

# Migratory trajectories and geography of the family of the foreign population in Spain<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

Foreign population in Spain has experienced a steep increase in the last two decades, but some aspects of their migration processes are not well known yet. For this paper we focus on two of them: their international migratory trajectories and their family networks. First, we propose a general vision of different typologies for the migratory trajectories, and then we study the effect of some explanatory factors, among which we consider some related to the social and family networks, on the fact that the person has followed a direct or indirect itinerary before the arrival in Spain. Second, we build up a categorization for the geography of the family of this immigrant population, arguing that the spatial distribution of the closest members of the family will have an influence on the decision of remaining in the country, returning to that of birth or moving to a third one. We also analyse which individual characteristics are associated to the most relevant family scenarios.

We use a very recent data source, the 2007 *National Immigrant Survey* (ENI), for our purposes. It is the first country-wide survey on immigrant population that collects information on an extensive probabilistic sample (15.465 interviews to people born in another country) for Spain.

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## 1. The migratory trajectories of foreign population in Spain: state-of-the-art

The study of the migratory trajectories of the foreign population in Spain is a topic that has recently begun to be studied. Although the presence of foreign population was remarkable since the mid-eighties and has achieved at the beginning of 2009 a proportion of 12% of the resident population in Spain, other topics have had greater attention not only from the media but also from the academics. Some of the first contributions to the study of the migration trajectories are from 2002 (Recaño Valverde 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, and more recently, Garcia Coll 2005; Pumares Fernández 2005). In previous studies it was possible to find contributions to the routes, paths, places of settlement or residence and the migration flows between towns and regions, but without the systematic perspective and the characteristics that its study reaches since 2000.

These contributions have focused, first, on the study of the quantitative dimensions, both in absolute and in relative terms, of the migratory routes of the foreign population. They show the higher level of mobility of foreigners in Spain compared to that of the Spaniards, and also at longer distances. Secondly, the emphasis has been directed to indicate the routes/geographical circuits inside Spain that follow the foreign population (Recaño 2002c, 2006; Pumares et al. 2006). Thirdly, the analysis focused on the characteristics of the population that led these flows, and especially the differences between groups. Comparisons have been mainly made according to sex and nationality. Men have a higher level of mobility and more complex migration trajectories because of their role in many cases as "pioneers" (Pumares et al. 2006; Solana Solana et al. 2009). Once they get a certain labour and residential stability, and in most cases the appropriate documentation, the process of family reunification is activated. Wife and other relatives would therefore come when the situation is more stable. In relation to nationality, the studies based on data from the *Estadísticas de Variaciones Residenciales* –Statistics of Migratory Flows- (Pumares et al. 2006), show that Asian populations have the highest levels of mobility inside Spain, and the citizens of Western Europe countries (Germany, Great Britain, France, etc.) the lowest levels of internal mobility in Spain. These data are also corroborated from other studies (Solana Solana et al. 2009) and indicate that foreigners born in countries of Western Europe have the lower internal mobility. However, they seem to have more complex migration trajectories before arriving to Spain, with a greater number of previous stays in other countries.

The studies conducted until now can provide a general and quite precise framework of the patterns of internal migration of foreigners in Spain. We have increasingly accurate information about its volume and about the process of population distribution over the territory. However a longitudinal perspective of the phenomenon lacks, i.e. the succession of migrations and the alternation of migration and settlement by the same person. The reconstruction of the trajectory of migrations and settlements of the foreign population in all its complexity and without "breaking" the chain of

movements can help us to understand the migratory strategies within the territory, and the factors - family, work, accommodation- that are behind these patterns of mobility.

Furthermore, most of these studies have focused on Spain, but tell us little about the experience before the arrival to the country. Internal migration is very high in Spain, but we know little about the previous movements. Was the arrival direct from the town of origin? Direct from their country of birth? Which is the pattern of the migration trajectory before arriving in Spain, if it is possible to identify any? Are these intermediate places countries of transit or countries of settlement? What is the level of return to the country of birth or the country of origin?

Little information exists on these issues because until now there was no statistical source to provide such type of information, among other reasons. However, we have some indications from a recent study with primary data that there is a high proportion (84%) of people with a direct migration trajectory (Solana Solana et al. 2009)-, a figure that coincides with the first results reflected by the new longitudinal survey on migration (*Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes –ENI-*) conducted by the *Spanish Statistical National Institute* (Reher et al. 2008) and other researches on some specific groups, such as the Moroccan population (Capote 2008).

The study by Solana Solana et al. (2009) also shows that the differences by gender in the migration trajectories of those interviewed before arriving in Spain are not very high, although men have migration trajectories that have led to the passage and stay in a greater number of countries (18.4% for men, 13.4% for women). Differences can be also observed if we attend to the country of birth. People born in Europe, especially in Western European countries, present more complex paths before arriving in Spain (34% of those interviewed had an indirect migration trajectory before reaching Spain), in relation to those born in Africa (13%) and those born in Central and South America (12%). Furthermore, it is a European country –it could also be Spain- in which they resided previously in almost all the cases. It could be thought that a previous international experience, in the case of Western Europe foreigners, can be an incentive to locate the post-retirement residence abroad (in this case, Spain).

Trajectories of the people born in Africa and Central and Southern America are more direct (Asian population was not included in this research – Solana Solana et al. 2009). If there is an intermediate-country of stay, the European countries predominate. Despite the fact that the contexts analysed were different, once again our results were consistent with those highlighted in other researches (Capote 2008; Reher et al. 2008). Especially common is the direct trajectory of women born in Africa, mainly women born in Morocco.

In another sense, but closely related to this topic, it would be the fact that Spain appears in some cases as a country of "transit" to other European and American destinations. In some studies based on qualitative methodology (Artal et al. 2006) people born in Morocco, Ecuador and Pakistan show the desire of emigrating to other countries after some time in Spain.

The importance of the family to explain migratory behaviours is now widely accepted, although many aspects of its research are still poorly studied. Since the middle of the last century some authors stressed its role as the centre of the decision making even when the whole unit was not implicated in the mobility and pointed out some of the transformations the group itself had to face as a consequence of the mobility (Rossi 1955, Mincer 1978, Boyd 1989). The individualistic approach, in which emigrants were mainly considered in economic terms, was being extended to a broader conception of the phenomenon. There were levels in between the micro and macro approaches, what Courgeau (1979) named the immersion of the person in the family, affiliation and informal systems, similar to what at present is referred to as social networks, that had not been adequately addressed. Even if many years have passed since Stark (1991) affirmed that the focus on the family as the main actor of the migratory movements was new, some experts still conclude that "the family has been neglected in European academic and policy research on international migration" (Kofman 2004: 256) and that there are some research topic that need further theoretical development, such as the changing institutional and family contexts, the links between external and internal migration or the links between ethnicity and gender, among others (Bailey and Boyle 2004).

We try to make a contribution to fill this gap by relating migratory trajectories, geography of the family and family networks in this paper. Firstly, we analyse the different types of trajectories immigrants in Spain have experienced before their arrival, using some explanatory elements about family networks. Secondly, we explore the spatial distribution of the closest relatives of this population that allows us to make some hypothesis about their future trends on mobility, settlement or transnationalism.

## **2. The data source and its potentialities for our research**

### *- The National Immigrant Survey (ENI)*

The steep increase of the incoming flows to Spain, mainly arose in the two last decades, required new data for the study of the characteristics, situation in the country and transnational relations of this recent population. However, up to the National Immigrant Survey (*Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes-*

ENI) no official operation of data collection was specifically addressed to deep into their particularities, despite the fact that partial empirical work had been carried out for specific territorial areas or immigrant sub-groups in the country. Thus, the new initiative was born because of the interest of achieving a representative country-wide survey, centred on this population, in which no origin was excluded. The universe of the ENI consists of foreign-born residents over 16, who have lived in Spain for at least one year (Reher and Requena 2009).

The sampling design was probabilistic and the *Padron Municipal de Habitantes*, municipal register of the whole population in Spain, was used as the sampling frame. Despite some criticisms often made around the reliability of this source, it is still the best nominative listing for the purposes of such a statistical procedure, since immigrant legal condition is not a requirement to register and they obtain social benefits through their inclusion, such as access to schooling and to the health system, or the possibility to demonstrate date of arrival in case another regularisation takes place. Thus, under-registration should not be the case because immigrants have incentives to register. However, difficulties often lie on the fact that people do not live where they declare in the register, basically because of a high residential mobility during their first years in Spain. This circumstance originated that a three-stage sampling design was implemented. First-stage units, the municipality sections, were stratified. At a second stage, the units were the family dwellings and third stage units were the foreign-born residents. The fieldwork was carried out between November 2006 and February 2007 and a total of 15,465 interviews were achieved<sup>2</sup>.

- *The use of the ENI for our research objectives*

Relationships to places in the sense of change or permanence cannot be fully understood through the mere cross-sectional perspective. A better comprehension of the itineraries and strategies of the population and their association to the social networks that exist in the place of origin and destination allows for a better comprehension of the migratory phenomenon in general. There is a trend to consider immigrants as stable population that have arrived and will remain, but trajectories are not always lineal and countries are visited (in the sense of living there) more than once. The whole of stays and re-stays in the migratory trajectories, place of birth, place of origin and other relevant places could have a special signification in the persons 'idiotopie' (Pascual de Sans 2004). Personal and contextual circumstances influence the strategies of mobility, even if these can be re-adapted according to unexpected conditions or whims of fate. Family reunification is perhaps the clearest exponent of the direct migration but, what elements are behind the more complex itineraries?

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<sup>2</sup> A full methodological report can be found at: [http://www.ine.es/daco/daco42/inmigrantes/inmigra\\_meto.pdf](http://www.ine.es/daco/daco42/inmigrantes/inmigra_meto.pdf) (in Spanish) or [http://www.ine.es/en/daco/daco42/inmigrantes/inmigra\\_meto\\_en.pdf](http://www.ine.es/en/daco/daco42/inmigrantes/inmigra_meto_en.pdf) (in English).

In order to shed some light on the subject according to the possibilities our data source offers, we use two different approaches. On one hand, we study some different types of trajectories immigrants have followed before their arrival in Spain, paying special attention to the distinction between direct and indirect trajectory. The study of migratory trajectories is complex since the scope of possibilities, even if following some specific general trend, is so wide that an effort has to be made in order to synthesize the different observed routes. We understand that a person has experienced a direct trajectory if he/she has just lived in his/her country of birth and Spain, even if he/she has returned for some periods to his/her country of birth. On the other hand, we analyze the geography of the family as an indirect way to assess the degree of settlement or trend to new movements, returns or even initialization of reunification processes. For instance, we presume that an immigrant with all his/her family of creation and family of origin in Spain will be less willing to emigrate again to a third country or go back to the country of birth. An immigrant whose children are still in the country of birth will be more reluctant to stay unless the family reunification is likely to be completed. To provide a wider view on the topic, we also map the countries of residence of the close relatives whose place of residence is collected through the questionnaire (parents, siblings, spouse and offspring). These could be understood as the most probable new destinations in case an emigration to another country is decided.

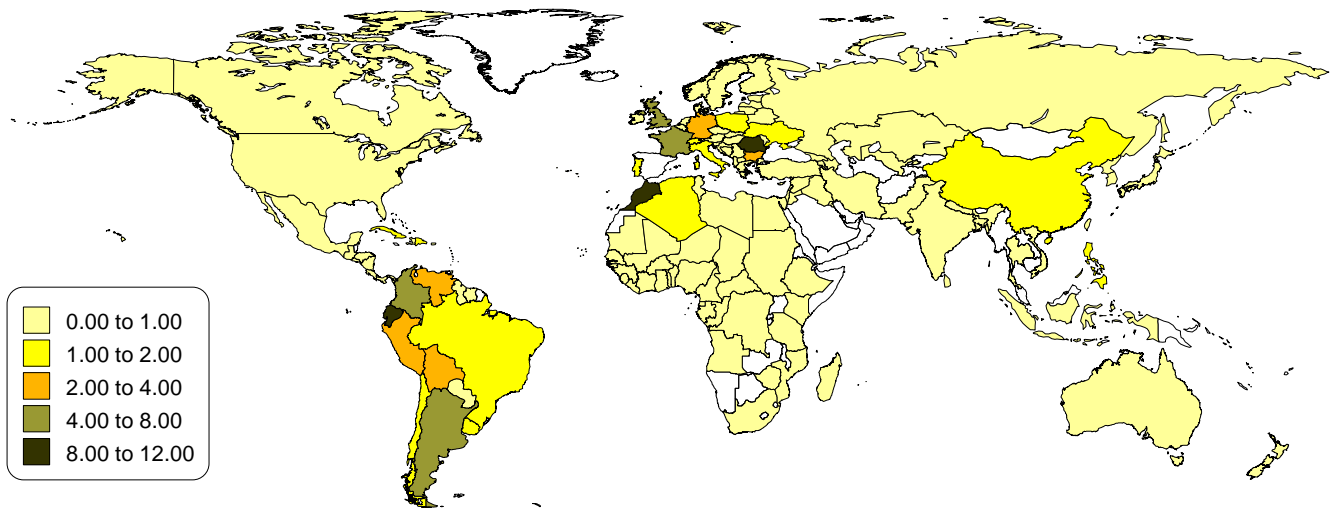
### **3. Main types of trajectories followed by immigrant population in Spain**

Prior to the discussion of the results, we show the distribution of the countries of birth of the immigrant population in Spain (map 1). We have used the ENI data although the official data from the municipal registers<sup>3</sup> provides fairly the same figures. Morocco constitutes the most important origin, grouping almost 12% of the foreign-born population in 2007, followed by Rumania with 9.7% of this population. These countries, together with Ecuador, Great Britain, Colombia, Argentina and France concentrate more than half of the immigrants in Spain (close to 52% of the total). The other countries with a considerable weight are mainly located in South-America and Europe. It is, thus, a very heterogeneous population in terms of culture and ethnic backgrounds, types of migratory trajectories and motivations for moving.

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<sup>3</sup> Available at <http://www.ine.es>

Map 1. Distribution of the immigrants by country of birth



Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007, weighted data

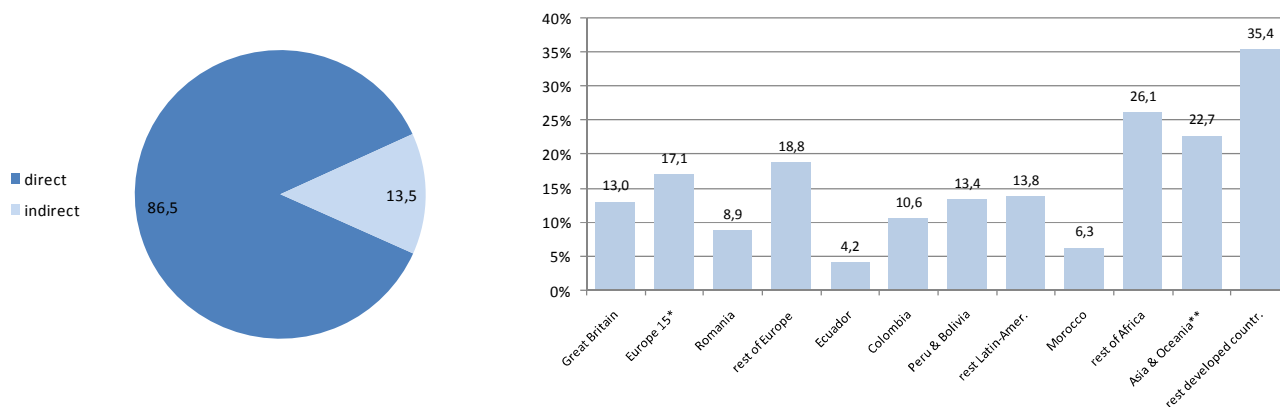
For those who have lived in a country different to Spain and the country of birth<sup>4</sup>, the polarization of privileged destinations is clear (map 2). Other EU countries stand out: France (14.4%), Germany (14.2%) and Great Britain (11.6%) are intermediate countries of migrants to Spain in this sense. When adding United States of America, with almost 11% of all mentions, we obtain that approximately one out of every two immigrants in Spain with prior experience in a country different to that of birth has lived in one of these four destinations. The significance of these places varies when we take into consideration the region of birth of the individual (table 1), although the supremacy of the European countries generally persists. Latin-American origins are the exception and people from Peru and Bolivia have more frequently experienced a previous stay in another Latin-American country (more likely Argentina or Venezuela, map 2). For the rest of Latin-Americans the incidence of an intermediate country in the same sub-continent decreases noticeably, being partly substitute by the USA in the case of the non-Ecuadorians (table 1).

It is also interesting to point out how almost all people born in Morocco who have lived in a country different to Spain have chosen a UE country (90.9%, table 1). France, followed by countries such as the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium and, more recently, Italy, are their main previous destinations. Almost 38% of the rest of Africans, as stated before, have lived in another African country. In brief, we see that complex trajectories normally involve states in the same region-continent, 'natural' places in the way. However, the distribution of the weight of the considered regions is not merely explained by that. The importance of Europe suggest the vision of it as a whole (at least of the Schengen space), and it is not just because of its geographical situation but also because of the related characteristics of many of its state-members (legal permeability, demand of labourers, etc.)

<sup>4</sup> A country is considered a country of residence by the ENI if the person's stay in that country has been longer than three months and the purpose of this stay was not holidays.

that emigrants are somehow ‘shared’ within this territorial context (Artal et al. 2006). The best illustration for this is provided by the already mentioned case of Morocco.

**Figure 1. Type of migratory trajectory. Differences by region of birth<sup>5</sup>**



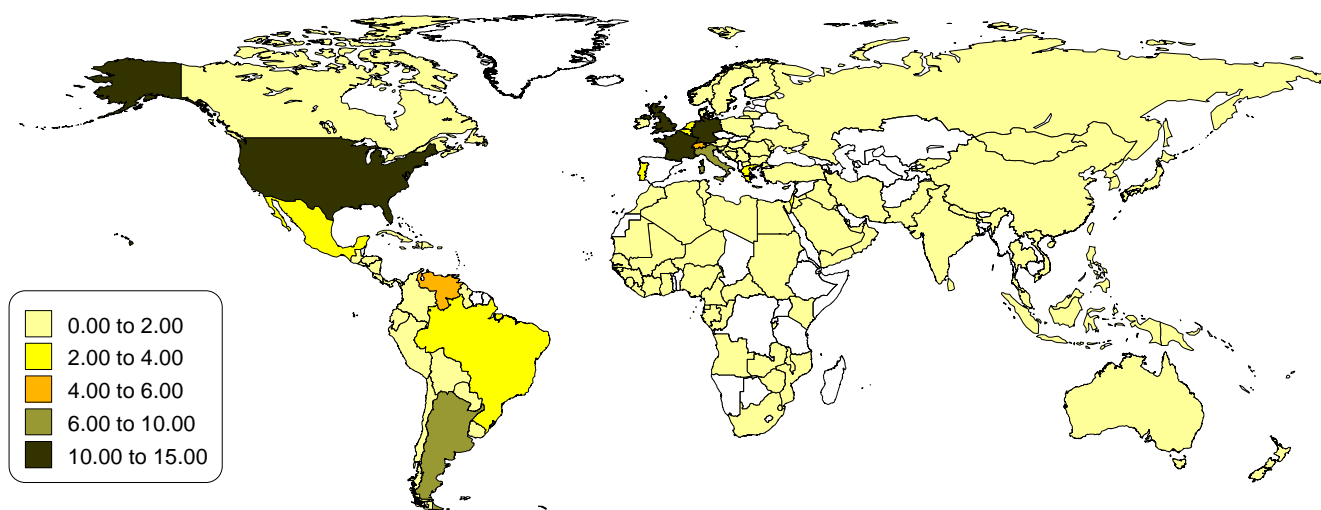
\*Europe 15 (without Great Britain), EEE (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway) and Switzerland

\*\* except Japan, South-Korea, Australia and New Zealand

rest developed countries: USA, Canada, Japan, South-Korea, Australia and New Zealand

Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007, weighted data

**Map 2. Distribution of the third countries of residence**



Source: own elaboration, ENI 2007. Base: people who has lived in at least three countries (N=610,050, n=1923)

<sup>5</sup> We use the same country classification for the whole paper



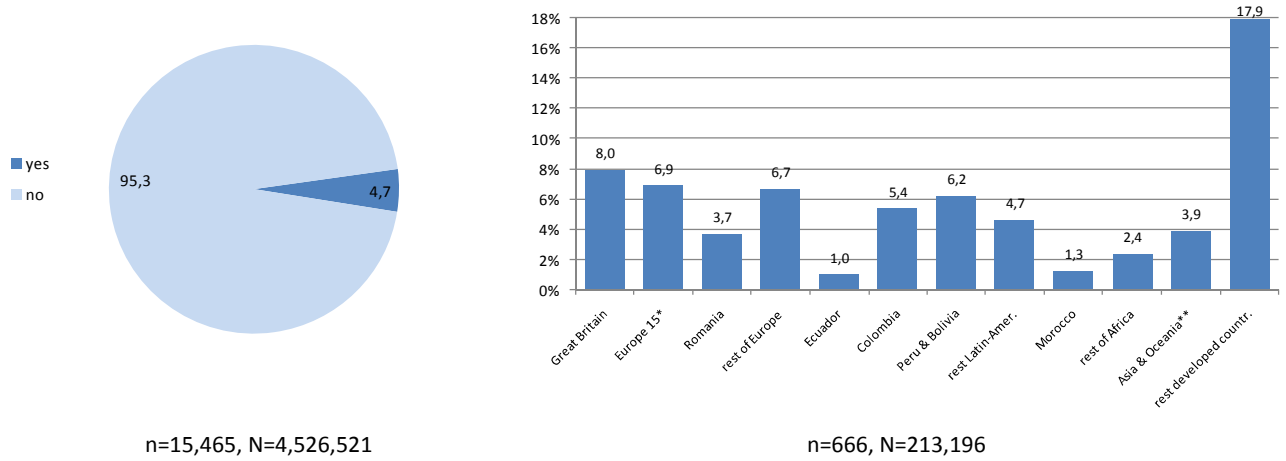
**Table 1. country/region of birth by region of the stays in third countries**

		region of the stays in third countries						
		Europe 15	rest of Europe	Africa	North-America	Latin-America	Asia	Oceania
country/región of birth	Great Britain	19,655 <b>56.0%</b>	2,896 8.3%	6,885 19.6%	4,474 12.8%	4,257 12.1%	10,655 30.4%	2,747 7.8%
	Europe 15*	82,123 <b>69.4%</b>	5,536 4.7%	9,904 8.4%	14,765 12.5%	22,524 19.0%	9,999 8.4%	1,863 1.6%
	Romania	22,892 <b>60.0%</b>	9027 23.6%	635 1.7%	1,235 3.2%	562 1.5%	8,391 22.0%	0 0%
	rest of Europe	40,306 <b>65.2%</b>	15,576 25.2%	2,739 4.4%	3,267 5.3%	3,269 5.3%	5,388 8.7%	158 0.3%
	Ecuador	10,936 <b>69.8%</b>	0 0%	0 0%	1,534 9.8%	5,222 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%
	Colombia	12867 <b>40.6%</b>	249 0.8%	0 0%	6,910 21.8%	12,800 <b>40.4%</b>	2,592 8.2%	0 0%
	Peru & Bolivia	7,753 19.6%	1,123 2.8%	0 0%	3303 8.3%	28,659 <b>72.4%</b>	2,832 7.2%	760 1.9%
	rest Latin-Amer.	48,144 <b>42.6%</b>	4,504 4.0%	1,527 1.3%	29,746 26.3%	41,275 36.5%	1,932 1.7%	928 0.8%
	Morocco	30,996 <b>90.9%</b>	138 0.4%	3,899 11.4%	312 0.9%	1,912 5.6%	912 2.7%	0 0%
	rest of Africa	38,239 <b>64.2%</b>	1,056 1.8%	22,420 37.6%	0 0%	1,655 2.8%	2,660 4.5%	255 0.4%
	Asia & Oceania**	30,913 <b>67.6%</b>	1,449 3.2%	3,762 8.2%	5,623 12.3%	2,266 5.0%	9,323 20.4%	316 0.7%
	rest developed countr.***	11,272 <b>65.5%</b>	690 4.0%	319 1.9%	892 5.2%	6,043 35.1%	5,340 31.0%	1,815 10.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>356,096</b> <b>58.4%</b>	<b>42,244</b> <b>6.9%</b>	<b>52,090</b> <b>8.5%</b>	<b>72,061</b> <b>11.8%</b>	<b>130,444</b> <b>21.4%</b>	<b>60,024</b> <b>9.8%</b>	<b>8,842</b> <b>1.4%</b>	

Source: own elaboration. ENI 2007. Base: people who has lived in at least three countries (N=610,050, n=1923)

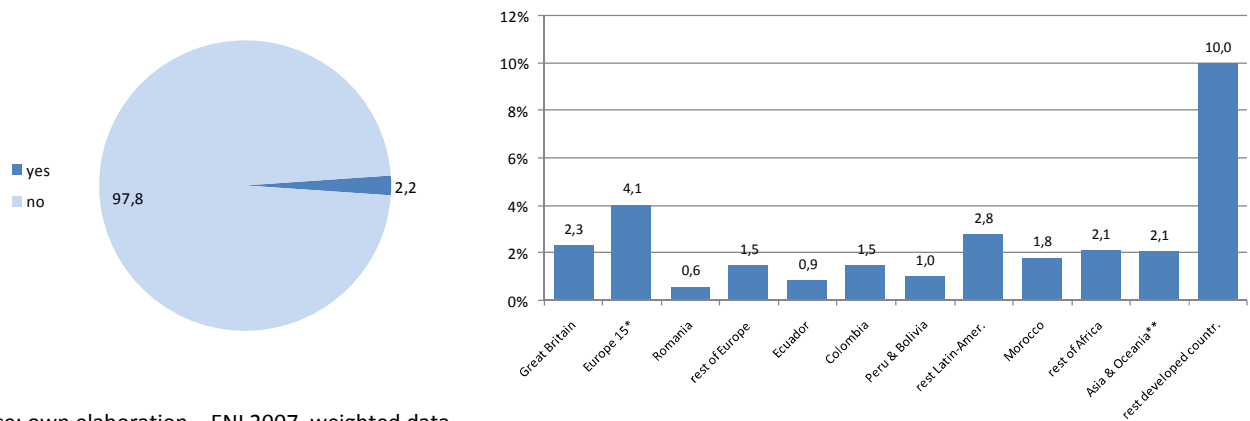
Circular migration, as alternation of residential periods in the country of birth and Spain, are not very often (4.7% -figure 2), revealing the predominance of general stability in the settlements. These temporary return journeys are mainly uncommon because the country of birth is often far away and it is difficult to cross that distance, because the stays are limited to holiday periods or because the person's legal condition acts as an obstacle to further mobility, impeding fluid frontier interchanges. In fact, those immigrants born in the USA, Canada, Japan, South-Korea, Australia and New Zealand show the highest percentage of repeated stays in the country of birth. This sub-population in Spain is normally formed by professionals and business men and women, whose jobs may stimulate this kind of mobility and who have a high economical standard together with the required permits. After them, we find the British people (8%), main nationality in Spain associated to the second residence market. However, the prototype of the retired immigrant that rotates between winter stays in Spain and summer stays in Great Britain is not contemplated in the data, since the principal residence is the one in Spain. In a similar situation we can find a great deal of those native from the other EU-15, Switzerland and EEE countries (6.9%).

**Figure 2. Repeated stays in the country of birth. Differences by region of birth**



Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007, weighted data

**Figure 3. Repeated stays in Spain. Differences by region of birth**



Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007, weighted data

The repeated stays in Spain have been very rare (2.2% - figure 3) and they are basically associated to the cases of return, therefore becoming some sort of circular migrations. Once again, the importance of the category 'rest of the developed countries' is highlighted (10%), showing their tendency to be more mobile (or having been more mobile) than other immigrants. The group of Europe-15 countries, in the second position by far (4.1%), gathers two basic different profiles: those retired immigrants who chose Spain because climate and quality of life, and those whose characteristics are more similar to the rest of the developed countries, i.e., very qualified active adult population that may combine long periods of residence in different countries because of their professional itineraries.

Simplicity of the trajectories is, thus, the common pattern. However, we want to deep further into the explanatory factors that have an influence on the fact that the person has lived in more than two

countries. Will these people be more likely to move once again in future? Are their previous stays linked to transit experiences?

#### **4. What factors have an incidence on the more complex migratory trajectories?**

In table 2 we present the results for two logit models on 'direct/indirect' trajectory, one in which we do not include the covariate 'academic level' (with many missing values) and another one in which we take it into account. As stated before, dependent variable is defined as followed: a person who has lived in more than two countries receives value 1 (indirect trajectory), 0 otherwise (direct trajectory).

We study the effect of various sets of covariates. First, the demographic explanatory variables (sex, age, place of birth, children when first emigration); secondly, we add information about the moment and main reason declared for immigrating to Spain and a proxy for the human capital (academic level). Finally, we include a group of factors related to family networks. We will not go through all the covariates that were not incorporated to the model because they did result non-significant. Still, we want to stress the fact that, for instance, the impact of sex did not vary according to place of birth (we tried the interaction between both) and that, among all the reasons for moving, just that related to family was relevant in the models.

Females are more likely to migrate directly to the country of destination. This result was expectable since for some nationalities it is common that males move first and once they are settled in terms of legal and financial situation they bring the rest of the nuclear family, most often wives and children. That is the case for a majority of Moroccan immigrants in Spain, despite the fact that trends are changing in recent times and independent female emigration is becoming more and more visible (El Harras 2004; Salih 2001). However, we did expect some differences across countries of origin, and those have not been found. Men tend to experience more complex trajectories than women regardless their place of birth. Traditional patterns, like reunification processes initiated by the husbands, help explain this finding.

The rest of covariates being equal, we obtain that the only origin that has a significant higher probability than British to experience a direct migration is the Moroccan one. The other western European countries and Ecuador do not differ much to the British behaviour. This result changes somehow the perception obtained from figure 1. Controlling by factors such as age, gender, reason for moving, etc., we get that mainly people from Romania and other Eastern countries (represented

in 'rest of Europe') are the most likely to have resided previously in a third country. Coefficients do not vary much when we add the information about academic level (model B-table 2). Just for the Moroccan immigrants, distance to the base-category shortens, indicating higher intra-group differences for them as we consider level of studies.

**Table 2. Logit model for the indirect migratory trajectory to Spain**

	Covariate	model A	model B
sex	male		
	female	<b>-0.489*</b>	<b>-0.504*</b>
country/ region of birth	Great Britain		
	Europe 15*	-0.010	0.044
	Romania	<b>1.176*</b>	<b>1.198*</b>
	rest of Europe	<b>1.276*</b>	<b>1.287*</b>
	Ecuador	-0.260	-0.196
	Colombia	<b>0.429**</b>	<b>0.430**</b>
	Peru & Bolivia	<b>0.966*</b>	<b>0.929*</b>
	rest Latin-Amer.	<b>0.392*</b>	<b>0.369**</b>
	Morocco	<b>-0.918*</b>	<b>-0.568*</b>
	rest of Africa	<b>0.618*</b>	<b>0.783*</b>
	Asia & Oceania**	<b>0.825*</b>	<b>0.877*</b>
	rest developed countr.	<b>0.725*</b>	<b>0.621**</b>
age-group	16-24		
	25-34	<b>0.493*</b>	<b>0.442*</b>
	35-44	0.138	0.052
	45-54	0.126	0.057
	55-64	0.377	0.293
	65-74	<b>0.543*</b>	<b>0.440**</b>
	75+	-0.162	-0.177
period of first emigration from the country of birth	before 1986		
	1986-1995	<b>-0.242*</b>	-0.197
	1996-2000	<b>-1.296*</b>	<b>-1.258*</b>
	2001-04	<b>-2.505*</b>	<b>-2.482*</b>
	2005-07	<b>-3.360*</b>	<b>-3.318*</b>
family reasons for first emigration to Spain		<b>-0.730*</b>	<b>-0.723*</b>
children when first emigration		<b>-0.733*</b>	<b>-0.696*</b>
at least (one of) the... arrived in Spain before ego left his/her country of birth	...spouse...	<b>-1.291*</b>	<b>-1.338*</b>
	...siblings...	<b>-1.419*</b>	<b>-1.603*</b>
	... offspring ...	<b>-2.522*</b>	<b>-1.962**</b>
	...parents...	<b>-1.129*</b>	<b>-1.101*</b>
at least one of the ... in a third country when last emigration to Spain	...parents...	<b>2.575*</b>	<b>2.560*</b>
	...offspring...	<b>3.926*</b>	<b>3.878*</b>
	...siblings...	<b>1.706*</b>	<b>1.695*</b>
academic level		<b>0.191*</b>	
constant		-1.320*	-2.209*
pseudo R <sup>2</sup>			

\* significant for  $\alpha=0,05$ , \*\* significant for  $\alpha=0,1$

Source: own elaboration. ENI 2007. Base: models without covariate 'academic level' n=15,112; with that covariate n=14,036

Time is more important when perspective centres on the moment of first emigration from the country of birth than it is when perspective is ego's age. Young people in between 25 and 34, and older people, in between 65 and 74 are those with a superior propensity to live in more than two countries. However, we have to interpret this effect together with that of the period of arrival. In this sense, we get that the shorter the stay out of the country of birth, the lower the estimator. Thus, immigrants who left before have had more time to emigrate to a different destination, more time to live an experience somewhere else before arriving to Spain. Gathering the results from these two explanatory variables we conclude that those who left their home place before 1986 and were in between 65 and 74 in 2007 are those with higher probability of having experienced an international mobility.

Among all the possible responses the questionnaire offered with regards to the reason for emigrating in each step, 'family motivations' was the only one that provided a significant estimator in the models. However, we have to bear in mind that the epigraph includes different situations. Even if we assume that many of the people who chose this answer were people that arrived through a reunification process, other causes are not negligible. For instance, immigrants who came to take care of a relative (or to be taken cared by), who experienced a family migration but as 'tied' immigrants (dependent members of the family unit, that moved as a whole), etc. The negative sign of the coefficient gives some evidence of the lower probability of having lived in at least three countries of the persons who immigrated to Spain because of family reasons. Almost all the situations described in precedent lines as possible scenarios for this response implies the existence of at least a close relative in the country of destination, thus the existence of a link in Spain, which would act against the search of other intermediate destinations. Furthermore, reunification processes are normally initiated when the precursor has reached a relatively stable position, reducing the need of previous moving to other countries by the rest of the family unit.

The fact of having children by the time the individual first emigrated from the country of birth also reduces the likelihood of having resided in another country apart from Spain and the one of origin. As before, we find here the spouses (with offspring) arrived through the reunification process. Furthermore, we can argue that the persons who were already fathers or mothers when they left the home-country, tended to risk less with their emigration. For instance, they could have already arranged a job at destination or could count on social networks ready to facilitate their first adaptation to the new society, so itineraries were more straightforward.

To assess the effect of migratory chains and social networks abroad on the decision to move directly to Spain or spend a stay in a different country before, we have built up and used different covariates. On one hand, the questionnaire includes two main direct questions on the topic: whether ego had someone to address to when he/she arrived to Spain and whether there was someone who

influenced his/her decision to come to this country. However, these questions better help to understand why the fact of choosing Spain instead of why he/she lived in a previous different country to that of birth. The temporal gap is important, since it would be necessary to know when the person could count on someone at destination, if it was before living the country of birth or the country of origin (country of residence previous to Spain).

We thus try to get other sort of information from the data collected through the survey. We build up other proxies to the effect of social networks, trying to start from the first country of reference, that of birth. Since we have information about the year of arrival to Spain of the co-resident people, we distinguish those of them who immigrated before ego left his/her country of birth and study the impact according to the type of tie between ego and the co-resident other. In this case, we can be certain that there was already a relative, friend or acquaintance in Spain before ego first emigrated and make the hypothesis that this link had some influence on the decision to come straightforwardly. The problem, however, is that we cannot be certain about whether there was somebody already in the country if this person does not live in the same dwelling as ego at the moment of the interview. Hence, the scope of relations about which we know the temporal sequence of their migration with regards to ego's migration is reduced.

Among all the existent ties that were observed in the households, those related to close family were the most frequent and significant ones. The effect of friendship, although pointing in the same direction, was not so relevant. As we compare between spouse, siblings, offspring and parents, we see that the previous immigration to Spain of (co-resident) children has the strongest influence on the direct migration of the father/mother, followed by the siblings. The weaker effect of the parents, for those cases in which they started the chain and reunification of dependent offspring continued, would be increased by the impact of other covariates discussed before, such as that of 'family reasons'. That is to say: if the parents arrived before, probably the son or daughter who answers the interview came because of family reasons, so the negative coefficient for that variable would be sum up to this one, strengthening the probability of a direct trajectory. But if one of the children arrived before, it was a presumable independent immigration due to (maybe) other circumstances, so other motivations provoked this mobility. Everyone's life-cycle stage affects the relationship among his/her own family members, from support receivers to support providers, from co-residents to emancipated, in the way strategies are discussed and adopted and, subsequently, in the composition and functioning of family networks in migration processes.

Apart from the previous factors as an approach to the effect of family networks, we explore some other information provided by the survey. We know where the closest relatives were residing at the time the interviewee left for Spain (if more than once, the information is collected for the last emigration to Spain). So we wonder whether there was a sibling, father or mother, or child in a third

country before immigrating to Spain. If interviewee lived in the country of birth, having some of these in a third country could mean a preference to go to this before coming to Spain. If the interviewee was already in a third country, having some relatives there with him could have implied his/her stay in that country. The causal relation in this latter supposition is not straightforward because we have no clue about who arrived first to that place and who followed but, still, the presence of close relatives in a country different to Spain and that of birth by the time ego effectuates his/her last emigration is expected to have a strong influence on the direct or indirect condition of his/her migratory trajectory.

As with the previous set of covariates, again offspring is the variable that explains the most, all other factors in the model being equal. However, the estimators are now higher (in absolute terms), giving evidence that the pass through another country of residence is strongly associated with the presence of close relatives in it. This enforces the idea that migration should not be studied as an individualist option and it can be considered a family issue, and future mobility or settlement are alternatives that are often valued jointly by its members. These results reveal the interest of the following section. If we defend the hypothesis that migrate or stay are decisions that frequently involve more than one person in the nuclear or extended family (the importance of siblings is clear, even when they are already emancipated), the knowledge of the geography of these families would help us to comprehend the more plausible prospects of mobility/settlement of the immigrant population.

## 5. Immigrants' geography of the family: a typology

It is difficult to synthesize the geography of the family in just a few categories. Thus, we started by building up some variables that summed up the information about place of residence of ego's parents, siblings, spouse and children, from a more disaggregated one to an operative version of it. For them, we have mainly used two territorial references: ego's country of birth and Spain. Since the frequency of the relatives in a third country is not that high, we have reduced the number of the categories alluding to this. The creation of the variable is not really straightforward, so a clear definition of the different categories is needed. Sometimes we will refer to parents and siblings as family of origin and spouse and children as family of creation. In bracket we note down the percentage each category represents over the total immigrant population:

1. **All relatives in Spain** (18.5%). There is no parent, brother or sister, spouse or child living in another country.
2. **Family of creation in Spain, family of origin in ego's country of birth** (18.6%). If a person has no siblings nor parents, and his/her spouse and/or children are in Spain, he/she would be included in the previous category. The same for those with no family of creation, and all

members among parents and siblings residing in Spain. So ego must have at least one member of each set of links (creation/origin) to be grouped in this category.

3. **Spouse in Spain, children and family of origin in ego's country of birth** (3.5%). To be included in this category, the person must have at least one child and at least one of the parents or siblings alive in his/her country of birth. Many retired immigrants in Spain constitute the clearest example.
4. **Family of creation and at least a member of the family of origin in Spain, the rest in ego's country of birth** (11.8%). There must be at least one member of the family of origin in ego's country of birth; otherwise this category would overlap with category 1.
5. **No family of creation, at least a member of the family of origin in Spain, the rest in ego's country of birth** (6.3%). The person does not have spouse or children and there is at least one brother, sister, or parent living in Spain, and the rest of siblings and/or parents in his/her country of birth. Someone must remain in the country of birth; otherwise this category would overlap with category 1.
6. **Alone in Spain** (16.4%). There are two possibilities: the person has no relatives among those we are studying (rare cases) or all relatives among parents, siblings, spouse and children live at ego's country of birth.

For these first categories, we have imposed the condition that no relative lives in a third country.

7. **At least a relative in a third country, someone in Spain** (13%). If we did not force the presence of a relative in Spain, this category would overlap with category 6.
8. **Others** (12%). Any case which is not contemplated in the precedent categories.

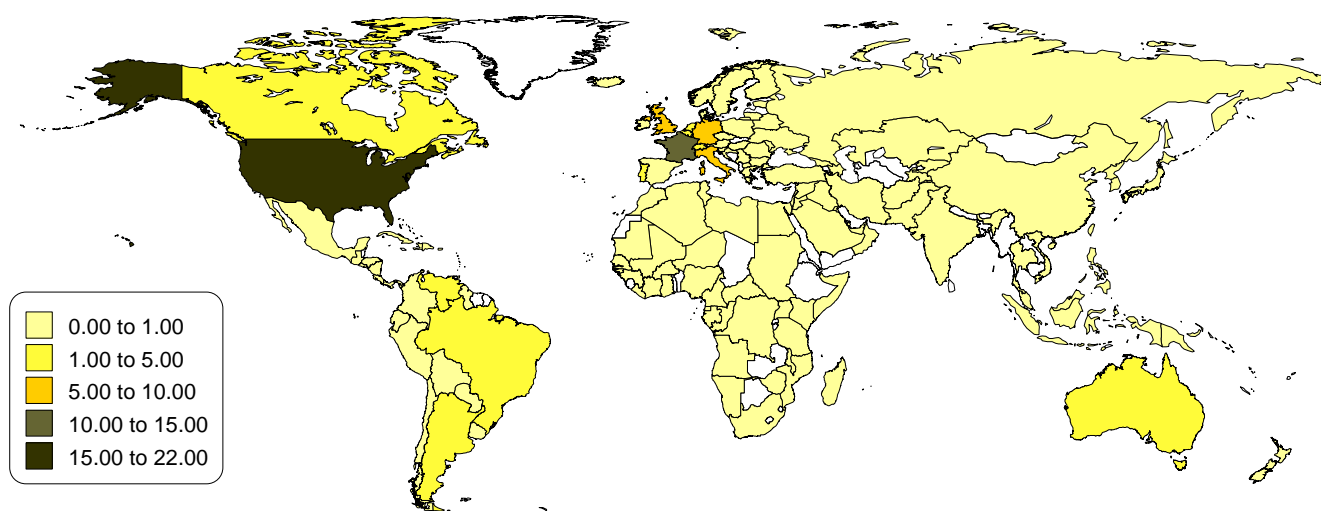
It is interesting to notice that, even if the quantitatively more relevant immigration flows to Spain have been quite recent, near 19% of the foreign-born population has all the closest relatives in the country. On the other side, 16.4% of them has no parent, siblings or offspring also in Spain, although there may be other further relatives, friends or acquaintances. If the person has children, these live normally in Spain. Age structure of the population of study, quite young and consequently with dependent offspring, explains to some extent this result.

The weight of the group with at least a close relative in a third country is important (13%). We can expect that these people will be the more willing to move to another destination abroad, according to the assumption that the existence of social networks in a different context has a strong effect on the election of a specific destination. It is not so obvious to what extent it helps to explain the propensity to a new mobility, as we will see later on. Map 3 shows the distribution of the relatives' presence in the world. The role of USA is outstanding, with 22% of the relatives in a different country



to that of birth. It is an important destination not just for Latin-American people, but also for European nationals and other world-wide origins. If the Western-European countries had been, together with the United States, main destinations when we observed the ‘third’ countries at map 2, as we check the proportion of relatives in other countries than Spain and that of birth, it is the American country the one that is really highlighted. In Europe, France is the most relevant relatives’ place of residence in 2007, with 14.7% of the total share (mainly because of the presence of siblings there). That result, together with the proximity of Spain and France may us wonder whether, in case a new emigration is decided, this will turn out to be one of the preferred destinations.

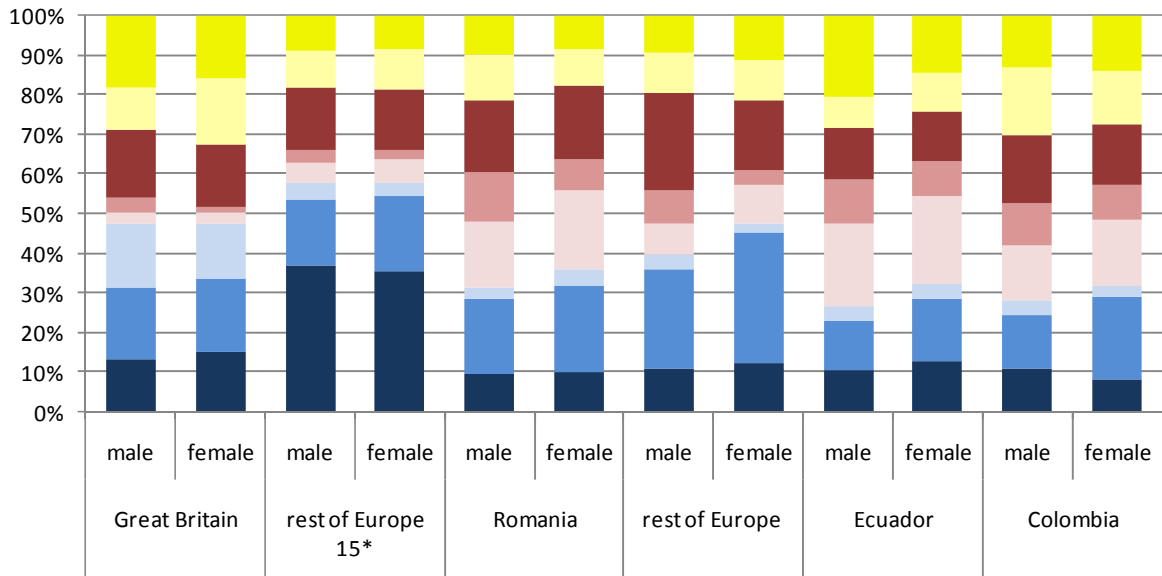
**Map 3. Distribution of all relatives (parents, siblings, spouse and children) living in a country different to Spain and ego’s country of birth.**



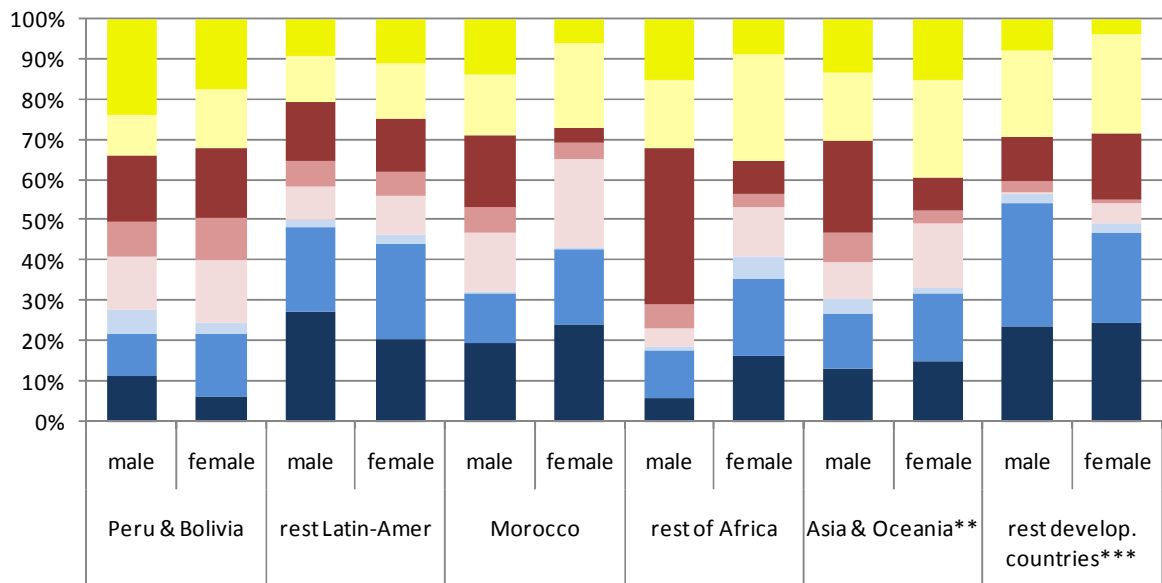
Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007

Strategies of mobility are not similar throughout the world. As we analysed before, direct trajectories are more common among women and, even more, if we consider specific places of birth, such as Africa. Now we present the consequences of these different patterns of emigration in relation to the spatial distribution of the close relatives at a precise moment of time (figure 4). The category ‘alone in Spain’ reflects some of these divergences very clearly. If disparities are not very noticeable for most of Latin-American and European origins, although percentages for women are generally slightly lower, the distances by sex increase considerably for the African and Asian immigrants, suggesting that family strategies are affected by cultural norms and conceptions of what family means. Relationships among their members and migration decision making are not equally understood by different origins. Furthermore, the fact of intending to group some relatives or not is also affected by the more long term stability at destination or the temporary aprioristic planning of the stay abroad. African women, for instance, will hardly move without their offspring, while working for some time in Spain leaving behind the grandparents or one of the spouses in charge of the children is a relatively frequent behaviour observed among Ecuadorian or Bolivian emigrant mothers (figure 4).

Figure 4. Geography of the family by ego's sex and country of birth



- all in Spain
- fam-creation in Spain, fam-origin in country of birth
- spouse in Spain, rest in country of birth
- fam-creation and part of fam-origin in Spain, rest fam-origin in country of birth
- no fam-creation, part of fam-origin in Spain, rest fam-origin in country of birth
- alone' in Spain
- at least a relative in a third country
- others



Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007

There are other findings which are worth mentioning. Except for Romanians and Colombians, the proportion of women with at least a relative in a third country is higher than that of men. And, except for the British (same percentage for male and female), the proportion of women with all the family of creation and at least a member of the family of origin in Spain is also higher than the proportion for men. Finally, the same happens for the category 'family of creation in Spain, family of origin in the country of birth', with the exception of immigrants from the rest of the developed countries (USA; Japan, South-Korea, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). Males compensate these percentages through the less-children-linked scenarios. That's to say, for men the following options prevail: there is no family of creation, just the spouse or no close relative in Spain. More complete scenarios are over-represented among women.

Finally, the category 'spouse in Spain, rest of relatives in the country of birth' is significantly higher for British people, probably indicating the weight of the retired migrants in this group (in fact, we will see later on that controlling by age and other factors will 'normalise' that behaviour). Furthermore, the more complex combinations, gathered in 'others' is again over-represented for the British, basically for British males. After this, immigrants from Ecuador and Bolivia-Peru (mainly men) have a greater participation in the category 'other', which is more related to the geographical dispersion of the family of creation: children living in different countries or spouse remaining in the country of birth.

## **6. Some explanations for the most paradigmatic scenarios of the geography of the family**

Apart from the effect of place of birth and gender we wish to assess the influence of some other factors. We include them in the following logistic models (table 3). For this stage of the research, we have preferred to use this methodological approach, although we do not ignore the possibility of working on others (like multinomial models) for future improvements. We thus keep it simple and contrast each group belonging to the most relevant types of the geography of the family with the rest of the population. To avoid extending the paper much more, we focus our comments on the significant coefficients, trying to provide a general vision of the main explanatory elements found for the spatial distribution of parents, siblings, spouse and offspring.

### *- Sex and place of birth*

Sex does not explain much as we consider simultaneously other socio-demographic factors. The effect is only significant for the category 'relative in a third country', maybe suggesting that family networks, as chain of independent members, has been more frequently determinant for men. So, for

instance, if a Moroccan man decides to leave his country of birth, he will go where he's got a sibling, not where his wife's siblings are. In other words, maybe this is associated with the fact that males are more often first emigrants or pioneers than females, thus pointing to places where their links are already established. However, as we interact with the region of origin we find that this is not always the pattern, and Romanian, Colombian and, to a less extent, Western European countries (except for the UK) annul this positive effect.

The condition of being a woman also decreases the likelihood of not having close relatives in Spain for the African ones (*'alone' in Spain*). For the Moroccan ones it is interesting because the negative estimator tells that even if for the Moroccan in general the prevalence of this scenario is not significantly different to that of the British (the baseline), females are less represented, by far, in this option. On the other hand, the final effect of the rest of African women is not so notorious, since the negative value for the interaction term is much compensated by the significant positive value for that region of birth. Also females born in Asia and Oceania (except for Japan, South-Korea, Australia and New Zealand), when academic level is not taken into account, are under-represented in this 'lonely' immigrant collective. Something similar happens for the rest of African females in the option 'all relatives in Spain'. If we just attend to the region of birth, the non-Moroccan African immigrants do not tend as much as the others to have all family members in Spain. However, again gender disparities in this group are high and females' pattern is similar to the other origins, the rest of covariates being equal.

Attending to the region of birth, many differences still persist after controlling for other covariates, although the magnitudes of the estimators are lower than for variables like age or period of arrival. Morocco is the country of birth with a higher positive estimate for the category 'all the relatives in Spain', so it is for them that the 'complete' family networks are more present at destination. The reason cannot be found in the legislative arena (contrary to what could be a partial reason for 'rest of Latin-America', where the Argentineans constitute the major collective), which does not especially favour the Moroccan population in their access to the permits. However, legislative changes in 2002 and 2006 made it easier for certain Latin-American countries to obtain the Spanish citizenship (Vono Vilhena 2007) and this could have had some echo in the family strategies. For Moroccan immigrants, and being aware that we are controlling by period of arrival and age, maybe the short distance to Spain and the particularities of cultural norms and kin structures help to explain their position regarding the closer geographical location of their relatives. Will the persons in this situation be more probably settled and rooted (more if they have children or grandchildren in the country after some time) and consequently more reluctant to move to a new destination or to return home? Then, we will be figuring out the Moroccan and other Latin-American than those from the Andean countries will be less inclined to emigrate again. However, the proximity of the neighbour country (Morocco) may facilitate other alternatives of mobility, such as circular migration (of older former immigrants that returned but keep relatives in Spain, for instance), alternating stays here and there.

Individuals from Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia show a different behaviour to that observed for the previous ones, standing out for their negative estimators in the category 'family of creation in Spain, family of origin in the country of birth', as figure 4 already suggested. The personal support networks of people from these places tend to be denser and more family based than for other immigrants (Aparicio and Tornos 2005; Miguel Luken et al. 2007), and siblings have a protagonist role in the exchange of help. On the other hand, we have already pointed out the fact that for many of them the logical of their migratory project implies living offspring at home. Thus, their family scenarios may be tipping the balance in favour of the presence of brothers and sisters and not so much in favour of the presence of children. Colombia, with a similar value for this category (non-significant when covariate on academic level is included in the model) exhibits a higher trend to count on a relative in a third country (probably United States or other Latin-American country). Maybe these groups of Latin-American immigrants are more likely to return home, mainly if they have left children there, but it could also happen that they are candidates to initiate reunification processes. The importance of the relatives in the social networks at destination has been also proved in previous works for Moroccans (Aparicio and Tornos 2005; Heering et al. 2004; Miguel Luken et al. 2007), and that may be explaining their lower levels for 'just family of creation in Spain'. Very rarely they cannot sum up a sibling or parent in the country.

The pattern for those immigrants born in the USA, Canada, Japan, South-Korea, Australia and New Zealand (rest of the developed countries), as compared to the other origins, tend to a greater spatial dispersion of the relatives (positive coefficients for 'relative in a third country' and negative for 'all the relatives in Spain') although keeping their offspring nearby. Again distance may explain something about this behaviour, although there is also an influence of the profile of these persons, often professionals, businessmen or skilled workers that form their own family at destination (or bring them) although they are not so dependent on their family networks abroad.

There are two other conclusions from the figures on places of birth that are worth stressing. On one hand, the relative position of Romanians, who are not much accompanied by relatives, but more likely to have at least a sibling, parent, spouse or child in Spain, as their negative coefficients for 'alone in Spain' proves. Their family networks are spread (see estimators for 'relative in a third country'), at least more than for the majority of the other regions of birth, obviously including the base-line Great Britain. Even if it is one of the collectives with a faster growth in their incoming flows, the frontier permeability for nationals of this country may give rise to more heterogeneous forms of family geographies. The difficulties on the legal conditions of entry may end by keeping immigrants static in the places of destinations.

**Table 3. Logit models for selected types of the geography of the family**

covariate		all the relatives in Spain		family of creation in Spain		'alone' in Spain		relative in a third country	
sex	male								
	female	-0.040	0.039	0.097	0.248	0.090	-0.042	<b>0.489**</b>	<b>0.501*</b>
country/ region of birth	Great Britain								
	Europe 15*	0.287	0.234	-0.037	0.005	<b>0.384**</b>	0.356	0.105	0.110
	Romania	0.320	0.187	-0.023	0.092	<b>-0.536*</b>	<b>-0.495**</b>	<b>0.824*</b>	<b>0.846*</b>
	rest of Europe	0.108	0.140	0.163	0.271	-0.059	-0.056	<b>0.639*</b>	<b>0.632*</b>
	Ecuador	0.327	0.239	<b>-0.570*</b>	<b>-0.461*</b>	-0.091	-0.173	-0.129	-0.126
	Colombia	-0.002	0.024	<b>-0.501**</b>	-0.424	0.036	-0.090	<b>0.740*</b>	<b>0.771*</b>
	Peru & Bolivia	0.557	0.495	<b>-0.669*</b>	<b>-0.633*</b>	-0.344	-0.334	0.214	0.106
	rest Latin-Amer.	<b>0.703*</b>	<b>0.739*</b>	0.128	0.167	-0.252	-0.234	<b>0.425**</b>	0.389
	Morocco	<b>0.943*</b>	<b>1.117*</b>	<b>-0.376**</b>	-0.256	0.375	0.280	0.268	0.372
	rest of Africa	<b>-0.937**</b>	-0.881	<b>-0.544*</b>	<b>-0.454**</b>	<b>1.273*</b>	<b>0.996*</b>	0.482	<b>0.680*</b>
	Asia & Oceania**	-0.173	-0.191	-0.328	-0.255	<b>0.589**</b>	<b>0.656**</b>	<b>0.890*</b>	<b>0.991*</b>
	rest developed countr.	<b>-0.798**</b>	-0.719	<b>0.668**</b>	<b>0.609*</b>	0.130	0.176	<b>1.095*</b>	<b>1.055*</b>
country/ region of birth*sex	Europe 15**female	-0.079	-0.135	0.130	0.007	0.082	0.259	<b>-0.505**</b>	-0.485
	Romania*female	-0.460	-0.443	0.080	-0.092	0.215	0.289	<b>-0.743*</b>	<b>-0.737*</b>
	rest of Europe*female	-0.070	-0.194	0.308	0.068	-0.074	0.119	-0.483	-0.525
	Ecuador*female	0.211	0.150	0.295	0.135	0.041	0.206	-0.365	-0.368
	Colombia*female	-0.220	-0.313	0.439	0.291	-0.046	0.213	<b>-0.839*</b>	<b>-0.862*</b>
	Peru & Bolivia*female	-0.594	-0.573	0.372	0.216	0.099	0.236	-0.154	-0.058
	rest Latin-Amer. *female	-0.293	-0.417	0.064	-0.047	0.029	0.087	-0.471	-0.422
	Morocco*female	-0.029	-0.200	0.437	0.405	<b>-1.153*</b>	<b>-1.181*</b>	-0.252	-0.105
	rest of Africa*female	<b>1.050**</b>	0.916	0.472	0.452	<b>-1.368*</b>	<b>-1.439*</b>	0.058	0.016
	Asia & Oceania*female	-0.316	-0.584	0.180	-0.010	<b>-0.936**</b>	-0.887	-0.247	-0.316
rest develop. countr*fem	0.416	0.423	-0.610	-0.817	0.274	0.404	-0.184	-0.228	
age-group	16-24								
	25-34	<b>-1.660*</b>	<b>-1.506*</b>	<b>1.390*</b>	<b>1.324*</b>	<b>0.311*</b>	<b>0.303*</b>	<b>0.321*</b>	0.238
	35-44	<b>-1.987*</b>	<b>-1.870*</b>	<b>1.669*</b>	<b>1.570*</b>	<b>0.213**</b>	0.214	<b>0.650*</b>	<b>0.511*</b>
	45-54	<b>-2.592*</b>	<b>-2.464*</b>	<b>1.725*</b>	<b>1.597*</b>	<b>0.573*</b>	<b>0.555*</b>	<b>0.628*</b>	<b>0.465*</b>
	55-64	<b>-3.366*</b>	<b>-3.280*</b>	<b>1.448*</b>	<b>1.262*</b>	<b>0.629*</b>	<b>0.697*</b>	<b>0.965*</b>	<b>0.885*</b>
	65-74	<b>-3.321*</b>	<b>-3.287*</b>	<b>1.534*</b>	<b>1.372*</b>	<b>0.764*</b>	<b>0.787*</b>	<b>1.053*</b>	<b>0.913*</b>
	75+	<b>-3.030*</b>	<b>-3.043*</b>	<b>0.584*</b>	0.473	<b>1.274*</b>	<b>1.251*</b>	<b>1.124*</b>	<b>1.139*</b>
period of first arrival to Spain	before 1986								
	1986-1995	<b>-1.980*</b>	<b>-2.006*</b>	<b>0.970*</b>	<b>0.950*</b>	<b>0.638*</b>	<b>0.692*</b>	<b>0.402*</b>	<b>0.404*</b>
	1996-2000	<b>-2.578*</b>	<b>-2.667*</b>	<b>1.020*</b>	<b>1.026*</b>	<b>1.247*</b>	<b>1.246*</b>	0.203	0.138
	2001-2004	<b>-3.256*</b>	<b>-3.319*</b>	<b>1.047*</b>	<b>1.057*</b>	<b>1.827*</b>	<b>1.824*</b>	<b>0.248**</b>	0.206
	2005-2007	<b>-4.105*</b>	<b>-4.169*</b>	<b>0.815*</b>	<b>0.818*</b>	<b>2.686*</b>	<b>2.693*</b>	0.177	0.181

covariate		all the relatives in Spain		family of creation in Spain		'alone' in Spain		relative in a third country	
academic level	cannot read-write								
	incomplete primary		-0.053		0.508		<b>-0.702**</b>		-0.159
	primary		<b>0.878*</b>		0.181		<b>-0.790*</b>		0.165
	secondary		<b>0.599**</b>		0.279		<b>-0.932*</b>		<b>0.417**</b>
	university		0.199		<b>0.605*</b>		<b>-0.920*</b>		<b>0.574*</b>
reasons for first emigration to Spain	family	1.131	<b>1.156*</b>	0.027	0.058	<b>-1.811*</b>	<b>-1.840*</b>	0.036	0.030
	change job destination	<b>-0.388*</b>	-0.292	<b>0.299*</b>	<b>0.282*</b>	-0.002	-0.001	0.051	0.011
	search for job	<b>-0.400*</b>	<b>-0.457*</b>	<b>-0.214*</b>	<b>-0.202*</b>	<b>0.251*</b>	<b>0.205*</b>	-0.141	-0.047
	to improve job	<b>-0.340*</b>	<b>-0.325*</b>	-0.085	-0.009	<b>0.254*</b>	<b>0.251*</b>	<b>-0.251*</b>	<b>-0.244*</b>
	political reasons	<b>0.510*</b>	<b>0.398**</b>	-0.030	0.022	-0.002	-0.070	0.215	0.249
	climate	<b>-0.447*</b>	<b>-0.496*</b>	<b>-0.213*</b>	-0.172	0.188	0.192	<b>0.243**</b>	<b>0.245**</b>
	retirement	0.503	<b>0.742*</b>	<b>-0.830*</b>	<b>-0.857*</b>	<b>-0.861*</b>	<b>-0.755*</b>	0.232	0.225
	quality of life	0.132	0.134	-0.013	-0.028	<b>-0.149*</b>	<b>-0.138**</b>	0.025	0.057
region of residence in Spain	Andalusia								
	Aragón	-0.116	-0.094	<b>0.385*</b>	<b>0.357*</b>	<b>-0.478*</b>	<b>-0.419*</b>	-0.164	-0.219
	Asturias	0.048	0.084	0.012	0.007	0.077	0.127	-0.161	-0.201
	Balearic Islands	<b>-0.394*</b>	<b>-0.387*</b>	<b>0.281*</b>	<b>0.286*</b>	0.152	0.181	-0.023	-0.051
	Canary Islands	-0.117	-0.201	0.212	0.187	0.065	0.157	-0.088	-0.190
	Cantabria	-0.119	-0.087	0.135	0.090	0.260	0.231	-0.294	-0.311
	Castilla y León	0.176	0.163	0.153	0.162	-0.078	-0.085	-0.235	-0.256
	Castilla-La Mancha	0.249	0.235	<b>0.274**</b>	0.250	-0.054	0.037	<b>-0.509*</b>	<b>-0.538*</b>
	Catalunya	<b>-0.287*</b>	<b>-0.265**</b>	<b>0.193**</b>	0.116	0.211	<b>0.281*</b>	-0.081	-0.020
	Comunidad Valenciana	-0.045	-0.034	0.124	0.105	-0.013	0.096	-0.186	-0.219
	Extremadura	0.100	0.062	0.178	0.058	<b>-0.447**</b>	-0.402	0.002	0.026
	Galicia	0.268	0.248	-0.108	-0.130	-0.231	-0.221	-0.132	-0.089
	Madrid	<b>-0.282**</b>	-0.207	0.110	0.054	0.183	<b>0.252*</b>	-0.016	-0.094
	Murcia	-0.009	-0.031	-0.124	-0.110	0.094	0.109	<b>-0.263**</b>	<b>-0.288**</b>
	Navarra	0.077	0.085	-0.035	-0.072	-0.115	-0.017	<b>-0.312*</b>	<b>-0.299**</b>
	País Vasco	-0.021	0.024	-0.050	-0.091	0.241	0.294	<b>-0.416*</b>	<b>-0.471*</b>
	Rioja (La)	-0.080	-0.175	0.149	0.186	0.211	0.240	-0.309	<b>-0.333**</b>
Ceuta y Melilla	<b>-0.772*</b>	<b>-0.746*</b>	<b>0.655*</b>	<b>0.679*</b>	0.132	0.192	-0.124	-0.235	
children when first emigration		<b>-0.384*</b>	<b>-0.432*</b>	-0.066	-0.032	<b>0.217*</b>	<b>0.254*</b>	<b>-0.420*</b>	<b>-0.401*</b>
number of relatives	total siblings	<b>-0.432*</b>	<b>-0.452*</b>	<b>-0.073*</b>	<b>-0.071*</b>	<b>-0.065*</b>	<b>-0.057*</b>	<b>0.198*</b>	<b>0.197*</b>
	total children	<b>-0.189*</b>	<b>-0.208*</b>	<b>0.087*</b>	<b>0.103*</b>	<b>-0.569*</b>	<b>-0.594*</b>	<b>0.216*</b>	<b>0.253*</b>
	total parents	<b>-0.295*</b>	<b>-0.258*</b>	0.042	0.001	<b>-0.248*</b>	<b>-0.207*</b>	0.036	0.019
constant		3.629*	3.036*	-3.658*	-3.975*	-2.396*	-1.617*	-3.798*	-4.110*
pseudo R2		0.4138	0.4262	0.0693	0.0753	0.2035	0.2007	0.0863	0.0938

\* significant for  $\alpha=0,05$ , \*\* significant for  $\alpha=0,1$

Source: own elaboration. ENI 2007. Base: models without covariate 'academic level' n=15,112; with that covariate n=14,036

Asian immigrants seem to be those with the poorest family coverage at destination, since they are over-represented in the options 'alone in Spain' and 'a relative in a third country'. Although family is culturally very important for Chinese people (by large, the most numerically important Asian group in Spain) and intra-group solidarity and contact are quite stressed for this collective (Beltrán 2000), the strategies adopted in the bosom of the family enlarge the geographical contexts where the members settle. In brief, we have found some evidence that, as argued by Bailey and Boyle (2004), there is a need to study the links between family, ethnicity and gender and to avoid privileging any one social construction.

- *Age and period of arrival*

Life cycle stage and year of arrival are obviously relevant factors to explain who and where the relatives are. In order to interpret results correctly, we have to advert that these variables are correlated (although correlation is not enough to provoke methodological problems when running the models), so the estimators for one somehow even up the estimators for the other. Besides, except for some cases, the values increases or decreases regularly as the age or time of arrival augment. One of these exceptions is found for the category 'all relatives in Spain'. Up to a certain point, the younger the person is, the higher the probability of having all close relatives in the country. At short adult ages, this immigrant will have no children yet and he/she is still dependent of the parents or emancipated soon ago, so he/she remains close to their elders and siblings. At a certain age (65), coefficients start to diminish (in absolute values). If they immigrated when they were young they have had more time to see their siblings or descendants move away. If they immigrated at older ages (for example, people who decide to spend their retirements in Spain), the family planning was different from the very beginning, and it did not necessarily involve family of origin and family of creation.

The figures for the second category 'just spouse and children in Spain' follow the same evolution and, if the coefficients grow up to the group 45-54, they go down afterwards. At young ages, we expect that the foreign-born population has some siblings around, even if children stay close. At medium adult ages, the presence of children is more probable without the company of siblings or parents, and at older ages we would be noticing the influence of those retirees we mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Older groups are over-represented in the scenario 'alone' in Spain', when fixing the rest of the variables, including period of arrival. We observe the same pattern for 'a relative in a third country'. Nonetheless, the coefficients for time of immigration present the opposite evolution, so the person with higher propensity to have no member of the closest family network in Spain will be the old person immigrating soon ago. In general, those who have been residing in Spain for shorter time are those more likely to be with no parent, siblings, spouse or offspring in the country. Period of arrival does not affect that much the position of 'relative in a third country' and, contrary to what we have



analysed so far, it strengthens the pattern of age. People who are older and came to Spain before are those whose close relatives have more probably experienced an international emigration. Again the longer one's stay abroad, the longer the interval of time a close relative has had to emigrate somewhere else.

- *Academic level*

When studying the type of migratory trajectory (direct-non direct) we got that higher academic level seemed to have a positive effect on the more complex itineraries. Related to this, we can interpret the value in table 3 for the top categories in the model for 'relative in a third country'. Those who are best prepared are more likely to have one of the parents, siblings or offspring (presumably seldom spouse) in a third country of residence. The complexity we observed for their trajectories has its counterpart from this new perspective.

In concordance with the theories on human capital and social networks (Granovetter 1973, 1982; Wellman, Wortley 1990), it was expectable that immigrants with a university degree were less dependent on the family networks to make resources available. Their emigration is more frequently unlinked from the decision of moving or staying by siblings or parents and they have their children with them when they emigrate or have them in the destination. These persons would have also enjoyed better financial and legal condition from the beginning.

The two more confronted scenarios match different profiles. The lower the level of studies, the higher the probability of not having any close relative in Spain, so circumstances for these persons seem to be especially difficult: scarce formal instruction and limited family networks at destination. On the other side, those over-represented in the group with complete family coverage are those with finished primary study or secondary studies. In brief, and in tune with previous works on social capital, results suggest that those who do not need the whole family knit because they can gain access to resources through formal actors (institutions, companies, etc.), people with higher level of studies, will not group all the relatives in Spain, while those least prepared who are not so capable to benefit from these formal actors are not even able to activate their informal family links because they are not gathered in the destination.

- *Reasons to move to Spain*

The coefficients for the main reasons to emigrate reinforce the different profiles that results so far are insinuating. Persons who came to improve the job they had at the country of origin or to directly search for a job are positively related to the category 'alone in Spain', whilst immigrants who came because of a change of job destination (diplomatic corps, workers of international firms, etc.) are over-represented in 'just family of creation in Spain'. The strongest effect for the complete family network in Spain ('all relatives in Spain') is found for the immigrants who answered that they came because of family motivations, where all 'tied' immigrants should be included. Despite the fact that

they had children afterwards in Spain, it is reasonable that the geographical closeness of the members remained unaltered. It is more surprising the positive estimator in this category for retirement (only for the model with academic level) and political reasons.

- *Region of residence in Spain*

We also wished to explore where within Spain the immigrant communities were somehow more settled (although the territorial reference for our dependent variable is still the country and not the Spanish region). Catalonia and Madrid, the main receiving regions in Spain, economically and demographically the most dynamic spaces, together with the Balearic Islands (which are also dynamic but economically more constraint to the touristic sector) concentrate fewer immigrants with all the relatives in the country and higher proportions of those who have any at all. The two major cities in Spain are in these regions (Madrid and Barcelona), they are relatively young areas with heterogeneous population, also (mostly in the case of Madrid) the entry gate to Spain mainly for immigrants from Latin-America. All these characteristics may help to understand their position in relation to the geography of the family. On the other hand, there is no region in the country that can be considered significantly grouping more settled immigrants than Andalusia, which despite being a internal sending region (and receiving to a lesser extend and depending on the sub-area), has a high proportion of long established immigrant population, much of it from Western European countries and Morocco.

- *Family*

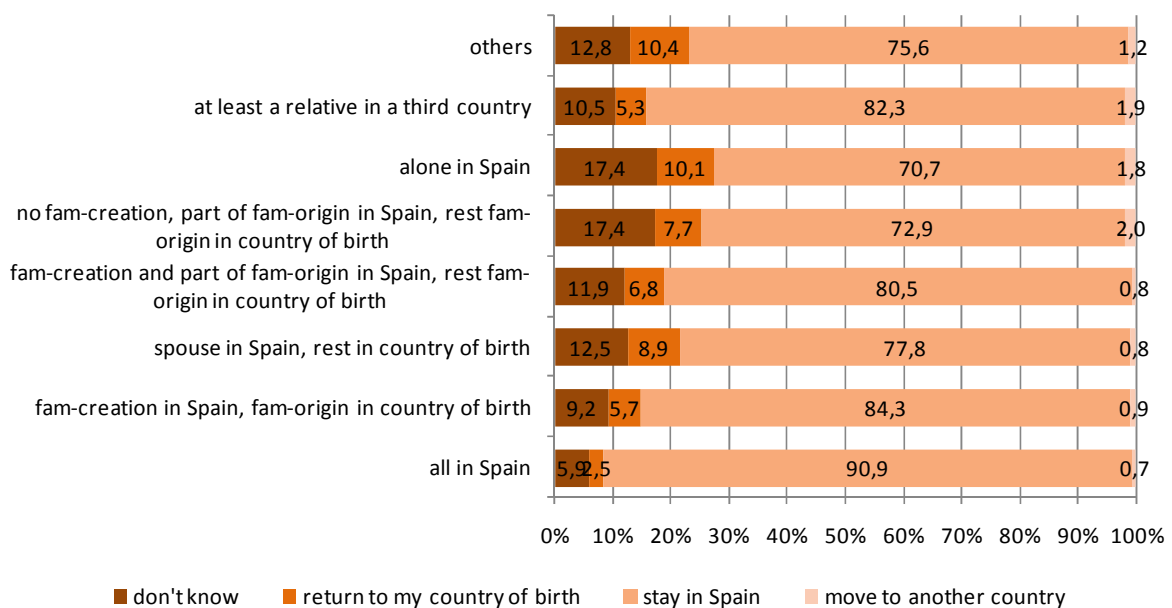
Those who had no children when first emigrated have had them (if any) abroad, so geographical proximity is somehow more guaranteed for this sort of family-bond, somehow explaining the negative coefficient obtained for 'children when emigrating' on the most compact option of family distribution, 'all the relatives in Spain'. It is more difficult to search a cause for the positive effect on the other extreme scenario, 'alone in Spain'. If we could expect that the risks assumed when emigrating would be less if the person already had children and that counting on someone (in our case, a relative) at the destination would facilitate the 'success' of the migratory project, the results do not confirm this hypothesis. However, once more the incorporation of the following covariate dilutes to some degree this impact, since the higher the number of children, the lower the probability of being alone in Spain.

The increase in the number of relatives decreases the likelihood of having all in Spain and, for the total amount of siblings and children, also increases the probability of having at least one in another country. The larger the extended family (in the limits considered) the more difficult to gather the entire kin in one nation, thus consequently it will be also more feasible that at least one has moved to a new destination (positive values for 'a relative in a third country') and that the person is not by himself in Spain (negative values for 'alone in Spain').

## 7. Geography of the family and plans for future

Intentions about future are very difficult to be drawn from the type of data that can be collected through a closed questionnaire. People may think in one direction today and be influenced by circumstances that make them change their minds tomorrow. Furthermore, it is often very hard to express certainty about our own plans, even in short term, and despite these doubts interviewees will try to give a proximate answer to the questions presented to them. Specifically, the survey we are using included two main inquires about the topic: *which are your plans for the following five years?* and *do you have the intention to bring some relatives to Spain?* We relate these questions to the geography of the family, using this variable on the location of the family members as the dependent one, since it provides a precise insight of the family situation in present with implications about forthcoming mobility (or absence of mobility). For instance, we presume that a person who has all his/her relatives in Spain will be less willing to initiate a new emigration and will be more likely to remain in the country. On the other side, a person who has no relatives in Spain will be more prone to return, move to a third country or, depending on his/her life-cycle stage, wait for the optimal conditions to bring spouse and children.

Figure 5. Plans for the next five years by geography of the family



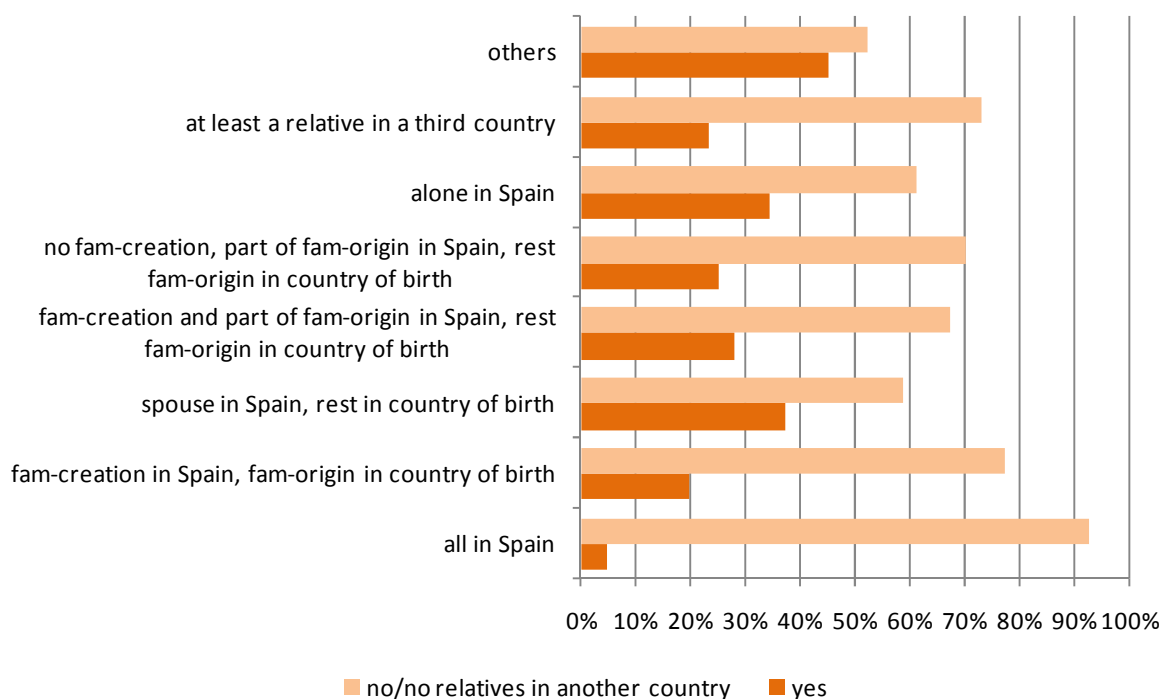
Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007

Intentions declared for the next five years are not so much related to the geography of the family as we could have expected (figure 5). For all categories of the family geography we observe that more than 70% intend to remain in Spain. However, the lowest and the highest percentages are found where expected, among those who have no close relatives in the country and those who have all in

Spain, respectively. Moving to another country is, by far, the last option people consider, even if they have a close relative in a third country (1.9%). We have to remember that fieldwork was carried out in a moment when people in general were still optimistic about the economic conjuncture of the country. Crisis worsened afterwards, so a survey carried out today would probably provide another view on these questions.

It is curious, however, to notice that return in a forthcoming future is an alternative which is rarely contemplated. Immigrants who do not have close relatives in Spain or are catalogued as ‘others’ (as we argued, more related to the spatial dispersion of spouse and children) more frequently answer that they plan to return.

**Figure 6. Intention of bringing some relatives to Spain by geography of the family**



Source: own elaboration – ENI 2007

Finally, interviewees are inquired about their intention to bring some relatives to Spain (figure 6). Those persons in categories indicating the absence of some or all children in Spain (‘spouse in Spain, rest in the country of birth’, ‘alone in Spain’, ‘others’) reach the highest proportions of affirmative responses, although it is interesting to outstand that in any case this goes beyond 50% of the total answers. Maybe part of the offspring is already emancipated (for instance, those of retired immigrants) so parents and children’s options of migration can be considered independent, maybe strategies do not include this move, maybe interviewees simply think it is not possible for them

because of their legal or economic situation, so intentions are out of question. Besides, differences with the proportions for those who do not have family of creation, or this is already in Spain, and probably wish to bring siblings or parents are not that noticeable. In any case, reunification is not the unique and universal plan. Settlement in the destination is not the only end for a migratory movement and, maybe as one of the main consequences, gathering as many relatives as possible in this destination is not the only intention of the first migratory chain links.

## **8. Conclusions**

Migration is not a simple phenomenon. People move and stay, people plan and re-plan the itineraries, destinations are not always fixed in advance and, even if they are, sometimes they imply complex routes where different countries and regions are involved. Understanding this mobility, the logical that lies behind the decisions, the effect of individual, social networks and territorial particularities will help to design more effective policies addressed to improve the quality of the whole population.

In this paper, we have found evidences, from the wide sample we have analysed, of the significant effect of family networks on the migration strategies. Even if direct trajectories are the most common option (86.5%), the presence of a close relative in Spain or in a third country are key factors when deciding where to point when emigrating. In fact, it is the existence of offspring in a place (controlling by 'family reasons for moving', more associated to 'tied' emigrants) that best predict the residence in that place. For our population of study, the experience in a country different to that of birth and Spain normally implies the stay in a Western European country (France, Germany and Great Britain are highlighted) or the USA. However, as we check the spatial distribution of relatives at present (parents, siblings, offspring and spouse), it is the American destination (previously excluding countries of birth) the most relevant one, so we can expect that future mobility, if not to the country of birth, will be inclined to these mentioned countries.

Patterns differ considerably by place of origin and sex. Females tend to effectuate more direct trajectories, regardless the country of birth, normally leading to family scenarios in Spain in which at least children and spouse (if there are) are represented, whilst it is more likely that males have lived in a third country and, to a certain extent, are less accompanied by their offspring in Spain. Regarding the country of birth, Moroccan people stand out for their straightforward itineraries to Spain and for the fact that they gather more frequently all the kin in this country, mainly as we focus on the region of Andalusia. The geography of the family of the non-Andean Latin-American immigrants is somehow

similar, with a noticeable participation in the category 'all relatives in Spain', probably as a consequence of the legislative conditions to obtain the citizenship that benefit them.

We also find evidences showing that migratory strategies of other Latin-Americans, such as Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Peruvians, result in more disperse geographical distributions of the closest family members. More often than other immigrants, they leave children in the home-country with their grandparents or one of the parents in charge of the youngest.

In general, the better the position of the person in terms of human and financial capital (although indirectly presumed through level of studies, reasons for moving and region of birth), the less dependent he or she is on informal networks at destination. People arriving from developed countries, with a high educational attainment and moving because of a change of job destination are more likely to have just family of creation (spouse and children) in Spain. Their migration, thus, seem unlinked from parents or siblings.

Finally, as we relate geography of the family with plans for near future, we get that staying in Spain is, by far, the preferred alternative, although proportion is lower for those with fewer family members in the country, contrary to what we obtain for those with all relatives in Spain. On the other hand, reunification, although more frequently desired by immigrants with children abroad, is not a generalised intention. Distance, legal framework and cultural conception of the family structure are other elements that deserve further attention and would surely help to explain the differences found and the reasons foreign-born population has to follow dissimilar migratory family patterns.

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