

European Science Foundation  
Standing Committee for the Social Sciences

*Exploratory Workshop Grant*

"Family and Migration Across the Lifecourse"

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**SCIENTIFIC REPORT**

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# Contents

	Page
1 Executive Summary	3
2 Scientific Content	5
3 Final Programme	29
4 Assessment of the Results	30
5 Profile and List of Delegates	38
Acknowledgements	

# 1 Executive Summary

The family context of contemporary migration is an important demographic, economic, and social issue to academics and policy makers across Europe. This European Science Foundation-funded Exploratory Workshop on "Migration and Family Across the Lifecourse" brought together 20 emerging and established scholars from eight European countries to benchmark current scientific activity and identify new research trends. The University of Leeds hosted the three-day Workshop in September 2001. Delegates were asked to address one of five themes that the members of the international coordinating group had pre-selected as areas of research excellence within Europe. These themes focused on:

- Mobility and family formation and dissolution
- Migration and family in the context of ageing societies
- Tied migration
- Migration, family, and ethnicity
- The Central and Eastern European (CEE) context.

Each of the above themes formed the basis for a panel to which delegates contributed short presentations of their research. Each panel was moderated by a member of the coordinating group, who introduced the rationale for, and broad underpinnings of the theme. Discussion was led by a named discussant, and served to synthesise panel specific themes and link these to the more overarching European context identified in an opening overview panel. The workshop concluded with a small break-out group discussion of research priorities.

ESF support for the Workshop, and two linked coordinating group meetings, has produced three tangible outcomes. First, the Workshop identified and confirmed the salience of family migration as an emerging and important research field. In recognising the intersections between migration behaviour and family structure as at the core of family migration scholarship, the delegates collectively identified eight research topics in urgent need of scientific attention:

- 1) Researchers need to understand the dimensions of the **changing family context**, with special attention to delay in childbirth, rising separation rates, and the greater diversity of elderly household types, with their implications for intergenerational care arrangements.

2) Researchers also need to understand the **changing migration context** and migration mechanisms. The workshop saw several cases of this, including the change from settlement migration to incomplete migration, and the continued emergence of transnational links.

3) There is an urgent need to **draw together internal and international migration** into the discussion of family migration, and link this to broader debates about belonging and membership in Europe, and citizenship.

4) The workshop demonstrated the necessity of **tying applied elements to theoretical elements**. A good example is the need to jointly theorise housing and labour markets.

5) The workshop endorsed the view that **intersections between ethnicity and gender** must be theorised as a matter of urgency. There is a tendency to privilege gender in existing accounts of family migration, and participants argued it was essential to avoid treating ethnicity in a similarly restricted way.

6) Existing disciplinary polarisations are non-productive for European scholars, underlining the need for further **inter-disciplinarity** in research.

7) Through both empirical demonstrations, and conceptual persuasion, delegates confirmed the potency of the **lifecourse** approach for understanding family and migration. Participants acknowledged that lifecourse approaches were not new but, given the need for an interdisciplinary vision of family migration, argued their full potential lay unrealised.

8) The workshop repeatedly saw the relevance of **institutional context**. This appeared in discussion about citizenship determinations, variations in access to rights, family law, housing provision, and integration within the European Union.

The second important outcome from the Workshop arises from the establishment of an embryonic but collegial and productive group of scholars committed to an ongoing Europe-wide "conversation" about family migration. Evidence of this productivity can be gleaned from the ability and willingness of the group to synthesise conceptually and methodologically diverse research themes (see above). There was an implicit recognition of the advantages and necessity of inter-disciplinarity if family migration research were to be useful to the policy community. There was also a unanimous desire to build the research network across Europe from its initial strengths in Western and Eastern Europe.

Third, the Workshop has led to a series of short- and medium-term ongoing activities. These include the guest editing of a special theme issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* on research frontiers in family migration by two of the coordinating group members, the organisation of a follow-up panel on transnational family migration at an international conference in July 2002, and the drafting of a proposal to establish a Scientific Network on Family and Migration in a Changing Europe.

## 2 Scientific Content

### 2.1 Context of the workshop:

Funding from the Standing Committee for the Social Sciences of the European Science Foundation (ESF) has underwritten the development of an embryonic research grouping dedicated to furthering our knowledge of family migration. Between the end of 1999 and 2001 three linked activities were organised to bring together emerging and established scholars from across Europe to discuss research frontiers in family migration. Two of these activities centred on co-ordinating group meetings, held either side of a central workshop, hosted by the University of Leeds (see programme details in section 3). At the first of these events in The Hague, the five member co-ordinating group identified broad themes in family migration scholarship and began to recognise researchers whose expertise matched these themes. These researchers were then invited to an intensive workshop in Leeds where they presented research findings and exchanged ideas for future work. The third and final meeting sponsored by the ESF was held in Prague to synthesise research frontiers and devise action plans for carrying forward these intellectual agendas. It was at this meeting where plans were drawn up to organise a special issue of the influential *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (JEMS) on new directions in family migration research, and where a draft proposal for an ESF Network was developed. This scientific report draws materials from all three activities to describe in some detail the accomplishments of the exploratory workshop programme.

### 2.2 Planning for the Leeds workshop:

Members of the co-ordinating group were responsible for the identification of thematic areas that formed coherent foci of attention within the European literature on family migration, and with which they had some particular expertise. These areas were:

- Mobility and family formation and dissolution
- Migration and family in the context of ageing societies

- Tied migration
- Migration, family, and ethnicity
- The Central and Eastern European (CEE) context

A list of researchers, whose current work was thought to contribute to one of the identified thematic areas, was drawn up. As researchers were contacted informally about their availability for the workshop, and new names were added through recommendations, care was taken to maintain a balance in the eventual composition of the workshop between emerging and established scholars and women and men, and over national origins and area of training. As reflected by one of the panels, we did make a special effort to include scholars from the CEE. Citation indices were also used at this stage to identify prominent European scholars in particular sub-fields outside the immediate remit of the co-ordinating group.

Following on from the formal invitation of participation from ESF in June, delegates submitted brief abstracts. Allocations of delegates to panels proceeded on the basis of these abstracts. The workshop was designed to be exploratory and inclusive, recognising that researchers had different methodological and conceptual expertise. A total of ten delegates circulated papers prior to the meeting or at the meeting. As this was not a requirement of attendance, the co-ordinators felt such a response (coming as it did at relatively short notice) was encouraging. Indeed, the discussion that ensued at the workshop, and the high standard of presentations, reinforced this impression.

Basic information about the workshop, and links to relevant sources of local information for delegates, was regularly updated on a dedicated web page.

### 2.3 Workshop activities:

Researchers from across Europe travelled to Leeds to discuss recent research developments in the field of family migration. The exploratory workshop was held over the weekend of September 7-9 and hosted by the School of Geography at the University of Leeds. In addition to an introductory, context setting panel, and a synthetic closing discussion, five thematic panels were convened. The workshop attracted twenty scholars from eight European countries.

#### *Panel 1 Context and Overview*

The opening panel set the inter-disciplinary tone of the workshop by reviewing recent developments in the legal underpinnings of family migration and by surveying theoretical debates within the field. Louise Ackers

summarised a range of research that explores the relationships between family, intra-community mobility, and citizenship in the EU. Her paper demonstrated how citizenship rights vary according to the type of mobility and position within the family unit. Although Article 18 states that every citizen of the union shall have the right to move, in practise it is one's ability to make contributions via paid work (and not nationality status per se) that mediate access to the benefits of citizenship. Ackers argued that her own work on migrant children and retirement migration also showed that definitions of "work" vary across national contexts. The paper called for greater attention to variations in national laws and legal discourses across Europe, with particular regard to family rights.

In the second paper, Eleonore Kofman laid out a broad critique of traditional family migration literature. The paper noted that family migration research is largely ignored in discussions of international migration, despite the fact that family reunification is an important element of this type of mobility. As marriage is a lynchpin for much long distance mobility to Europe, Kofman argues for greater attention to be paid to issues of gender relations within families. Indeed, the paper suggested there was mileage in "hitching up" the hitherto separate research agendas on the international movement of dual career households and the regional labour market oriented, traditional "family migration" strand. Like Ackers, Kofman saw utility in theorising the role of children in accounts of family migration. More attention should also be devoted to understanding how the dynamics of labour markets (for example, casualisation) mediate family migration.

This panel provided a general and highly stimulating backcloth for the subsequent papers. As the workshop proceeded, delegates were able to refer back to many of the issues raised by the first two speakers.

Presentations on day 2 of the workshop were organised into panels that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. Each panel began with a summary overview by the co-ordinating group member who had taken responsibility for the topic. Their comments were followed by 15-20 minute papers, with time added at the end for discussion. A discussant provided specific feedback to the presenters and moderated the ensuing exchange.

#### *Panel 2 Mobility and family formation and dissolution.*

This panel, moderated by Paul Boyle, considered the relationship between family formation and dissolution and migration, including marriage, divorce, cohabitation and children leaving the parental home. The panel also addressed the changing nature of the family and its potential implications for migration. Examples include rising rates of divorce, cohabitation and autonomous motherhood. These processes, and their effects on migration,

connect to a theoretical discussion of the notion of ‘family’, charting the family as a site of acute political debate, and the changes in intimate relationships that have helped shape a redefinition of the ‘family’. Finally, rather than simply focussing on the effects of family formation and dissolution on migration, the questions of whether and how migration influences family formation and dissolution were raised.

In his opening remarks, Paul Boyle described the ways in which families were changing across Europe, noting a dearth of baseline empirical work on this topic. He then identified some of the ways that family dynamics could affect mobility strategies. A central point of this paper concerned the need to think in a recursive way about the links between family context and mobility, with each affecting the other. To gain purchase on what is a complex system, Boyle suggested giving more attention to the theme of intra-household power relations.

The paper by Robin Flowerdew and Alaa Al-Hamad reported on research carried out in Northern England that sought to link family events with migration events. The paper began with a broad overview of why young people – and young families – consider mobility options, with an emphasis upon internal migration within Britain. The paper focused on some of these linkages, especially related to family formation and dissolution, by using longitudinal data from the Social Change and Economic Life Initiative. Reinforcing other recent work in this topic, the authors reported that most moves occurred in the same year as family events, although it was not uncommon to find mobility events two or more years before and after family events. The paper raised a number of important conceptual issues, including the direction of causality between separation/divorce, the factors prompting mobility (perhaps the same factors associated with the family event, for example poor labour market prospects), and the mobility event itself.

Agata Gorny and Ewa Kepinska described how their research on mixed marriages involving Ukrainians in Poland sheds light on the intersection between immigration law, family formation, gender and mobility. Linking the growing incidence of mixed marriages to economic and cultural shifts, the paper utilised Polish marriage data for the 1990s to assess the conceptual framework of mate selection proposed by Becker. They argued that much of the movement of Ukrainian women to Poland occurs not through family reunification, but as temporary, economic migration that leads to mixed marriages. By combining ethnographic data from Warsaw with correlation analysis of visa rates and mixed marriage rates, the authors concluded by suggesting that mixed marriages are likely to become a more, rather than less, important part of settlement processes in Poland.



The panel generated discussion about a range of topics including: the role of ethnicity in structuring migration into Poland; the duration of mixed marriages; the motives of female migrants; the role of legal status; and the potential of the lifecourse as a kind of theoretical "superstructure" that could integrate the family migration processes identified at the internal and international scale.

The specific contributions arising from panel 2 include these observations:

- The recursive links between family and migration must be theorised. That is, migration affects household structure which in turn affects re-migration. Divorce, separation, and delayed childbearing may affect migration directly and indirectly (for example through changing commuting patterns).
- Intrahousehold power relations can be usefully theorised to capture the role of identity and other cultural constructions (beyond patriarchy).
- Longitudinal approaches are not a panacea, and are only as useful as the conceptual model of cause and effect that they attempt to mimic. Given the rising importance of longitudinal methods, this is an important observation.
- Mixed marriages are an important emerging issue: the intersection of gender and ethnicity and the relevance of place context are key themes.
- Mixed methods are highly productive.

*Panel 3 Migration, commuting, and family in ageing societies.*

Much research on mobility focuses on the family formation and upward labour career stages in the life cycle. However, in an ageing society certain family forms become increasingly important, such as empty nest families, retired couples, widows and widowers. Their residential needs and preferences are different to those of other household types. For instance, empty nest households are less restricted in their residential choices than younger families. Often, they combine high incomes with a more flexible working situation. Retired households often need health care facilities but these are not necessarily available in those regions that are most attractive for pre-retirement and early retirement households. International migration of early retirement families was another topic of interest for this panel. This may become more important, especially in view of new forms of combined residential and service housing that are being developed in southern European regions.

Clara Mulder provided statistical support for the notion that lifecourse operates through family context to influence the outcomes of long distance migration. Traditionally, women are tied movers and men are tied stayers.

Long distance migration is influenced by the power relations within the household. However, these patterns have changed in the last decade. Mulder's paper suggested that explanations of the outcomes of migration that consider how gender roles function within families should augment traditional, human capital frameworks. The contribution further extended the lifecourse framework by highlighting how early in life residential moves can influence later in life labour market fortunes.

Amelia Roman and Leo van Wissen began their application of lifecourse frameworks by linking migration events in Europe to housing markets in the context of demographic ageing. They argued that the lifecourse perspective is a productive vehicle for the generation of research hypotheses that link ageing to individual and family migration. For example, what are the implications of the empty nest phase for housing demand, and how might this change the motivations for migration? Similarly, how do the divorce events of empty nesters impact migration direction and timing? Other lifecourse events, including retirement, the loss of a spouse/partner, and significant changes in health status can lead to a slate of non-economic motives for migration, including amenity, support, return, and institutional mechanisms. The authors argued that comprehensive accounts of family migration under demographic ageing can be usefully informed by considering these economic and non-economic factors.

Brigitte Baccaini examined links between migration and labour markets in the Ile de France region. Starting from the empirical standpoint that examinations of cross-sectional and longitudinal data-sets can support different interpretations of migration-labour market relationships, the paper went on to show the centrality of housing markets in mediating these links. For Baccaini, the contexts of family and ageing can be incorporated into family migration research through attention to three research axes. The first axis explores the usefulness of longitudinal data-sets in highlighting how migration, housing, and labour careers unfold in interconnected ways across the lifecourse. The second axis links daily mobility events (for example, commuting) to migration decisions. The third research axis acknowledges that the complex links between migration, housing, and labour markets play themselves out at different scales (for example, individual, household, local, regional), and that greater use should be made of statistical techniques that account for multiple levels of variation. The final paper in panel 3 by Dr Luule Sakkeus was withdrawn.

Panel 3, moderated by Leo Van Wissen, sparked lively discussion. In particular, questions and comments focused on thinking through the usefulness of lifecourse perspectives. Some topics included the role of migration history, the cross cultural applicability of the lifecourse frame, the ability to incorporate cohort flow ideas into explanations (for example, in

relation to Mulder's findings of gender role shifts), and the possibility that some retirement moves made by the young old have direct and important economic consequences (for example, by providing child care support for working parents).

The specific contributions arising from panel 3 include these observations:

- Demographic ageing is a key context for driving family migration. This will affect all European societies over the next generation with important social policy implications.
- Linking work and housing market domains – for example by considering the link between commuting and long distance migration – are important research areas. Is long distance commuting a new outcome for family migration research?
- The role of home ownership in family migration processes is place specific. For example, the cost of moving to large cities means households may split up geographically (London, Vienna, Prague, Amsterdam may have different specifics but the same underlying process). This is connected to the lifecourse through lifecycle considerations (presence of children etcetera).
- Biographical factors including migration history, early career experiences, and early lifecourse transitions like separation are important considerations. However, given the above comment about oversimplifying what are complex longitudinal processes, it is important to locate these biographies within a lifecourse framework that can track changes in a dynamic manner.
- There are links between daily activity patterns and migration. Commuting behaviour is a predictor of migration intentions and behaviour.

#### *Panel 4 Tied migration.*

Contributors acknowledged that the geographic mobility of families is associated with a broad set of labour market implications for both partners and that empirical investigations of women as “tied migrants” demonstrate short-to-medium term declines in labour force participation, hours worked and wages. In introducing the panel, moderator Adrian Bailey surveyed these, and more recent themes in this branch of literature. A number of critiques of previous approaches were also raised, including the lack of cross-national and comparative work, particularly in Europe, the difficulties associated with theorising fluid gender relations within families, and the limitations of treating families as “closed systems” to be the recipients of various policy initiatives (that is, instrumentalist views).

Keith Halfacree began his paper on “untying” tied migration by posing the question – are dual career households a desirable or even viable social blueprint? Drawing examples from recent statements by British politicians, Halfacree sketched a series of connections between political discourse and the role of migration norms and ideologies in much broader globalisation imperatives, arguing that key international labour markets necessary for the latter rely on a culture of migration. Indeed, other workshop contributors also spoke of an “expectation of mobility” among certain groups. The paper closed by calling for a structuration perspective which can jointly theorise the practises of mobility, global capitalism, and patriarchy.

Parvati Raghuram launched her critique of traditional tied migration studies from a discursive perspective. Her paper described how four “meta-narratives” of tied migration research have left no analytical space for more nuanced descriptions of the processes of tied migration, and have helped perpetuate the view of women as victims and men as leaders of family migration events and practises. Levelling a similar critique at the literature on dual career couples, Raghuram introduced a case-study of medical migration to suggest how Indian doctors were using transnational migration strategies to contest and shape/reproduce the underlying class and gender relations of their communities.

In the panel’s third paper, Darren Smith sketched an emerging research agenda that focuses on a neglected corner of the tied migration literature: the relocation practises used by large companies. Like his colleagues on this panel, Smith had no truck with many of the assumptions of tied migration scholarship. Concerned to not only discuss the measurable impacts that mobility might have on the work family outcomes (for example, division of labour) but also to jointly consider how mobility feeds into the very meaning of taken-for-granted terms like work and family, Smith outlined a research agenda that links origins and destinations and tracks longitudinally employees asked to relocate. Like Halfacree, Smith also questioned the basis of normative policy constructions, in particular the notion of “family-friendly” measures.

The specific contributions arising from panel 4 include these observations:

- Researchers need to understand how family is a discursive category that is shaped by politicians and public opinion. It is socially constructed in relation to the needs of global capital and the needs of nation-states. One example of the latter: the recognition of family stability as a basis of identity.
- Class and ethnic specific cultures of migration have accompanied globalisation. Migration expectations vary across space.

- Migration strategies are used by individuals and groups to achieve more than just economic outcomes: identity and gender relations are actively transformed by migrants.
- We need to consider the cross-cultural meaning of tied migration. The construction of tied movers lends a passivity to women that may not always match their intentions or experiences.
- The context of internal labour markets of large companies has been ignored by family migration scholars. However, an increasing number of skilled migrants are subject to this context. Furthermore, policy-makers and business leaders are keen to better understand limitations on the geographic mobility for dual career couples. They attempt to influence outcomes through, for example, family friendly policy.

*Panel 5 Migration and ethnicity.*

This emerging branch of family migration literature examines how ethnicity frames the relationship between migration strategies and family outcomes. The panel discussed what is going on in international and regional migration in terms of "family patterns" among different ethnicities. Moderator Dusan Drbohlav kicked off the discussion with a broad ranging, international and historical review of ethnicity-mobility links, with an accent on international movement. The paper began by articulating and problematising the concept of ethnicity before turning to exemplars that highlighted the roles of ethnicity in mediating both the causes and consequences of international family migration. A number of this paper's arguments were raised at other junctures in the workshop. For example, is the "family" the best scale at which to study the effects of ethnicity? Is the concept of family migration in some senses underbounded? Is the practise of transnational migration undermining traditional family-oriented assimilation and settlement norms? How does ethnicity intersect with gender, cross-culturally, to illuminate the practises of family migration in response to elder-care responsibilities? Drbohlav closed with a call for response that explores the intersections of ethnicity, gender, and class across the lifecourse.

The paper by Phil Rees and Andy Peloe gave delegates a glimpse of one strategy for responding to Drbohlav's call for greater attention to ethnicity across the lifecourse. Taking the 1991 UK Census-derived definition of ethnicity, and cross-classifying these groups with a series of lifecourse informed categories, Rees and Peloe showed how movement into London boroughs varied both across ethnicity and the lifecourse. The paper showed, for example, the differences in settlement strategies for Whites and Black Africans. Most groups were to be found across Greater London, and not – on this evidence – concentrated or segregated in limited number of boroughs.

This paper pointed to the utility of empirical work for benchmarking demographic and social processes and for generating research hypotheses (in this case, discussion followed about the operation of housing markets).

This panel, like others, sponsored discussion about the need for more cross-national comparative work. Delegates also echoed the point that the integration of quantitative and ethnographic analyses could yield important insights into family migration practises. Links were also drawn back to panel three on the lifecourse.

The specific contributions arising from panel 5 include these observations:

- Ethnicity cannot be treated as a black box but means different things in different cultural and political contexts, for example US and Europe.
- We need to develop our understanding of the spatial behaviour of members of particular ethnic groups who are international migrants. What are their internal/transnational migration patterns? The context of reception together with the migration strategy may influence these patterns.
- Household dynamics and patterns of family formation and dissolution vary across ethnicity.
- There is ethnic specificity of inter-generational responsibilities as seen in variations in remittance behaviours.
- There is also ethnic specificity in transnational migration and settlement strategies.
- Although ethnic-specific variations do appear, it is important to jointly theorise how ethnicity intersects with gender and class to impact family migration behaviours and outcomes.
- The Rom is an undertheorised and understudied population. This is also a group of continuing interest to European policy makers.

*Panel 6 Migration in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) context.*

Unlike the previous five 'thematic' panels, Marek Kupiszewski moderated a collection of papers that explored how the range of conceptual issues associated with family migration play out in a particular historical and cultural context. Transitional processes in economy, politics and social life in CEE countries have resulted in a modification of migration patterns. The reduction or demise of heavy industry has curbed historical flows from rural to urban and industrial areas. Overall levels of internal migration have reduced substantially due to both limitation of labour markets and the prohibitive costs of housing at the destination for migrants moving up the urban

hierarchy. In the largest cities processes of suburbanisation have expanded. Families have developed various strategies to substitute permanent migration. For example, international and internal pendular (circular) migrants have responded to some of the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour in large cities. At the same time families at the bottom of labour market developed complicated strategies of unfinished international migration, conforming to the theory of dual labour markets and diversification of sources of income.

The first paper by Marek Kupiszewski was devoted to the review of internal and international migration in the CEE. The paper dealt with not only traditionally understood migration, but also with various forms of mobility, in particular with incomplete migration - a new form of pendular mobility typical of people in the lowest segments of the labour market who try to retain or improve the standards of living of their families. The paper identified the key characteristics of the migration and mobility patterns in the last decade and set some research hypotheses, which may be used to formulate research projects aiming at expansion and consolidation of our knowledge of family migration.

The second paper by Phil Rees and Marek Kupiszewski focused on the patterns of internal migration by age in 18 European countries. The age variable was used as a proxy variable for life stage. An attempt was made to typify migration by age patterns in Central and Eastern Europe and in Western Europe (understood in political not geographical terms). It was established that in CEE family migration tends to be towards urban centres whereas in Western Europe it is responsible for deconcentration. However, young adults tend to concentrate in urban areas in all the countries surveyed. Old age migration also appears distinctive, and is associated with a desire by the elderly to be located close to areas with good access to services and facilities.

The last paper of the session by Zdenek Cermak was devoted to the changing patterns of internal migration in the Czech Republic and to a comparison of these patterns with other CEE countries. The author identified the main changes in the migration patterns, including the growing importance of small towns and the reduced role of larger urban areas in population redistribution.

The session provided good insight into the migration processes in the CEE countries. Questions explored how this research can be combined with qualitative investigations to describe some of the mechanisms of migration. A number of questions were also put forward, which may be used to stimulate further research projects (see section 4.1.4 below).

The specific contributions arising from panel 6 include these observations:

- Panelists identified migration forms new to the region. These included pendular and incomplete migration, and rural to international migrations without an intervening step to a domestic urban area.
- New migration geographies include the entrance of people from marginalised regions into illegal sectors within urbanised core areas.
- Pendular migrants are marginalised in origin areas due to their absence. This can cause tensions between family members and disrupt household organisation. In some cases, paracriminal activity among the children in such split households was observed.
- A sophisticated and strongly networked system of avoiding border controls on international migration is emerging. Networks help get around visa limits by rotating job slots and providing logistical support. A substantial share of labour migration is illegal, with jobs taken without the necessary work permits. This is likely to continue as the economics of migration is built the avoidance of social health security payments and taxation.
- The history of emigration may help us understand current migration patterns. For example, Poland is a country of emigration while Czech Republic is less so. This connects to an earlier point about the variations in cultural meanings of migration and migration strategies.

#### *Panel 7 Reflection.*

The workshop reconvened on the morning of the third day to identify potential directions of collaborative enterprise and reflect more generally on the next steps. After a brief introduction by Adrian Bailey that re-emphasised the goals of the exploratory workshop, delegates broke into five small groups to sketch, in 20 minutes, one or more research agenda(s) that illuminated some aspect of family migration scholarship. The five groupings were selected on the basis of trenchant themes that had emerged over the course of the workshop, and given the focused schedule it was not surprising that most of these groups corresponded to one of the pre-selected panels. However, within these groups, delegates were encouraged to debate and discuss whatever themes they felt most significant. Each group was then invited to present the groups' ideas, both visually, in the form of an annotated flip chart, and orally, and to respond to questions and comment.

The following themes were identified:



- What is the role of family formation (including marriage, cohabitation) in the increasingly diverse experience of European migration and settlement? For example, what does family migration look like under conditions of transnationalism and diaspora? How does it apply to groups like the Roma?
- How does the institutional (state) context transform practises of tied family migration?
- Can a theoretical approach be identified (for example, structurationist, gendered political economy) to weave together accounts of tied migration practises across multiple scales, from the body to the international arena?
- What is the nature of cross-national variation in the concept of the family and in changes in family structure and organisation?
- Can lifecourse approaches support integrative analyses of family migration that focus on the interactions between three domains: the family, the labour market, and the housing market?
- How will changes in family migration practises drive the need for policy responses to issues like commuting, infrastructure planning, and labour force participation?
- How can the results of various national censuses conducted in the early part of the decade be utilised to develop a Europe-wide picture of family migration practises?
- What will the implications of enlargement (and the expectation of enlargement of the EU) be for family migration?

### 3 Final Programme

Given Names	Last Name	Co-author	Panel	Title of Paper
LOUISE	ACKERS		1: Context	Senior citizenship: Retirement migration in the EU and the concept of family in EC law
ELEONORE	KOFMAN		1: Context	Family migration: A critical review
ROBIN	FLOWERDEW	ALAA AL-HAMAD	2: Family formation	The relationship between marriage, divorce and migration in a British dataset
EWA	KEPINSKA	AGATA GORNY	2: Family formation	Mixed marriages in migration from Ukraine to Poland
CLARA	MULDER		3: Ageing context	New directions in research on family and migration in the Netherlands
AMELIA	ROMAN	LEO VAN WISSEN	3: Ageing context	Elderly migration through a lifecourse perspective
BRIGITTE	BACCAINI		3: Ageing context	Commuting and residential behaviors in Ile-de-France
ADRIAN	BAILEY		3: Ageing context	Discussant
KEITH	HALFACREE		4: Tied	Untying migration completely: de-gendering or radical transformation?
PARVATI	RAGHURAM		4: Tied	Placing skilled migration within household formations: the case of tied migrants
DARREN	SMITH		4: Tied	The work-family-gender interface and employee relocation: transnational biographies
PAUL	BOYLE		4: Tied	Discussant
DUSAN	DRBOHLAV		5: Ethnicity	Ethnicity, family, and migration
PHIL	REES	ANDY PELOE	5: Ethnicity	Ethnic population dynamics in London: migration flows for London boroughs by life course stage and stream
JANICKI	WOJCIECH		5: Ethnicity	Discussant
MAREK	KUPISZEWSKI		6: CEE	Life stage, family and migration strategies in CEE
MAREK	KUPISZEWSKI	PHIL REES	6: CEE	Migration, the settlement system and the life course across Europe
ZDENEK	CERMAK		6: CEE	Development of internal migration in the Czech Republic during period of transition
ENDRE	SIK		6: CEE	Discussant

## 4 Assessment of Results

We assess the results of our activities in light of the mission of the SCSS and the particular role of exploratory workshops within the ESF framework, as detailed in Table 1.

*Table 1 Assessment of ESF Goals and Mission*

<b>Goal/mission</b>	<b>Section of scientific report where results are assessed</b>
Identify emerging fields requiring action	2.3 Workshop activities 4.1 Identification of family migration as an emerging and important research field
Help teams exchange knowledge, establish new links, explore further collaboration	4.2 Organisation and group dynamics
Follow up workshop by submitting Network proposal	4.3 Ongoing activities
Promote high quality research	4.1 Identification of family migration as an emerging and important research field
Bring added value through collaboration	4.1 Identification of family migration as an emerging and important research field 4.2 Organisation and group dynamics
Support innovation	4.1 Identification of family migration as an emerging and important research field 4.2 Organisation and group dynamics 4.3 Ongoing activities
Play institutional role in strengthening research infrastructure	4.2 Organisation and group dynamics 4.3 Ongoing activities

## 4.1 Identification of family migration as an emerging and important research field

Delegates confirmed the salience of understanding family migration in the context of a changing Europe by pointing to eight specific research areas in need of urgent attention:

4.1.1 Researchers need to understand the dimensions of the **changing family context**, with special attention to delay in childbirth, rising separation rates, and the greater diversity of elderly household types, with their implications for intergenerational care arrangements. The workshop felt current research – which tends to be disciplinary based – did not address these issues enough.

4.1.2 Researchers also need to understand the **changing migration context** and migration mechanisms. The workshop saw several cases of this, including the change from settlement migration to incomplete migration, and the continued emergence of transnational links. The workshop also felt that the traditional binary of internal versus international migration was less useful in the emerging European context, where the citizenship and denizenship implications of migration are ever more complicated.

4.1.3 One particular example of moving beyond existing categories of analysis was exemplified by the discussion of mobility in panel 6 (CEE context). This panel was able to **draw together internal and international migration** into the discussion, and pose research questions about permanence and temporariness which connected to the discussion about the implications of citizenship raised on the first day by Ackers.

4.1.4 The workshop demonstrated the necessity of **tying applied elements to theoretical elements**. A good example is the need to jointly theorise housing and labour markets. Such conceptualisations will in turn yield information of greater relevance to policy makers.

4.1.5 The workshop endorsed the view that **intersections between ethnicity and gender** must be theorised as a matter of urgency. There is a tendency to privilege gender in existing accounts of family migration, and participants argued it was essential to avoid treating ethnicity in a similarly restricted way. It was also felt that while 'gender' and the gendering of family migration was well explored in the internal migration literature, fewer analyses had currently been undertaken among international and transnational migrant communities.

4.1.6 By targeting a diverse group of people – scholars from different nationalities, career stages, and disciplines – we were able to foster a worthwhile interdisciplinary exchange of ideas that was valued by the delegates. For example, the workshop was able to draw productive links

between neoclassical approaches and social and cultural approaches. The outcome of the discussions was the statement that existing disciplinary polarisations are non-productive for European scholars. This underlines the need for further **inter-disciplinarity** in research on the topic.

4.1.7 Through both empirical demonstrations, and conceptual persuasion, delegates confirmed the potency of the **lifecourse** approach for understanding family and migration. It was felt that the lifecourse offered an approach that could combine quantitative and qualitative modes of analysis, and was capable of supporting hypotheses from macro- and micro-scales, from human capital and political economy perspectives, from research about the context of ethnicity, and from new understandings about migration processes. Participants acknowledged that lifecourse approaches were not new but, given the need for an interdisciplinary vision of family migration, their full potential lay unrealised.

4.1.8 The workshop repeatedly saw the relevance of **institutional context**. This appeared in discussion about citizenship determinations, variations in access to rights, family law, housing provision, and integration within the European Union.

In summary, the workshop was thus able to meet a number of its goals. Delegates all saw theoretical and applied (policy) merit in focusing upon family migration (i.e. the intersections between mobility processes and household dynamics). The panel-specific and more general findings demonstrate that high quality family migration research is being conducted on a number of fronts across Europe.

Furthermore, delegates were positively disposed to further collaborative work, as described below, in part because of the tacit recognition of the need for more interdisciplinary work in this area. Workshop participants recognised the need to better understand the rapidly evolving European context within which family migration processes will play out, and underscored the need to further consider the potential of lifecourse approaches for capturing this implied interdisciplinarity.

Finally, the sophistication of the research themes identified by the workshop stand as testament to the fecundity of the research theme and the productivity of this group of scholars. Noteworthy examples cover both method (for example, the development of mixed methods approaches to the topic) and conceptualisation (for example, extensions of the lifecourse approach and integration of different scales and domains of concern). New areas for research, not directly addressed in the workshop, were also identified. These included undocumented migration, the role of identity and notions of belonging, and generational issues.

#### 4.2 Organisation and group dynamics

The workshop brought together researchers to exchange knowledge and establish linkages in a number of ways. First and foremost, the coordinating group were able to institute and embed a Europe-wide "conversation" that started in 1999 and is ongoing (see below). That is, the outputs of our activities have already transcended the one workshop held in Leeds. Second, ESF support enabled us to bring together both established and emerging scholars in a manner that does not happen in the absence of such financing. By carefully composing the membership and the intellectual structure of the workshop we were able to involve all participants in a democratic, non-threatening, and productive intellectual exchange. As section 5 shows, we attracted a diverse membership. Third, the structure of the workshop format allowed the group to engage in informed discussions of broad themes. That is, we achieved a grounded conversation of current and emerging family migration research. Fourth, the follow-up coordinating group meeting (Prague) gave us time to benefit from reflecting on the outcomes of the Leeds workshop and to fine-tune a specific short-term and medium-term agenda. Our delegates indicated a unanimous desire to remain part of the informal network, to contribute to publications, to build the network through referrals, and to stay connected through email.

#### 4.3 Ongoing activities

The following current activities demonstrate how we are contributing to the development of Europe-wide research on family migration.

*Special Issue of Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies:* This will contain a number of papers from the workshop supplemented with guest contributions. The issue will spotlight family migration research and ESF's support for this interdisciplinary branch of scholarship. We are delighted that the editors of this high profile publication have expressed an interest in our work, and feel that the exposure and timeliness that this output carries will help broaden our conversation to involve academics and policy-makers across Europe. The special issue, to be guest edited by Adrian Bailey & Paul Boyle, is planned to coincide with the requested launch date of the Scientific Network.

*Conference Session at International Population Geography Conference, St Andrews July 2002:* A number of delegates have expressed their intention to convene a special session on one of the themes arising out of the Leeds workshop (transnationalism and family migration). This panel will bring together emerging scholars from Europe and North America and achieve international exposure.

*ESF Scientific Network proposal:* The Prague meeting confirmed the earlier intent to approach the ESF with a proposal for the establishment of a Scientific Network on "Family and Migration in a Changing Europe." The Network would be organised around three key themes that emerged from the Leeds workshop: lifecourse; ethnicity, policy/institutional context. It would extend the strength, diversity, and innovation of the Exploratory Workshop process to sponsor three sequential international conferences that would yield three state-of-the-art books and spark further research collaborations.

## 5 Profile and List of Delegates

### 5.1 Age

<i>Ages &lt;30</i>	<i>Ages 30-39</i>	<i>Ages 40-49</i>	<i>Ages 50+</i>
4	6	6	4

### 5.2 Sex

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
12	8

### 5.3 Country of Affiliation

<i>Country of Affiliation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Czech Republic	2
England	6
France	1
Hungary	1
Netherlands	3
Poland	4
Scotland	2
Wales	1

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