winner model based on differentiated gender roles. However, it is important to emphasize that recent research suggests that this is a rather complex process. In particular, it is important to look simultaneously at paid and unpaid work in families and also to focus separately on the situation of couples with young children (see Table 18). This complexity is important for future analysis of the class-differentiated economic and normative factors that shape families' division of work.

Using data from the 2002 ISSP, some comparative research has examined the division of paid and unpaid labour between couples in different countries. The study by Aboim (2010) builds up models of the division of paid and unpaid labour on the basis of two indicators: the employment situation of both members of the couple and the total weekly hours of housework of each spouse (labelled as "equal hours" – up to 1 hour more for one of the partners; as "moderately unequal" 2-6 hours more for the woman; as "highly unequal" - over 6 hours more for the woman).

Findings reveal a sharp contrast between practices and attitudes (Table 18): the dual earner/ dual carer model is a minority model even in countries (Scandinavia, for example) where citizens are highly supportive of this normative pattern (Aboim, 2010,

pp.101). The dual earner/highly unequal pattern is prevalent (at around 50%) in post-socialist countries (such as Hungary and Slovakia). In Switzerland, West Germany and Spain the more traditional male earner/female carer model is the prevalent model. Overall, the presence of small children greatly increases the more gender-traditional arrangements, particularly in post-socialist countries, but also in other countries such as France, Great Britain and Sweden. The so-called “one and half earner” model appears well above average in Switzerland, Belgium (Flanders), Western Germany, Great Britain, and Sweden, mostly countries where part-time female employment is more frequent.

Table 19 - Patterns of the conjugal division of paid and unpaid labour in couples, by country

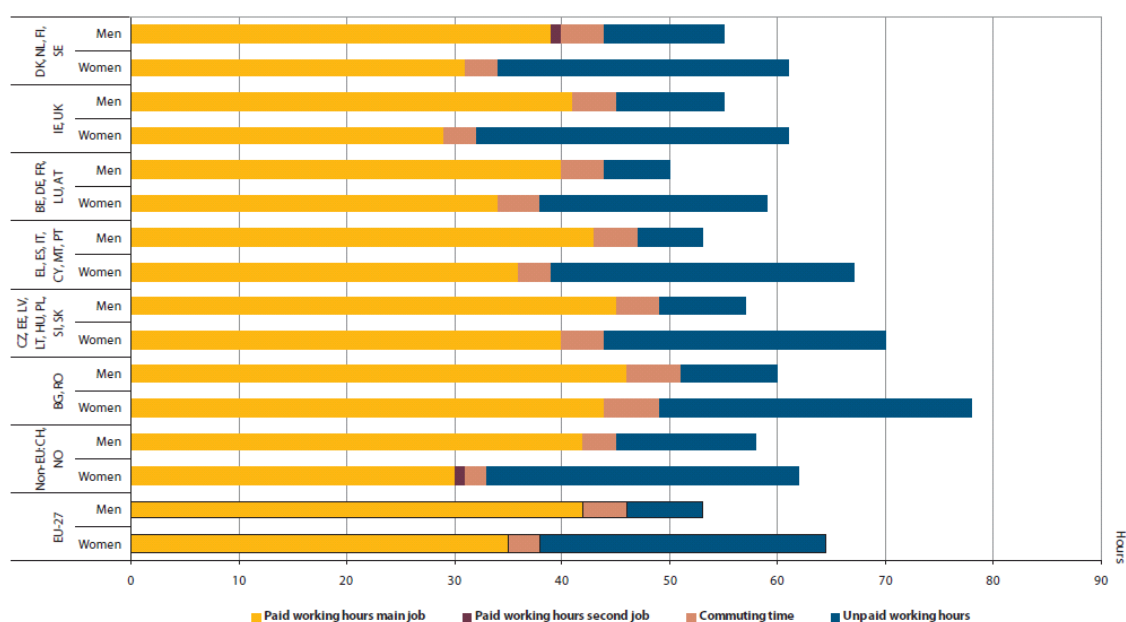
	All couples						Couples with at least one child < 6 years old					
	Dual earner / dual carer	Dual earner / unequal (moderately)	Dual earner / unequal (highly)	One and a half earners / female carer	Male earner / female carer	Total	Dual earner / dual carer	Dual earner / unequal (moderately)	Dual earner / unequal (highly)	One and a half earners / female carer	Male earner / female carer	Total
Sweden	18.4	19.2	16.1	37.6	8.7	100	25	12.5	0	37.5	25	100
Norway	20	28.6	26.5	23.1	1.8	100	32.5	35	22.5	5	5	100
Danmark	23.5	25.5	28.7	17.8	4.5	100	23.3	23.3	30.2	18.6	4.7	100
Finland	24.5	27.6	25.6	13.7	8.6	100	19.1	25.5	19.1	8.5	27.7	100
Western												
Germany	7.6	9.3	15.6	33.5	34	100	0	0	5	25	70	100
Eastern Germany	11.7	27.5	26.7	19.1	15	100	0	34.3	37.3	0	30.3	100
Great Britain	21.4	19.2	15.1	34.2	10.1	100	17.4	15.2	6.5	26.1	34.8	100
Switzerland	4.5	7.7	11.6	56	20.2	100	8	8	0	48	36	100
Belgium												
(Flanders)	13.6	13.9	21.5	37.5	13.5	100	16.7	21.4	31	26.2	4.8	100
France	19.7	22	20.1	30	8.2	100	31.4	25.7	14.3	15.7	12.9	100
Portugal	10.7	15.3	49.8	7.4	16.8	100	12.2	17.1	63.4	4.9	2.4	100
Spain	17	13	26.5	15.6	27.9	100	22.7	18.2	21.2	9.1	28.8	100
Latvia	22.6	17.5	32.4	13.7	13.8	100	15.1	17.1	31.4	16.1	20.1	100
Slovakia	11.5	20.5	48.2	7.4	12.4	100	9.7	19.4	19.4	6.5	45.2	100
Hungary	13.1	12.6	48.4	6.5	19.4	100	6.1	9.1	27.3	18.2	39.4	100
Poland	23.4	18.9	33.5	6.7	17.5	100	23.3	20	26.7	23.3	6.7	100
Total	17.5	19.2	27.1	22.8	13.4	100	19.9	19.3	21.6	17.0	22.2	100

Contingency coefficient – all couples: 0.42; $p < 0.000$; couples with at least one child < 6 years old

Source: Family and Gender Roles, ISSP 2002

The Eurostat Report on Reconciliation between work, private and family life (2009) also presents interesting findings on paid and unpaid work, even if it does not draw on a couple/family perspective (Figure 34). It uses data from the last European Working Conditions Survey⁴² to examine various topics related to work, the labour market, family responsibilities and gender roles. Of particular interest for this report are the results on paid and unpaid work. Globally, the total weekly time spent on paid and unpaid work amounted to 58 hours per individual, of which 39 were paid working hours, 4 were spent on commuting and the remaining 15 were unpaid. There are ample differences between countries, with total working hours reaching 70.5 hours in Romania and 52 hours in Germany. The researchers note that in countries where paid working hours are lower there is an increase in unpaid working hours⁴³. The EWCS shows that there is a substantial difference in terms of unpaid work between women and men.

Figure 34 - Composite indicator of working time, by country group and gender, 2005 (hours)



Note: The composite working hours indicator is made up of the weekly working hours, plus the average weekly working hours in jobs other than the main job, commuting time and the total weekly unpaid working hours, declared by male and female workers aged 15 or over.

Source: EWCS.

⁴² The last EWCS was held in 2005. Fieldwork was carried out in the EU-25 countries, plus Bulgaria, Croatia, Norway, Romania, Turkey and Switzerland. Respondents were generally aged 15 or more, some countries having different low age limits and some having an upper limit at 75.

⁴³ These are also countries, such as The Netherlands or the United Kingdom, where part-time jobs have a higher share.

Similar working time patterns were used to group the countries⁴⁴. Bulgarian and Romanian women have the heaviest workload, reaching 78 hours, as a result of long paid and unpaid working hours. Employed women in Belgium, Germany, France, Luxembourg and Austria spend on average 19 hours less per week (59 hours) on paid and unpaid work. The 19-hour difference results from lower average length of paid working time and is due to higher levels of part-time jobs in these countries.

Eurostat notes that when considering paid and unpaid work in combination, female part-time workers work slightly longer hours per week than men in full-time employment (56 hours against 54). Women working full-time also have a long working week, with more than 65 hours.

The EWCS also shows that the number of unpaid working hours is actually higher when women work part-time, suggesting that women working full-time concentrate their unpaid work into fewer hours. Another explanation for the discrepancy is that paid work ensures resources that allow some women, in particular highly qualified women in countries where domestic services are available, to outsource domestic tasks. A highly gendered division of unpaid work and family responsibilities thus persists and is observable in all age groups. Although men aged 25-54 years old tend to increase their unpaid working hours, women also work longer hours, and therefore a ratio of 1 to 3 may be observed in all age groups (Table 20).

Table 21 - Unpaid weekly Hours

Age group	Men	Women
24 years or younger	3.2	10.4
25-39 years	9.2	31.8
40-54 years	8.6	26.9
55 years or older	5.2	17.9

Note: Total weekly unpaid working hours (caring for children and adults and hours spent on housework), declared by male and female respondents aged 15 or over. Source: EWCS

Drawing on different data, taken from the ISSP Survey on Family and Gender Roles⁴⁵, Stier and Lewin-Epstein (2007) also point out that in all countries housework is mainly women's work, although there is considerable variation in the extent to which household chores are shared by couples, and in the time devoted by men and women to housework. The findings of Stier and Lewin-Epstein reveal that family-supportive policies, even if encouraging the participation of women in the labour market, have no direct effect on the household's division of labor, or on spouses' time allocation. However, greater gender equality in the labor market seems to be positively related to the rate of equality within the family: labour market provisions which are intended to

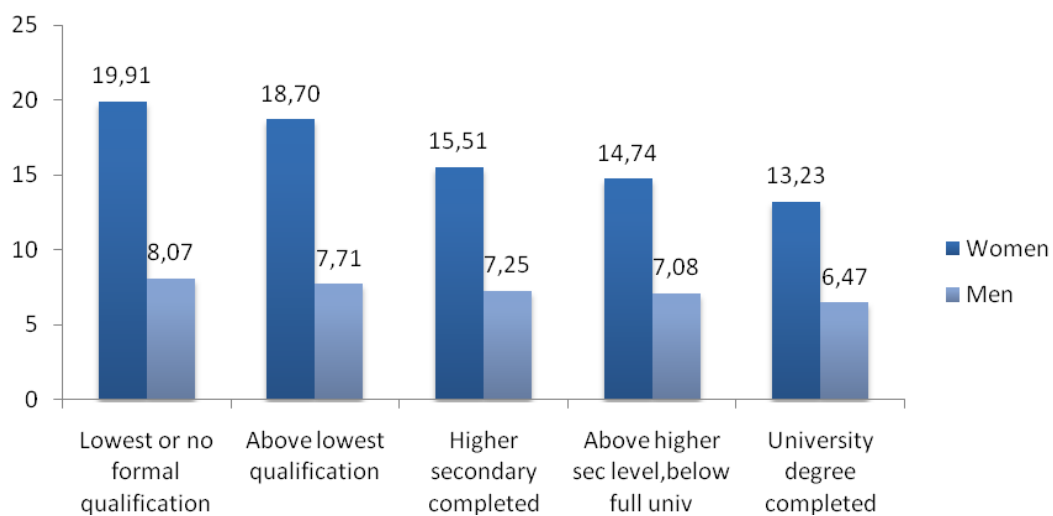
⁴⁴ Based on an adapted Esping-Andersen typology – Esping-Andersen, G. (1990), *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*, Cambridge, Polity Press

⁴⁵ Australia, Chile, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Israel, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakian Republic, Spain, Sweden, United States

increase gender equality in pay (such as equal opportunity legislation; wage regulations; affirmative action) tend to extend their effects onto families and the way family members organize their time and home-based activities.

Finally, regarding the impact of **social inequality on unpaid work in the family**, data from the ISSP Family and Gender Roles Survey suggest a significant influence of educational differentiation on women’s workload of unpaid work (Figure 35).

Figure 35 - Unpaid work (weekly working hours) in couples aged 18-65 living in Europe , by gender and education level



Source: EU Countries in ISSP Family and Gender 2002, ICS-UL

The higher the qualifications, the least amount of time women spend in unpaid work at home and the lower the gap between female and male involvement in paid work. Women with low educational levels spend roughly 20 hours in unpaid work, compared to 15 hours for women with secondary education and 13 hours for highly educated women. However, the number of hours also decreases among highly qualified males. These trends are observable in most countries, although with different intensities (see, for example, the comparison between the UK and Portugal on this issue, in Lyonette *et al.*, 2007).

In their analysis of this issue, Stier and Lewin-Epstein (2007) stress that more egalitarian gender ideologies are associated with lower overall levels of housework. Housework is less important to women’s identity in this type of normative context and equality is achieved through a reduction in time spent doing housework.

5.5 Work/family balance and stress, and the impact of social determinants

The issue of work-family conflict has been addressed from various perspectives. The appearance of this issue on the research agenda seems to derive from two main factors: first, a growing perception of the intensification of work, and the need to analyse its potential effects on family time; secondly, given the rise in female employment rates, a growing concern regarding the costs of women's double burden (or double 'shift') if female domestic work is not reduced (Gallie and Russel, 2009).

McGinnity and Calvert (2009) examined work-family conflict and social inequality in 8 EU countries (Denmark, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom) using the European Social Survey data. They concluded that there is a social gradient in conflict. Conflict is higher among professionals than non-professionals in all countries; even though there are differences in work pressure between countries (work pressure is higher in the UK and Ireland, lower in Spain, The Netherlands and Sweden). This is explained by the fact that professionals are required to work longer hours and are subjected to higher pressure at the workplace. Although the majority of professionals would prefer to reduce their working hours, this aim is difficult to achieve, due to implications for career or promotion prospects and fluctuations in workload. Working professional women feel the most pressure. However differences between classes are smaller or not significant in Sweden and The Netherlands, when the family situation is accounted for. The authors suggest that, in this case, lower pressure results from high support for the reconciliation of work and family.

On the work-family stress that young professionals face, Ammons (2008) found class and gender variations in work and family roles and work-family conflict. Those with lower educational attainments experience more years of family-to-work interference, especially if they had an experience of early family formation, coupled with poor working conditions, leading those with lower educational attainments to experience more years of family-to-work interference. In contrast, young adults with more education have more work-to-family interference, and this is especially true for college-educated women.

Analyzing the effects of increased work intensity, Gallie and Russel (2009) used data from the European Social Survey⁴⁶ and concluded that workers with lower skills experience less work/family conflict. This class effect is observable in all analyzed countries.

⁴⁶ The authors selected data from: three Nordic societies (Denmark, Sweden and Norway) – examples of coordinated market economies, dual breadwinner regimes and highly developed support for the reconciliation of work and family; the Netherlands – where the male breadwinner prevails; the United Kingdom, a liberal market economy with less support for family and work in the welfare regime; Germany and France, examples of corporate welfare regime, although with different levels of female employment.

The results also corroborate the findings of Lesnard (2008): those who, theoretically, have higher task discretion or autonomy at the workplace are the ones who experience more work/family conflict, contrary to common belief. This is an effect of the volume and scheduling of working hours but also of working conditions and work pressure (intensity and working “unsocial hours” i.e. overtime, weekends, etc.). Family composition seems to have a much smaller influence.

Overall, higher work/family conflict is found in the UK and is lower in Sweden. The authors point out that employment practices are the key factor reducing work-family conflict. Their results suggest that the differences between countries are more a result of cultural differences than of ‘production regimes’. For men, although work pressure in the analyzed Northern Societies is higher than expected, employment regimes seem to be more successful in moderating the effects of pressure, as they do not increase work/family conflict.

However, the level of work-family strain for women varies little, and such variations as do exist hardly fit any particular regime expectation. Higher levels of strain were found among French female employees, followed by the Danish and the Swedes. In these countries, women are more integrated in the workforce, meaning longer working hours and higher levels of job pressure. Pressure on French women maybe the result of high female labour market participation in a society which provides less public care support than Nordic societies and where there is less part-time work provision than in Britain and the Netherlands.

Laurent Lesnard (2008) has also been developing an interesting approach to time-management (of paid and unpaid work) within French couples; the results are undoubtedly relevant for all EU countries⁴⁷. The most frequent arrangement is still a combination of two-8 hour workdays (with both elements of the couple working in the “9 to 5” period) but off-scheduling has increased since the 1980s. Off-scheduling here refers to periods where there is desynchronization, i.e. one member of the couple is at work while the other is resting, or other combinations.

Off-scheduling is more commonly found among couples where partners do not have any control over their work schedules, even if they are rigid and maintain the 8-hour duration. These atypical work schedules that occur outside the “9 to 5” norm are more commonly found at the end of the social scale, amongst low-qualified unskilled workers. They are also reflected at the couple level as a consequence of social homogamy. At the top of the social scale, Lesnard suggests that managers and professionals have more control over their schedules and can adjust more frequently. But although qualified professionals are, in some situations, able to adjust their schedules, they more frequently work longer hours than in the 1980s. On this point Lesnard’s research

⁴⁷ Lesnard used French data for time-use surveys from 1985-86 and 1998-99.

identifies two trends: professionals more typically work 'long-hours' schedules (extending up to 10 or 12 hours); the average duration of 'long-hours' schedules' has increased by 31 minutes since the 1980s.

On the consequences of off-scheduling, Lesnard found that it is associated with less conjugal and parental time, especially when it takes place in the evening (the "prime-time" for family socialization). Lesnard also found that when parents are able to decide, the vast majority choose synchronized schedules; when work schedules are decided by employers, synchronization decreases significantly.

The rise of flexible employment arrangements and its implications for reconciliation of work and family were also analyzed by Scherer (2009). Flexible or fixed-term contracts exist throughout Europe with considerable variation (ranging from 7% in Switzerland to 24% in Spain). Women are more frequently hired for flexible hours, as those contracts are often associated with part-time positions. The results of Scherer's analysis show that the situation of temporary employees seems to be more problematical in relation to some indicators: job security, autonomy, working during "unsocial" hours or at night, time constraints.

5.6 Parenting, education and children's life-chances

Social inequality has been identified as the pathway by which childhood social disadvantage may lead to lower levels of educational attainment (Ferguson *et al.*, 2008). There are different perspectives on this issue:

- The materialist or neo-materialist perspective emphasizes the role of poverty and material resources as the primary route through which childhood social disadvantage is translated into educational under-achievement (Bradley and Corwyn, 2002; Ryan *et al.*, 2006).
- The family perspective stresses the importance of family processes (such as parental educational aspirations, differences in language use, etc.) and childhood socialization, which place children born in low socioeconomic status families at a disadvantage at school (Linver *et al.*, 1999; Walker *et al.*, 1994; Singly, 2006; Déchaux, 2007). Parents with higher levels of education are more competent at helping their children, even if this does not translate into more time spent with their children, or more hours helping them with homework, for example (Gouyon and Guérin, 2006)
- The cognitive ability perspective links the origins of socioeconomic differences in educational achievement with underlying socioeconomic differences in childhood intelligence. This perspective implies that social differences in educational achievement may result from underlying genetic differences in childhood intelligence between socioeconomic groups as a result of processes of assortative mating (Jensen 1996; Teasdale and Owen, 1986).

- The school perspective focuses on the role of educational institutions and socioeconomic factors which are linked with educational achievement. This approach sees disadvantaged children as being more often exposed to school contexts that do not encourage their educational performance.

From the point of view of the transmission of childhood social advantage and disadvantage via the family, existing research focuses on two main strands of transmission, material and cultural. First, income differences between families mean that not only do some children grow up in more affluent circumstances, but they will also inherit economic capital – that is, material advantage may be directly passed on (Crompton, 2006b). Regarding the cultural dimension, a review of the research shows that there are empirically established class differences in the way children are socialised, and the extent to which parents invest time and resources in children's acquisition of social, cognitive and educational skills (Kellerhals and Montandon, 1991; Laureau, 2003; Reay and Lucey, 2003; Déchaux, 2007; Singly, 2006).

Research by Annette Laureau (2003) is a good example of this type of work. Drawing on qualitative data from the USA, Laureau found differences in parenting styles that were related to class, with children's performance (both in and out of school) being strongly influenced by family circumstances. Laureau describes contrasting parenting styles in working class and middle class families. Middle class parents practice what is described as 'Concerted Cultivation', a socialization pattern in which parents participate in the organization of their child's after school activities and provide a structured life for their child. Parents are able to teach their children things that are not taught in school, enabling them to do achieve better results at school. Children are encouraged to think critically, and the structured organization of their activities also prepares them for white collar jobs and for the complexity inherent to this type of job. However, this parenting style may also be seen to have its drawbacks: children may become easily bored. In contrast, working class/poorer parent's childrearing practices are mostly centred on a socialization pattern described as "The Accomplishment of Natural Growth". This type of childrearing involves fewer organized activities and more free time for children to play with other children in the neighborhood. Parents have less resources (educational and available time) and are less involved in their child's after school activities. Laureau argues that this style of childrearing is not a choice, but a response to the constraints experienced by these parents. In summary, Laureau's findings would indicate that the childrearing style of the middle class perpetuates inequality, as children gain advantages through participation in extracurricular activities, engagement in critical thinking and problem solving. Parental involvement also helps to perpetuate inequalities from one generation to the next.

In this context, recent research carried out on intergenerational mobility in OECD countries also provides important findings (OECD, 2007). The report surveyed the extent to which key characteristics and life experiences of individuals differ from those of their parents. It shows that education is a major contributor to intergenerational income

mobility and that educational differences tend to persist across generations. In relation to childhood social disadvantage, the report argues that early and sustained investment in children can help, as a key role is played by early childhood education, care and health. On the other hand, economic transfers and in-kind services to parents also emerge as important, as they provide families with the resources to better rear and care for their children. The report concludes that, 'overall, a strategy based on a greater investment in children holds the promise of breaking the cycle of intergenerational disadvantages because of its effects in reducing child poverty and contributing to child development'. However, as other reviews argue, the issue of childhood social disadvantage cannot only be addressed in the context of poverty, since research findings underline the family, both economically and culturally, as the main transmission belt of disadvantage. For Esping-Andersen (2003), this implies addressing not only the question of poverty, but also the issue of the parental division of labour, in particular of maternal employment, and the related issue of childcare.

5.7 Family support networks and the importance of class and gender

Existing research shows that social networks occupy a crucial position in the social integration of individuals and families and in the social cohesion of communities. They are also an area of some diversity across and within families, communities and countries, and which can be reduced or enlarged by changes in the economy and in the welfare state. More generally, although some indicators seem to point to a weakening of family ties and solidarities, others clearly indicate a resilience of family networks and solidarity both in traditional and changing family forms and dynamics. Contrary to common opinion, inter-generational obligations continue to be at the core of what are perceived as family obligations, clearly implying obligations that go beyond the couple (either married or cohabiting) and the nuclear family. For example, a recent study carried out by the European Foundation on Living and Working Conditions shows that the majority of Europeans (EU 25) are willing to take care of their frail elderly relatives (Alber and Kohler, 2004).

Extended family or kinship relations and networks have thus shown themselves to be a persistent feature of European families (for a review of the nine national surveys carried out on family support in different European countries and their main findings on this issue, see Bonvalet and Ogg, 2006; Widmer and Jallinoja, 2008). Family and kin are an important resource in case of need, with the large majority of Europeans feeling that they can rely on their families beyond the household boundaries when they are ill, lack money or need moral support (Coenen-Huther *et al.*, 1994; Attias-Donfut, 1995, 1996, 1997; Bawin-Legros, 1995; Wall *et al.*, 2001). The importance of family support may be seen to be changing not as a result of a weakening of family ties, but due to the existence of alternative options which alleviate (and supplement) the exclusive dependency on kin as well as the vulnerability of those who do not have kin to rely on; another important change emphasized by recent research is that family obligations to

care and support have become more negotiable than in the past. Moreover, social support networks have shown themselves to be important not only in terms of the different types of support and aid which they provide, but also in terms of family cultures and identities (Kellerhals *et al.*, 2002; Attias-Donfut *et al.*, 2002).

Research carried out in different European countries has also underlined the fact that extended family solidarity and **support networks are strongly shaped by social inequalities at large, namely by class status and gender, and that they are an important mechanism of the transmission of social advantage and disadvantage.** From this point of view, several studies carried out in different European countries have demonstrated that family-related social capital is considerably stronger in higher class positions and that affluent families are more likely to transfer resources (Pitrou, 1978; Kellerhals *et al.*, 1995; Wall *et al.*, 2001). In fact, people with fewer social and economic resources are often those who have scarce family network resources. Moreover, according to Eurobarometer data, the feeling of being left out of one's own family is greater amongst the low-income groups and increases in cases of unemployment and multiple deprivation. Research on informal support networks also shows that, apart from a few forms of male support (namely in terms of assets and property), most support is given by women and via female care work (Attias-Donfut, 1996; Bourdieu, 1997; Kellerhals *et al.*, 2000; Vasconcelos, 2002, 2005). In summary, recent research on social inequality and family support has shown not only that family solidarity is strongly influenced by class inequalities, but also that the family is the location where family-related differential resources are intergenerationally transmitted and reproduced. Given the important gender differences which shape family support, research also systematically underlines the fact that extended kinship relations enhance the gender order (Connel, 1996), reaffirming existing gender inequalities in conjugal relationships and divisions of labour.

5.8 Concluding remarks: main gaps in existing research and challenges for research and policy

Analysis of social inequalities and class structures in European societies has not been high on the research agenda over the past decade. Research on income levels and social exclusion and poverty is important but it provides for a very specific outlook, more focused on the notion of “poor people” and “poor families” rather than the idea of inequality between social categories, how it impacts on family life and how it is reproduced within the family.

As a result of the above-mentioned trend (as well as a strong focus, within family studies, on the internal dynamics of the family), there is a basic need for more research connecting social inequalities and families. This applies to the national level but is even more significant at cross-national level. Recent research has highlighted some important linkages between social inequalities and family life, but mostly at a national level. In contrast, whether we look at family interactions, types of households, family and conjugal trajectories, parent-child relationships, intergenerational relations or family networks, there are few comparative European datasets and even those rarely focus on the relationships between social inequalities and family life. This implies multiple challenges for research.

- First, given the major role of the family in the reproduction and transmission of social inequality, it is essential to have more information on social inequalities and social mobility more generally, how they are evolving in European societies and the best measures to be used in order to capture and describe social inequalities today (income, education, occupational status, social mobility life chances, etc.). Both cross-national comparisons and class comparative work in single countries are needed.
- Second, there is very little research comparing types of family interactions and functioning and how they relate to social and economic inequalities across the different EU countries. Comparative research has emerged recently and has focused strongly on the division of paid and unpaid work and attitudes to family and gender roles; in this sense, family studies have taken advantage of the importance of some of these indicators for the measurement of gender inequalities, but can be seen to have had some difficulty in building up a research agenda of their own. It is therefore crucial for family research to think about and build up useful measures and indicators for cross-national research.
- A third gap in the research agenda is related to the lack of work on the inequality ‘strategies’ and ‘processes’ whereby families reproduce as well as deepen social advantage; in this context, given the overriding importance of educational attainment, it would be important to focus more in-depth on the nexus between families’ inequality strategies and their relation to the educational context and system (including childcare and pre-schooling), in the different EU countries.

- Review of research on this topic points to the need to take into account the complexity and non-linearity of the connections between social determinants and family life, strongly encouraging future research to take up this challenge. On the one hand, it is essential to recognize that family life is patterned by social structure/class, whether manifested through differing qualifications, income, or social networks; on the other hand, the factors that influence family behaviour or relationships are complex, with structural variables also interacting in varied ways with other factors, such as cultural, interactional or life course variables:
- A final challenge for future research is the need to help family policies to improve their understanding of the implications of social inequalities for policy-making. If the structure of occupational and educational-derived class inequalities remains unchanged, then economic support and cash benefits for families is not likely to change the shape of social inequalities between families. Other policies might, on the other hand, be important to address family-related class inequalities and to change the contours of inequalities between families. Research on the impact of current family policies on gender and social inequalities across and within families, including the use and take-up of entitlements and benefits by families from different social groupings, would also help to improve evidence-based policy-making.

Summary and Conclusions

A review of existing research on Social Inequalities and Families reveals major findings and trends as well as some major gaps in recent research.

Before summarizing our main conclusions, it is important to situate this review in the context of European values and research regarding social inequality.

1. *Social Inequality and European Societies*

One central characteristic of EU countries is the value given to social equality and solidarity. In spite of growing doubts created by ethnicity, changes in class consciousness and a stronger belief in the values of freedom and self-determination, public opinion in the EU considers that social equality is a major value and that it is not automatically obtained through market forces: it is part of the government's responsibility and is considered as a marker of the European social model. Social inequalities and how they are developing thus play a major role, politically and socially, not only in EU member States' thinking and policy agenda but also in the feelings of justice and well-being of EU citizens and families.

From the point of view of European research, on the other hand, we can say that analysis of social structure, with its inherent consideration of economic, social, cultural and educational inequalities, goes back to the founding fathers of sociological theory and thought, largely stimulated by the ways in which capitalist societies were generating differentiated groupings and new forms of social advantage and disadvantage. Over the last century, theoretical and empirical approaches to social inequalities were revised and renewed, leading to the recognition of plurality and difference between scientific approaches to this issue. Nevertheless, materialist and structuralist accounts of contemporary societies, which clearly dominated a substantial part of research for several decades, in particular during the 1960s and 70s, were to a large extent gradually set aside.

Without going in depth into developments in social theory and research over the last three decades, it is important nevertheless, especially if we want to understand the factors shaping current research on social inequalities and families, to take the following trend into consideration: given the need to go beyond materialist and determinist views and explanations of societal change, the predominant analytical frameworks for late modern societies have found it more fruitful to consider social classes and social inequalities as no longer (or less) useful and to focus, instead, on paradigms highlighting the concepts of agency, individualization, choice and biographical diversity. On the other hand, the gradual erosion of the divisions which had long split society into three fairly homogeneous and antagonistic classes – the middle class, the working class and the peasantry – and the move toward a looser social fabric, with the majority of Europeans concurring in their tendency to increase the relative share of the same consumer goods, has also encouraged research to pinpoint preferences, attitudes and choices rather than social constraints and determination.

In the framework of these broader developments in research, the following main trends should be taken into account when looking forward to a future research agenda on social inequality and diversity of families:

- Although new approaches and debates on class and social inequalities have continued to exist, mainstream research on contemporary European societies over the last three decades has not, focused strongly on these issues; as a result, cross-national comparative research on social inequalities is practically non-existent.
- The fact that the classic tripartite social structure has given way to a looser set-up does not mean that the social fabric of European societies is becoming increasingly uniform or that inequality, based on existing research using indicators of income inequality, is decreasing (see Chapter 1). The analysis of this evolving social fabric with comparative datasets is therefore crucial. Although research acknowledges the emergence of a new complex social structure (where a fairly high number of socio-professional groupings gravitate around a 'central constellation' of managers, executives and highly qualified professionals), concern and analysis has tended to focus on high-risk and excluded social groups, such as immigrants, the unemployed, the poor, rather than on a broader perspective of social inequality and its reproduction (in which the family plays a crucial role). The focus on social exclusion and poverty tends to be accounted for on the basis of two seemingly conflicting trends affecting 'post-modern' societies: on the one hand, the gradual uniformization of life-styles (beyond the pluralization and idiosyncrasies which individualization tends to generate) and, on the other hand, the emergence of a "dual" society, characterized by a professionally mobile and qualified "superclass" (surrounded by a fairly homogeneous collection of intermediate socio-professional groupings) and a poorly integrated "underclass" with a disproportionate number of immigrants, unemployed and unskilled people.
- Owing to the above-mentioned trends, the three main topics suggested for review within this existential field also focus strongly on what we may consider to be socially excluded, 'underclass' types of families – immigrant families, poor families, violent families - to the detriment of a broader approach centred on the social determinants of family life and the reproduction of social inequality within families, two topics which are crucial for understanding the connections between social inequality and families. To compensate for this focus, we have reviewed some of the research on these issues.
- In summary, one of the first conclusions of this review is that, in the face of the above-mentioned trends regarding European values and research, it would be important to renew and strengthen research: first, on social inequalities and social classes within and across European societies; secondly, on the interconnections between the latter and family life.

We will now summarize the conclusions from this review by distinguishing our findings according to the four main topics: immigrant families, families and poverty, family violence, social inequalities and families.

2. Families and Migration (Chapter 2)

Migration is currently an area of vast scientific research, public debate and policy intervention in Europe. The reasons for the centrality of this theme are numerous. On the one hand, migratory movements, which were always part of European history, have become increasingly visible in all European countries. Taken in the sense of international migration, they were never as large as they are today. On the other hand, they defy some of the entrenched principles in which cultures and identity lie. The settlement of populations with different national backgrounds, cultures, religions and values goes against the notion of ethnic homogeneity on which European identities are (mistakenly) based. The themes of international migration and social change do not come across very often in social research. However, it may be argued that international flows are nowadays one of the biggest sources of social change in Europe.

2.1 Main findings and major trends

Migration flows in Europe

- Despite methodological problems, recent statistical data confirm the importance and widespread character of immigration in Europe.
- Data on the proportion of foreign-born and foreign population confirm that the human landscape of European countries today, in terms of migration, is not fundamentally different from the “traditional immigration countries” of America and Oceania. When observing the rate of growth in recent years, both the share of foreign-born and foreigners are on the rise in most European countries. The rate of growth has been higher in some of the more recent European hosts, such as the Southern European countries and Ireland.
- The legal channels which prospective immigrants seek are diverse, but family-related immigration represents a long-lasting channel for entry into the EU. In 2006, family-related migration, including family reunification and marriage migration (entries of fiancés or recently married spouses of citizens or legal foreign residents) accounted for the majority of inflows, approaching 44 per cent of the total. It was followed by individuals entering in the framework of free movement provisions, particularly in the case of the EU, labour migration and humanitarian grounds (including refugees).

- Data on economic participation of immigrants reveal the contribution of immigrants to national economies, as well as some of the main reasons for related social inequalities. Findings point to: the relatively high labour participation rates of foreign-born populations; the fact that it is the less skilled that display highest participation rates (a situation related to frequent deskilling, i.e., the fact that they often perform tasks below their educational level); their frequent integration into some of the less advantaged economic sectors, such as manufacturing, construction and personal services; their higher share in flexible and precarious labour arrangements, such as temporary employment; and their much higher vulnerability to unemployment.

Policies: admission, control, integration and citizenship

- Most of the immigration issues dealt with by policymakers are related to admission procedures and control mechanisms. The objective is to know who may be legally admitted in a country, and under what conditions, and the ways of preventing unwanted immigration. During the period of economic growth between the mid-1940s and mid-1970s, there were three main categories of countries: the “classical” immigration countries, such as North America and Australia, in which permanent settlement and family reunion were promoted; European countries such as the UK, France and Netherlands, where immigrants from former colonies were granted favourable conditions of entry and easy access to citizenship; and European countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland, tied to the classical “guestworker” model. After the mid-1970s this distinction became blurred. The European countries converged in many respects but they may also be seen to be hesitating between the ‘classical’ immigration model and the ‘guestworker’ model.
- Since the 1990s the trend among European countries, in particular in the EU, has been towards restrictive policies and a focus on control. Both old and new European immigration countries have introduced stricter border controls, new visa requirements, penalties for airlines which fail to control the documentation of their passengers, public and workplace inspections, and improved means for detecting falsified documents.
- The review highlights several trends and dilemmas regarding policies and policy debate. It points to a more restrictive stance in relation to immigration alongside an opening up to new EU immigrants. It also emphasizes more obstacles to family reunion and a growing inequality between migrant European citizens and foreign immigrants (a stratified migrant system). In the field of family migration policies, another important trend noted in the review points to the fact that attitudes to family reunion have been changing and becoming more negative; arguments for restricting family reunion underline the need to avoid pressure on the welfare state and the idea that family reunion may hamper, rather than promote, integration, due to its connections to patriarchal relationships and traditional gender divisions and customs.

- Irregular migration and related issues, particularly the organized networks fuelling it, i.e., smuggling and trafficking networks, have been another area of concern, both for policymakers and researchers, since the 1990s. The volume of irregular migration is in direct relationship to the degree of restrictiveness. Since European immigration policy became restrictive, after the mid-1970s, and mainly during the era of “Fortress Europe”, after the early 1990s, irregular migration became endemic in European societies – although in some countries in higher numbers than in others. Reasons for this were the continued supply and demand for immigrants, the importance of the informal economy, and the informal and organized networks bringing in immigrants.
- Until recently, integration was not a major issue in European immigration policy. The reason was that immigrants were seen as temporary workers, and their permanent settlement was not officially addressed. However, in time, it became evident that many guest workers remained and that support policies should be enacted. It also became clear that integration policy should be about more than episodic support, and had to be linked to a self-image of the state. This means that the focus of integration policies has also been directed to issues of social cohesion, plunging deeply into the political debate.
- At the national level, several countries have been changing their integration models, including access to nationality. The overall pattern of these changes has been neither clear nor straightforward. In some recent cases, this has meant a drive towards a “neo-assimilationist” model, meaning by this a higher claim for identification of would-be immigrants with national norms and language, whilst in other cases the option for a multicultural model seems to have prevailed. Regardless of the different integration models, in many cases long-term immigrants have acquired, in the EU societies, a status of quasi-citizenship – or denizenship -, whereby a multitude of rights was acquired, except the political ones resulting from nationality. In all cases different types of immigrants acquired different citizenship rights. In this respect, at the EU level several changes occurred, including the granting of the EU citizenship in 1992 and the concession of rights to third country nationals. The latter has included the definition of a status of residential or civic citizenship for long-term residents, the object of a recent directive.
- Finally, it must be noted that the fields of admission and control, on the one hand, and integration policy, on the other, are typically separated domains of intervention and reflection. At the most, the two domains are linked by the frequent political assertion that restrictive admission is a pre-condition for successful integration. In recent years, the linkage has become stronger, and the situation was in some cases reversed. Currently, some EU countries require that the would-be immigrants attend integration courses or pass a language test. This means that, for the first time, admission is conditional on integration.

Families: demography, family migration, gender and age

- The demographic impact of immigration in Europe has been the object of an increasing amount of research. Review of existing research shows that the inputs resulting from (usually) young adult immigrants and their offspring have allowed for total population increase, slowed down the pace of ageing and smoothed some of its consequences. On the other hand, the impossibility of replacement migration, in the sense of offsetting the consequences of European low fertility, has been repeatedly stated. However, simulations of net migration rates over the coming decades have suggested that significant immigration volumes would help to sustain the current quantitative levels of the workforce and the current potential support ratios in most EU countries.
- Family migration is an area of recent research. During the traditional period of guestworker migration, immigration was not supposed to lead to settlement, nor were immigrant families a challenging issue. Family reunification that took place at the time usually followed the male breadwinner model, thus pointing to a monotone type of immigrant family. Particularly from the 1990s onwards, the increasing diversity of families and migration patterns led to a growing interest in this topic. On the one hand, family patterns changed substantially in Europe; on the other, migration itself changed, bringing with it implications for the family. Increasing diversity in gender roles, migration strategies and integration outcomes, including independent female migration, is leading to many studies on the topic. Another topic which is high on the research agenda is transnational care and transnational families.
- Findings point to new and varied forms of family migration – and of immigrant families. Classic family reunion, in which the male breadwinner comes first, represented the majority of inflows in the past; new types of family migration and reunion are emerging: joint conjugal migration, family formation (or marriage) migration, whole family migration, ‘women first’ migration (as heads of households and initiators of family reunification). However, it is not easy to draw up a typology and cross-national comparison. Changing migration patterns contribute to this difficulty, as well as the shortcomings of statistical databases. Despite these problems, some general classifications are emerging, such as the distinction between family reunification, family formation (or marriage migration) and whole family migration.
- Research points to the following main predictors of difficulties for non-EU immigrant families: worse paid and less interesting jobs, higher risk of exposure to poverty and unemployment; weak family networks; major problems in reconciling work and family life; difficulties in reuniting the family; increasing feminization; problems of integration for the second generation.

Integration: work, space, identity and second generations

- The patterns of immigrants' incorporation in the labour market of developed host countries are well known. A large part of the explanation lies in the segmented, or dual, labour market theory: the largest proportion of immigrants is driven by the job opportunities offered in the secondary labour market, i.e., the worse paid and less interesting jobs, dismissed by native workers on economic and social grounds. If this was true during the period of significant economic expansion that lasted until the 1970s, it resumed in a different context in the late 20th century, when deregulation and globalisation became dominant. The spread of flexible and precarious forms of employment – including temporary jobs, non-voluntary part-time, atypical time-schedules (such as night shifts), etc. –, as well as labour arrangements in the informal economy, have widely affected the immigrant workforce.
- The majority of recent immigration to the EU is directed to large cities. This results from the role performed by these cities in the global economy, the available job opportunities and the role of social networks. The urban context is a magnet for international flows and is also modified by it. At the urban level, the spatial distribution of immigrants is both an outcome and a cause of their broader social differentiation. Residential segregation occurs when there is deviation from a uniform spatial distribution. The degree of segregation of immigrants is higher insofar as an increase in this deviation occurs.
- The degree of spatial segregation of immigrants is variable across the EU. There are multiple causes for this variation, including immigrants' income levels, discrimination in the housing market, public housing policies and degree of ethnic closure. It seems clear that national and local specificities are a key variable in this respect.
- Culture is a complex and dynamic aspect of immigrants' lives. In general terms, much of the debate evolves around the concepts of assimilation and multiculturalism. The notion of assimilation derives from the traditional North-American experience. It supposes that the immigrants adapt gradually to the host society, by accepting a homogeneous culture practised by the majority. Alternatively, the notion of multiculturalism, mostly developed in the European context (and also Canada), implies that cultural differences between ethnic groups are assumed as long-lasting. Both concepts are linked to different models of citizenship and nationhood.
- When multiculturalism was developed in Europe, after the 1980s, it represented a turn away from classical assimilationist approaches. Both researchers and policy makers then agreed that the latter were impracticable and that the acceptance of cultural diversity was required. After a period where multiculturalism prevailed, a return to assimilationism took place in the new century. Some EU countries are currently

replacing multiculturalism with assimilation, although under the new designation of “integration programmes”.

- Some research lines prefer to move from broad discussion of cultural diversity to a more specific analysis of its concrete manifestations, such as religious and linguistic diversity. The latter are crucial areas for the observation of cultural belonging, since they not only concern the public sphere but also the private lives of immigrants, including families and households. Although religious issues are far more controversial, EU states have shown a higher degree of acceptance of religious than linguistic diversity. This results from modern states’ need to build a common language, whilst the separation of state and church often occurs in liberal nation-states.
- Studies on the second generation are crucial for an understanding of immigrants’ integration. In general, they have shown that, in educational terms, immigrants’ children perform worse than children with no immigrant background, although better than foreign-born children. When observing their early performance in the labour market, they confirm their lower employment rates, vulnerability to unemployment and access to jobs with the lowest skills, when compared with native youngsters, although again showing better indicators than foreign-born youngsters.
- When viewed in detail, the situation of second generations in Europe is however more complex. Much of the recent research has highlighted many differences among EU countries and among immigrant groups. On the one hand, national contexts explain a large part of the variability in integration patterns. This often has less to do with immigrant-oriented policies than with national educational and labour market arrangements, such as type of schooling (vocational or non vocational) and access to higher education. On the other hand, immigrant communities display heterogeneity and polarization (even when coming from the same sending country), between and within EU countries. This means that it is possible to observe a fraction of second-generation youngsters performing well in some EU countries, while risking becoming an underclass in others. The notion of “unchaining of generations” (Attias-Donfut and Wolff, 2009) was recently put forward to explain why, in certain cases, the integration of immigrants’ descendants is a success.

2.2 Main gaps in existing research on families and immigration and challenges for research

Despite the abundant literature on migration issues developed over the last decades in Europe, the gaps existing in current research are still many. In the following paragraphs, only a brief summary of some research gaps will be made, mainly referring to family and integration issues.

- First and foremost there is a need for more complete and comparative data. The review found that data on immigration in the EU is currently limited. Concepts and sources vary, and several areas are badly captured. Beyond the description of some major variables, an in-depth comparative study of immigrants' characteristics, families and the second generation is barely possible under the current datasets. Longitudinal studies, which enable us to understand the mobility experience, are also generally not available.
- At the policy level, some of the areas deserving better scrutiny are the impact of family reunification on immigrants' strategies (settlement, integration and participation); the impact of specific legislation on family life (spouse's access to employment, the right to social housing, the right to public education and health services); the consequences of recent policy restrictions for family reunification and formation; and the use of irregular channels by family members for immigration and integration. In other words, the role of family reunification and family formation channels, of family support measures and of the family itself as a mechanism for integration is still understudied (Spencer and Cooper 2007). The mechanisms providing full citizenship, as well as their outcomes, could also be more thoroughly studied. A deeper analysis is still to be done on the reasons why naturalization and dual citizenship are used (or not) by immigrants and their offspring; their outcomes on individuals' lives and prospects, both in the destination and the sending countries; and the effects of (limited) political participation on immigrants' integration.
- At the family level, much more research is needed on immigrant families and changes resulting from migration. Some of themes which deserve further attention are related to family strategies: these include the role of families in migration decisions; the constraints placed on collective strategies by the economic and policy framework; and the role of the family in promoting the overall integration of its members (including descendants). Other themes deserving study are related to family structures: this is mainly the case of transnational families, marriage migration and mixed marriages. The latter could be studied from the perspective of its national and cultural combinations; its impact on relationships, children and host country attitudes; and the difference between contacts started in the host country and in a foreign context (for example, EU citizens travelling, studying and working abroad). Finally, changes within the family resulting from immigration (for example, conflicts about women's roles) could also be further analysed. In general, it may be argued that family migration was much less studied than other related issues, such as gender.
- With regard to gender, the most needed work seems to be on immigrant men. Eventual changes in masculinity may affect both immigrants and non-migrant populations in the host country.

- Also deserving attention is the impact of transnational family arrangements on women (and men)'s lives. The enactment of transnational support may be gendered, affecting family members differentially. With regard to age-related migration, more study is needed on student migration and retirement migration, including, in the latter case, the existence of multiple residences.
- At the level of integration, a vast area of research remains to be done. With regard to the labour market, more studies are needed on immigrants' professional mobility; linkages between work and integration (in the sense of inclusion or structural exclusion); employers' recruitment strategies; role of social networks in providing employment and mobility; entrepreneurship; and (mostly in the current recession) strategies to overcome unemployment. With regard to cities and residential segregation, topics to be explored are the subjective experiences of immigrants (and second generations) at the local level; strategies of landlords to take advantage of immigrants' housing needs and policy regulations; immigrants' strategies in the housing domain, including residential mobility; the relationship between residential segregation and integration; spatial access to education resources and health care systems; and spatial mobility of the second generation. With regard to culture and identity, themes calling for further exploration include the impact of immigrants on the host society's culture; the evolution of cultural difference and multiculturalism; the possible combination of cultural (including religious and linguistic) differences and overall integration (differences may not conceal integration in an already highly complex and differentiated host society); the role of religions other than Islam in influencing the integration process; the conflict between religion and secularism; the reasons and outcomes of the immigrants (and second generation)'s attachment to their original language; the role of immigrants (and second generation)'s cultural productions as forms of political expression; and ongoing discrimination on cultural and ethnic grounds.
- Finally, with regard to the second generation, research is needed on its performance in the education system; mobility within the labour market; and the impact of irregular immigrants' conditions over their children's life chances.

In sum, migration research is an area with a rich past and a promising future in the EU. Since immigration became part and parcel of European societies, immigrants and their offspring have become a structural aspect of European populations. Moreover, much recent social change is the result of migration – and the future study of immigration and its outcomes will rightly be equated with the study of Europe itself. The variety in policy issues, family life and integration patterns will be partly a heritage of a former Europe, in which international migration was not an issue, and partly the result of years of unprecedented inflows.

3. Families and Poverty (Chapter 3)

3.1 Main findings and major trends

- Around 17% of the Europeans were at risk of poverty in 2007. Using the same threshold and looking at EU25, the average at-risk-of-poverty rate may be seen to have remained more or less stable over the last ten years. However, variations across the EU are considerable, with at-risk-of-poverty rates increasing in Germany (to 15%) and in EU Scandinavian countries (to 12-14%), decreasing in France (to 13%) and remaining stable in the UK and most Southern European countries (between 18 and 20%).
- There are considerable differences in the at-risk-of poverty rates of people according to gender, activity status, education, age, household events and type of household. Research has shown that poverty and deprivation disproportionately affect women. Women are generally more exposed to poverty, compared with men: the at-risk-of poverty rate is respectively 18% and 16%.
- The unemployed are a particularly vulnerable group (43% of unemployed persons were at risk of poverty in the EU-27), as well as those with low educational levels: those leaving education with a lower secondary education grade or less were over three times more likely to be at risk-of-poverty than persons with a tertiary education (23% were at risk of poverty).
- In most EU countries children are at greater risk of poverty than the rest of the population. One in every five children (20%) across the EU-27 was at risk of poverty. Half of the poor children live in the two types of households that are at a high risk of poverty: 23% live in lone-parent households (against 13% for all children together) and 27% in large families (against 21% for all children together). One in every five (20%) young adults aged between 16 and 24 was also at-risk-of-poverty within the EU-27. However, research on youth poverty is still poorly developed. An even higher proportion (22%) of at-risk-of-poverty is recorded among elderly people, elderly women in particular (22% compared with 17% among elderly men).
- The following types of households are at greater risk of poverty: single person households, lone parent households with dependent children and households comprising two adults with three or more dependent children (the so-called large family households). Poverty among one-person households may be several times higher than among two-adult households. There is, on the other hand, wide consensus concerning the fact that lone parent households, which in most cases are headed by a woman, are the type of household most vulnerable to poverty. Lone-parent (lone-mother) families are in fact affected by much higher risks of economic poverty than other households with children. Large families are also among the groups more prone to poverty: the risk of poverty rises significantly with the number of dependent children in the household.

- EU Research on exposure to the risk of poverty does not analyse migrant groups. Migration studies which focus specifically on poverty in migrant groups reveal that immigrants from outside the EU are at a very high risk of economic poverty, well above the EU average of 17% (45% or over in some European countries).
- The impact of social benefits, as measured by those persons who were removed from being at-risk-of-poverty by social transfers, varies considerably across Europe. It was lowest in Bulgaria and a number of the Mediterranean Member States (Greece, Spain, Italy and Cyprus). In contrast, more than half of those persons who were at-risk-of-poverty in Hungary, Sweden, Finland, Ireland and Denmark were removed as a result of social transfers.
- Research on poverty dynamics, although crucial to an understanding of the processes shaping entering and exiting from poverty, is recent and became possible with the dissemination of panel data. Research results show that different factors impact differently on men and women's entry or exit from poverty. While employment-related changes are important for men in particular (but also for women), demographic events are only important for women. For women, divorce is the event that has the strongest effect on the probability of becoming poor. For men, on the other hand, the most important individual event associated with becoming poor is unemployment. As for female poverty exit, a marriage almost doubles the risk of poverty exit, while a divorce more than halves the risk of women's poverty exit. For men's poverty exit, finding a job increases the odds of poverty exit by 350%; whereas losing a job seems to decrease the odds of poverty exit by 17%.
- Research focusing on poverty dynamics often links this analysis to a discussion about the role of welfare regimes. In the conservative and the southern type of regimes there are fewer poverty dynamics (i.e. less entries and exits, mainly due to the fact that living in poverty is more longstanding in some countries). Welfare regimes, on the other hand, strongly influence long-run poverty, with social democratic countries reducing the level of persistent and recurrent poverty. Liberal and Southern European regime countries have both higher rates and longer durations of poverty. Despite their dissimilar patterns of poverty duration, European welfare states display rather similar patterns of exit from poverty, once we control for duration.

3.2 Main gaps in existing research on families and poverty

Most existing research on families and poverty including a comparative approach between EU member states adopts a focus on income poverty. The "at-risk-of poverty" (i.e., living with a low income) is a key aspect (although rather narrow) of living conditions for which the current EU social indicators and statistics are abundant. The Luxembourg Income Study was the first large comparable dataset forming the basis for most quantitative studies focusing on cross-sectional data. More recently, the European

Community Household Panel and, in the last few years, the Survey on Income and Living Conditions provide the basis for new approaches on poverty dynamics drawing on comparative longitudinal panel data, with distinctions being made between transient, long-term, and recurrent kinds of poverty.

- This dominant focus on income poverty provides a very specific outlook centred on the notion of “poor people” rather than on the experience of poverty and how this affects family life and individuals within families. Few (both quantitative and qualitative) studies, at least with a comparative focus, highlight the experience and social patterns of poverty and families in poverty. In this regard, however, it is interesting to mention that, according to Walker and Collins (2004: 212), qualitative studies indicate that ‘families with low incomes share common pressures and experiences irrespective of the country in which they live, but that these are shaped by local institutions. They show, too, that dimensions other than income and time, (...) are important in shaping experiences of poverty. These include loss of dignity, choice, and control; limited access to social capital and to assets of other kinds; poor health; few opportunities; and an uncertain future’.
- Social analysis of families and poverty would also benefit from a reinforcement of the household/family as a unit of analysis. This does not imply that the individual should no longer be the main unit of reference, otherwise the risk of rendering invisible the specific vulnerabilities of specific groups (e.g. of children) within families would increase. However, it would be extremely important to go into greater depth in the analysis of the individual (the child, the elderly person...) as a member and in the context of a particular household/family.
- Finally, the dominant focus of existing research is on income poverty as such (at-risk-of-poverty rates, effects of social transfers, entering and exiting poverty) rather than on the origins, experiences or consequences of poverty and material deprivation within families. The focus on the production and transmission of poverty and material deprivation in families is not very significant and should deserve particular attention in future research.

4. *Families and Family Violence (Chapter 4)*

Several International bodies (e.g. European Commission, United Nations, World Health Organization) have taken up the struggle against violence against children, women and the elderly as one of the priorities of the international policy agenda, leading several countries to introduce new legislation protecting people who are victims of domestic violence. As a result, domestic violence is now considered a “public crime” in several national legislations.

Domestic/family violence can take on a number of forms: psychological, physical, economic and sexual. Many estimates are based on official reports, which have difficulties in finding reliable data. On the other hand, at the research level, there is a great conceptual diversity, which leads to difficulties in comparisons, resulting in substantially different perspectives, terminologies, methodologies, instruments and further actions or policy development. Despite these methodological differences, a considerable number of prevalence studies reveal that domestic violence continues to be significant and still largely gender-based (mainly between conjugal partners but also parent-child, adult-elderly person, boy/girlfriend...). However, it is more than a matter of gender. Physical and psychological violence may be related to a large spectrum of factors: psychological and personality traits; nature and dynamics of conjugality; marital satisfaction; conjugal styles; domestic work, stress and conflicts; partner's (female or male) domination and control; feelings of insecurity or interpersonal and inter-relational strategies for attracting the partner's attention.

4.1 Main findings and major trends

- Family violence is still largely gender-based violence and there are specific groups at risk, such as: low income and low educational households, children in large families and in families with alcohol problems, unemployed women with employed partner, women with higher educational levels than their spouse, women in the process of separating, pregnant women, immigrant women of uncertain legal status, families with alcohol problems, young women seeking abortion.
- The “gender violence” paradigm has dominated research on violence against women. Presently, knowledge about violence against women is much more developed than studies about female violence in marital contexts. More recently, violence studies against women are supported mainly by two analytical models and measures. The first is a model that only assesses violence against women. It is the so-called unidirectional model, and it has been adopted by significant national and international organizations. The second model (bidirectional) assesses violence perpetrated both by male against female and by female against male. The unidirectional model has been criticized because it only provides data on the incidence of violence against women, unlike bidirectional studies, which have revealed similar conflict levels for each gender.
- Since the beginning of the 1990s and particularly from 1996 on, studies on violence against women have begun to include other contexts where violence (not only physical but also psychological) is also perpetrated (e.g. public space, workplace), as well as other types of perpetrators, beyond intimate partners (e.g. other relatives, acquaintances).

- Since the 1990s a considerable number of prevalence studies on violence against children, parental violence and school bullying has taken place, and they all reveal relatively high prevalence rates of child abuse. Prevalence is higher among girls than among boys, except for bullying.
- Elder abuse was identified in the late 1970s and early 1980s, mostly by health care and social professionals. Research in this domain has focused on identifying risk factors for elder abuse, revealing that elder abuse by relatives exists, even if its prevalence is relatively low (less than 11%) compared to other types of victimization. Since being recognized by the UN as a Human Rights concern in 2002, this type of abuse has benefited from some broader awareness.

4.2 Major research gaps in existing research on families and poverty and main challenges for research

- In both national and cross-national studies on family violence there is a great variety of methodological approaches, in samples, data collection techniques, definitions of concepts and types of violence measured, observed contexts, type of perpetrators and time length measurement. These all lead to major difficulties in comparing results and reaching more precise findings on the phenomena of family violence. On the other hand, there is no information about the impact of these methodological differences on violence prevalence rates.
- It is important to implement cross-national comparative prevalence studies on the incidence of domestic violence among several risk groups. The review recommends the use of common methodologies and a secondary analysis of collected data following specific questions and approaches in order to compare particular features of violence against women, men, children and the elderly.
- There is little research looking at families and violence, in particular the experience of family violence, and the types of families and social conditions associated with violence; in this respect, there is a lack of qualitative analysis using specific targeted samples in order to provide in-depth knowledge on the meanings of violence for victims and perpetrators which would be useful for a better understanding of the contexts of violence.
- Prevalence studies of violence (physical, sexual, psychological) against men are very scarce in Europe. Only a handful of published papers and very few books exist on the topic. It is important to carry out qualitative studies on violence against men in order to understand the construction processes of a supposed dominant masculinity. Qualitative researches in which men are interviewed might give more details about female violence. These studies are also essential to the analysis of the non-recognition

processes of some types of violence against men as being non-violent and to the identification mechanisms that are behind their denial and occultation.

- There are still very few prevalence studies of elder abuse in Europe. Those that do exist are very different from the point of view of methodologies and their theoretical perspectives need to be better articulated with the wider literature on violence within the family. It is a domain that requires further research in order to capture the types of abuse inflicted, the most frequent contexts in which this type of violence occurs, the characteristics of perpetrators and differences in socio-demographic variables related to this type of violence.

- It is also important to analyse the impact of legislation in reducing (or not) family violence in countries adopting specific legislation to apply criminal penalties to forms of domestic violence.

- At the policy level, it is crucial to recognize that legislation itself is not enough to combat family violence and that it must be combined with other policies. More attention might be given to:
 - the organization of social intervention (which is often spread across several institutions) in order to obtain more and better cooperation within several institutional bodies (local and regional but also at a supranational level): for example, with regard to the monitoring of the effectiveness of laws and policies in preventing violence and providing protection, support and services to victims;
 - the dissemination of national or international best practices of effective policy models;
 - the implementation of special training for all professionals dealing with domestic violence victims (from doctors to police officers judges and social welfare officers);
 - international cooperation in public awareness campaigns.

Social policies for domestic violence are mainly sustained by the unidirectional model and consequently tend to ignore the “other part of the problem”; they are embedded in some pre-conceptions (e.g. female violence is only defensive and used by women to protect themselves); it is important to promote prevalence studies according to the bidirectional model in order to assess the real extent of mutual violence in couples leading to an eventual re-assessment of social policies that have been until now oriented towards the female gender.

5. Social Inequalities and Families (Chapter 5)

A major challenge for research in all EU countries has been to describe and explain the considerable changes that have taken place in respect of family forms and relationships over the last few decades. Different approaches have emphasized a range of different factors and arguments that seek to explain why and how family life is changing. Processes of individualisation, women's claims to equality and their increasing ability to exercise their choices, diversification and changes in cultural contexts, bringing in new sets of opportunities, and greater emphasis on State support for families, are some of the major factors seen to be driving family processes and relationships. In the context of these approaches, emphasis on the continuing significance of social inequalities for family life has been weak. A review of existing research shows that, overall, the idea that women and families have been removed from traditional roles and constraints, and individuals from status-based classes, has led to a move away from family studies examining the influence of class-differentiated patterns of family life or the crucial role of the family in reproducing social advantage and disadvantage.

Although existing research points to studies that are few and far between, and mostly national-based, the findings of research carried out since the 1990s allowed this review to identify some important trends regarding the connections between social inequalities and family life in contemporary European societies.

5.1 Major trends and main findings

Two major interrelated trends in the linkages between social inequalities and families in contemporary families may be identified. Most obviously, families reflect social inequalities, since the unequal distribution of various resources (economic, educational, social, cultural) may affect or constrain family life. As some authors have pointed out (e.g. Elias 1987), individuals and families in democratic societies have to face the limitations that, with greater or less flexibility and in accordance with the position occupied in society, are imposed by constraints and differential opportunities for success. Although individuals today organize family life and intimacy in many different ways and with more freedom, leading to great diversity amongst families, there are important social variations in family behaviours and practices.

Secondly, families contain and reproduce social inequality. Even if family relationships do not in and of themselves 'create' classes and social inequalities (Crompton, 2006), they play a major role in reproducing them and in the transmission of social advantage and disadvantage.

Families reflecting social inequalities

- Social determinants continue to link significantly with the process of mate selection in European societies, with data from several national surveys as well as comparative datasets showing that social homogamy (marriage between partners with similar educational or social backgrounds) remains strong .
- More importantly, comparative research conclusively demonstrates that educational expansion, combined with the propensity for homogamy and the rise in dual-earner couples, has led to unintended consequences from the point of view of social inequality and family life. Increasing educational homogamy allows couples with higher resources to pool them and increase their advantage. In contemporary European societies, a major trend is for partners to accumulate educational resources (low or high), thereby placing couples with low educational levels and those who adopt male breadwinner divisions of labour at a comparative disadvantage.
- There is evidence of systematic structural variations in family interactions, practices and attitudes to family and gender relationships. Class and social stratification work carried out in single countries shows that the move toward new forms of family life emphasizing individualization, gender equality and negotiation has led to a plural, but limited, set of family life-styles and relationships, with significant variations linked to educational, income level, professional life and class differences. However, some types of family functioning are weakly predicted, and others strongly predicted, by social structural variables: 'Companionship' families are more transversal to social class, whereas 'Associative' families, emphasizing personal autonomy, gender equality, negotiation and openness to the outside world, are strongly linked to highly qualified couples. Comparative research on family division of paid and unpaid labour also reveals systematic variations by educational levels and class differentials. As compared to professional and managerial employees, those in routine or manual occupations are more 'traditional' in their attitudes to gender roles and place a relatively greater emphasis on the importance of family life; they are also more likely to adopt the male breadwinner model and to have higher levels of female time spent on housework.
- The literature points to significant differences across social class and status in parenting styles and the educational practices of parents. The social and economic context of family life is a crucial determining factor in the way children are socialized, and the extent to and manner in which parents invest time and resources in their children's acquisition of social and educational skills. Recent findings confirm those of earlier studies carried out in the 50s and 60s but also reveal new trends: for example, parents with high levels of education are more likely to help out with homework but this variable has no influence on the amount of time spent by parents on this task.

- Social class differences remain significant in the volume and kinds of support received by families from informal social networks. Findings in several national surveys found that families with more economic and social resources are also those that are able to give more support and to transfer more material resources to close family members, in particular to the younger generations.

Families and the reproduction of social inequalities

- The literature shows that families play an important role in the reproduction of social inequalities.
- Transmission of social advantage and disadvantage via the family takes place both at the material and socio-cultural levels. Income differences have an impact on the living conditions of children and on the inheritance of economic capital and material advantage over the life course. On the other hand, unequal endowments of 'cultural capital' in families influence the acquisition of social and educational skills as well as other abilities and routines, such as cognitive abilities and time management; and differences in 'social capital' possessed by individuals in different classes impact on access to different types of networks and relevant contacts, on abilities to work the 'system' and opportunities.

5.2 Main gaps in existing research on social inequalities and families and challenges for research and policy

There is a basic need for more research on social inequalities and families. This implies multiple challenges.

- First, given the major role of the family in the reproduction and transmission of social inequality, it is essential to have more information on social inequalities and social mobility more generally, how they are evolving in European societies and the best measures to be used in order to capture and describe social inequalities today (income, education, occupational status, social mobility life chances, etc.). Both cross-national comparisons and class comparative work in single countries are needed.
- Secondly, there is very little research comparing types of family interactions and functioning and how they relate to social and economic inequalities across the different EU countries. Comparative research has emerged recently and has focused strongly on the division of paid and unpaid work and attitudes to family and gender roles; in this sense, family studies have taken advantage of the importance of some of these indicators for the measurement of gender inequalities, but can be seen to have had some difficulty in building up a research agenda of their own. It is therefore crucial for family research to think about and build up useful measures and indicators for cross-national research.

- A third gap in the research agenda is related to the lack of work on the inequality 'strategies' and 'processes' whereby families reproduce as well as deepen social advantage; in this context, given the overriding importance of educational attainment, it would be important to focus in greater depth on the nexus between families' inequality strategies and their relationship to the educational context and system (including childcare and pre-schooling), in the different EU countries .
- Review of research on this topic points to the need to take into account the complexity and non-linearity of the connections between social determinants and family life, strongly encouraging future research to take up this challenge. On the one hand, it is essential to recognize that family life is patterned by social structure/class, whether manifested through differing qualifications, income, or social networks; on the other hand, the factors that influence family behaviour or relationships are complex, with structural variables also interacting in varied ways with other factors, such as cultural, interactional or life course variables: for example, empirical evidence on beliefs about mothering and mother's employment suggests that decisions to work or not to work are taken with reference to cultural and moral frameworks that are themselves shaped by the particularities of class and locality, as well as the opportunities that are seen to be available.
- A final challenge for future research is the need to help family policies to improve their understanding of the implications of social inequalities for policy-making. If the structure of occupational and educational-derived class inequalities remains unchanged, then economic support and cash benefits for families is not likely to change the shape of social inequalities between families. Other policies might, on the other hand, be important for addressing family-related class inequalities and to change the contours of inequalities between families (Esping-Andersen, 2003). Research on the impact of current family policies on gender and social inequalities across and within families, including the use and take-up of entitlements and benefits by families from different social groupings, would also help to improve evidence-based policy-making.

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