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Housing market position and spatial concentration of immigrants and their (grand)children – A generational perspective on socio-spatial assimilation

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Abstract

Classical urban studies and assimilation theories hold that over multiple generations immigrant groups will slowly integrate socially, improve their housing market position, and spatially disperse from urban concentrations. This paper takes a generational perspective to study the state of socio-spatial assimilation of various migrant groups in the Netherlands. The generational perspective is twofold. First, in addition to the 'second generation', this research also presents novel data on the grandchildren of immigrants and native-Dutch ('third generation'). Second, our regression analyses of owner occupation and of living in first generation concentrations, include parental background variables that seek to account for family migration histories (wealth, tenure, and distance). These parental background variables show a relatively high predictive value. We also find that subsequent generations are generally less likely to live in rental housing compared to successive generations. Evidence also indicates that 'third generation' Surinamese-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch are less likely to live in concentrations than their parents, which is indicative of generational desegregation.

Keywords: integration, segregation, intergenerational transfer, ethnic concentration, housing

Introduction

Many urban and immigration scholars, particularly in Europe, have been concerned with the housing situation and spatial location of immigrant groups and their offspring. Such analyses typically look at concentrations, i.e. the overrepresentation of groups in certain neighbourhoods (Musterd & Deurloo 2002; Murdie & Gosh 2010; Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Sager 2012; Wessel et al. 2017). These concentrations and their housing and social conditions have long been related to the socio-economic status of immigrant groups over time. While the first generation enters in areas with relatively poor conditions often in rental housing, subsequent generations tend to disperse as they gain economic and social success and are able to access other housing markets. While social and spatial integration are not synonymous, the assumption is that such a dispersal is driven by - and therefore signifies- social assimilation (see Park 1952, Peach 1996; Musterd, 2003). While initially beneficial for immigrants, concentration of minorities may be cause for concern and considered to be harmful for immigrants and the receiving society over time (Massey and Denton 1985; Musterd et al 2008). *In extremis*, spatial concentration may harm residents' socio-economic

opportunities. When these concentrations are in sites with poor housing conditions and poverty in general, they may also be detrimental to psychological and physical well-being (Van Ham et al. 2012, Massey 2016). Moreover, there is also increasing concern that spatial concentrations of multiple generations may hinder their social, economic and cultural integration (Hoekstra 2018), and even be conducive to terrorism (Koopmans 2010).

Studies into ethnic concentration and segregation often acknowledge, or assume, generational dispersal of immigrant groups. However, there have been few studies that investigate how housing market positions and spatial dispersion of immigrant groups evolve over multiple generations (Musterd & Van Gent 2012; Lersch 2013; Zuccotti 2019; Zwiers 2018). This study aims to gauge whether there is evidence for generational housing market integration and spatial dispersion by looking at immigrant groups from multiple generations in the Netherlands in 2018. We make use of a large-scale individual-level register dataset, which was constructed by the Statistics Netherlands to identify the (grand)children of the largest immigrant groups. In addition to descriptive data, we first present a multi-variate analysis of being in owner occupation as an indicator of housing market integration, which we regard as a necessary prerequisite to being able to settle in a wider range of neighbourhoods. A second set of analyses will look at immigrant groups and their odds of living in a concentration of the first generation of their own group – as an indicator of spatial integration. These two sets of analyses will serve to offset group differences in demographic and socio-economic composition and gauge the importance of group affiliation in outcomes.

Migrating to a new country often means moving into a position of economic, social and cultural disadvantage in the receiving society. Such a disadvantage may continue to affect the position of children and grandchildren of migrants. To account for family background, the analyses will include parental wealth and tenure position. We also explore the role of changing the geographical proximity of parents in likelihood of living in a owner-occupied housing and in concentration areas. As immigrants first settle in communities that may amount to concentrations, these areas of entry may anchor families in locations that may influence housing market possibilities and place of residence for subsequent generations (Zorlu 2009). Thus, we include a distance measure to parents to explain living in concentration areas. So, in addition to presenting the characteristics of groups and generations, our study also seeks to gauge their positions while accounting for the economic, tenure and geographical position of parents. As such, this paper provides insight to the generational (de)segregation of postwar immigrant groups in Western European societies.

Socio-spatial assimilation of migrants

Classical assimilation theory predicts a decline of native-immigrant differences in socioeconomic outcomes from generation to generation as immigrant families adapt to the host society (Alba and Nee 1997). Such an ‘obvious linear’ assimilation outcome has been disputed by studies that points to the downward mobility of some groups (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Western Europe studies, in the postwar period, show that migrants and their children tend to do better socio-economically over time, albeit in different degrees for different groups in different contexts, but also that disparities with majority populations often remain (Diehl & Schnell 2006; Algan et al. 2010; Zorlu & Hartog 2002; Hermanssen 2016; Zuccotti et al. 2017). These studies are mostly concerned with one or two generations in the postwar period as the third generation is relatively young (but see Zorlu & Van Gent 2020).

As migrant families achieve socio-economic success, this will likely result in an improved housing market position and moving away from initial points of entry and settlement and becoming integrated with the majority population. Such a move may be during the life time of the initial migrants or after two or three generations (Peach 1996, Zuccotti 2019; Wessel et al. 2017). An exception to this ‘model’ of generational desegregation has been the Afro-American population which had been becoming segregated, or even ‘hypersegregated’, in the late 20th century. More recently, the overall level ‘black segregation’ has fallen, but remains high in historically segregated contexts (Massey & Rugh 2014; Massey 2016). This case exemplifies that generational assimilation and dispersal are not a given for every group but is dependent on institutional and housing contexts frameworks as well as the groups themselves; their migration history and their spatial orientations (Murdie & Gosh 2010; Finney 2011; Lersch 2013; Simpson 2017; Wessel et al. 2017).

Without any dispersal policies or assisted living schemes, new immigrants tend to settle in urban regions, although not exclusively (Catney 2017, Zorlu & Mulder 2008). Particularly lower skilled migrant tend to live in older, typically disadvantaged, neighbourhoods at the lower end of the housing market (Park 1952; Peach 1996; Musterd & De Vos 2007). Such sorting is related to income and housing costs (‘housing constraints’), and for that reason, growing and gentrifying cities are seeing these entry neighbourhoods shift in location from city centres to older suburbs (Van Gent & Musterd 2016). Newcomers may also lack information and knowledge on how to acquire regulated rental housing, and apply for subsidies or loans. In addition, migrants, and their children, may be confronted by prejudice and discrimination by landlords (Texeira 2009).

The concentration of migrant groups may also be related to preference. For newcomers, settling near co-ethnics may be a strategy to reduce ‘the cost of immigration’, as those migrant networks

and organizations may help find work and housing (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993; Simpson 2017; Andersson et al. 2019). The beneficial effects of spatial concentration tend to wear off after migrants have made their first inroads into the labour market (Musterd et al. 2008). Regardless, the second and third generation after migration may continue to prefer to live near specific amenities like houses of worship or shops, or to family (Zorlu 2009; Zorlu & Latten 2009). Yet, migrants do not necessarily prefer to live in homogeneous concentrations. Rather, evidence suggests that they prefer more diverse neighbourhoods that house both co-ethnics and the majority population (Søholt & Lynnebakke 2015). Such mixing would be difficult when ‘migrant neighbourhoods’ are actively avoided by majority populations (Bråmås 2006; Andersen 2017). Conversely, minority groups may also shy away from moving to majority spaces when they are seen as intolerant or discriminatory (Noble & Poynting, 2010).

For the Netherlands, the availability of social housing in cities has always been an important factor in the internal migration histories of immigrant groups. While, the first wave of labour migrants were first housed in the private rental sector, the main immigrant groups all moved to this segment of the housing market once they were allowed access (Musterd & Deurloo 2002). A significant share of the second generation has carried on remaining in social housing, adding to a continuation of concentration over generations. There is evidence though for a higher rate of ownership of the ‘second generation’ Surinamese- and Turkish-Dutch compared to the first generation. The second generation was also more likely to live in suburban neighbourhoods and less likely to live in concentrations (Musterd and Van Gent 2012). Yet, while there is the evidence for socio-spatial assimilation, there is also a level of ethnic self-selection among first and second generation minority groups (Bolt & Van Kempen 2010; Van Gent et al. 2019). Boschman and Van Ham (2015) found that housing market constraints may explain self-selection for first and second generation Surinamese-Dutch, but less so for Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch. Yet, there has been little investigation into to what degree housing market position and patterning is structured by family background such as wealth, tenure and their location. The ‘cost’ of migration may reverberate down to generations and initial settlement patterns may structure the residential trajectories of subsequent generations.

Intergenerational transfers in migrant families

Regardless of migration, it has long been recognized that social and spatial positions are strongly tied to family status and upbringing. Parents may transfer wealth and income directly to their children during life and through inheritance (Henretta et al. 2018; Woodman 2020). Many migrants, particularly low-skilled labour immigrants and former colonial subjects, start with a

significant material disadvantage. As low-income immigrants tend to see modest gains in their life time (Zorlu and Hartog 2012), there are less resources to transfer. In addition, financial hardship among migrant families may have a negative effect on the home situation and school performance of children (Antman 2011). Family affluence may translate into having more housing options and residential opportunities, and, as such, it structures environmental factors that affect the health, safety, social relations and education of children growing up (Van Ham et al. 2014; Minh et al. 2017; Boterman et al. 2019). At a later stage, parents may use their wealth and income to help their children financially on housing market through guarantees, financial aid, or by acquiring housing for them (Arundel 2017; Chatterjee & Zahirovic-Herbert 2011; Ronald & Lennartz 2019). Again, young adults from wealthy families may benefit from being able to access attractive, healthy, safe and well-positioned neighbourhoods (Hochstenbach & Boterman 2017; Manley et al. 2020). When examining the spatial integration of the children of migrants in the UK, Zuccotti (2019) found that ethnic segregation may be explained by persistent ethnic economic inequalities that are partly conditioned by the childhood conditions of the second generation.

Intergenerational transfers may also be indirect, through processes of socialization. Parents may reproduce socially through transmitting values and norms, the organization of daily life, exposure to social networks, language, modes of supervision and intervention, and how they are involved in their children's formal and informal education (Lareau 1987; 2011). Given that intergenerational transfers are contingent on local socio-cultural factors (language, norms, networks, institutions), almost all migrants start with a disadvantage. New immigrants will be largely unfamiliar with the language, social norms, institutional frameworks of the host country, and will have limited local social networks (Pinkster 2009; Lancee 2010; Simpson 2017). While unfamiliarity with the host society may initially thwart upward mobility, migrants may also hold strong senses of collectivism ('conformity') and achievement values, leading to more ambitious standards for children (Nauck 2001). The unfamiliarity will wear off over time and across generations though. For both first and second generations, there is a benefit in having 'bridging social capital', i.e. high intercultural trust, diverse networks, and an engagement with diverse community organizations, to gain better employment and higher incomes (Lancee 2010; 2016; Vermeulen and Keskiner 2017). This form of social capital will likely have direct or indirect beneficial effects for the next generation.

Data and methods

Our empirical analyses make use of the System of Social-statistical Datasets (SSD) from Statistics Netherlands (CBS). The SSD is an individual-level register dataset of the entire population residing in the Netherlands, combining information from various sources, notably from tax registers and municipal administrations. The data is geo-coded to statistical neighbourhoods which are typically delineated by infrastructure or natural boundaries.

Our focus is on the generational and group differences in odds of living in an owner-occupied dwellings (1) and of living in first-generation migrant concentration areas (2). We acknowledge that owner-occupation is not a naturally superior tenure. Yet, given its cultural importance and financial significance, it typically signifies a stronger housing market position compared to renting (Arundel 2017). Access to ownership housing is therefore seen as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for social and spatial integration. Ethnic differences with regard to housing trajectories and preferences also play a role here; some groups may have acquired a position in (social) rental housing or display a strong preference for owner occupation.

We estimate logistic regression models to predict these outcomes from a same set of variables. The first set of regression equations predicts the probability of homeownership, Y_{i1} , for individual i , coded as 1 if this individual is in owner occupied dwelling and 0 otherwise. The second set predicts the probability of living in a concentration area of the first generation of the own group, Y_{i2} , for individual i , coded as 1 if this individual is residing in a concentration area of the first generation of the own group and 0 otherwise. We define concentrations when shares of the first generation of a origin group are twice the standard deviation above the average share in neighbourhoods. Concentration neighbourhoods have been defined based on averages and deviations for all neighbourhoods in the country.¹

Although the two set of regressions include nearly identical sets of regressors (see below), we use different populations: in the analyses of living in owner occupied housing, we use a 10% sample of third generation native-Dutch in addition to all migrant groups, while the analysis of living in concentration area uses only the population of migrant groups. Each outcome is estimated stepwise by logistic estimator in three steps, yet the steps in two sets of analyses are slightly different to highlight and test the effect of different parental variables. In both sets, the first model includes variables measuring migrant groups and personal characteristics, whereby the concentration models have tenure as an independent variable. The second model for the owner-

¹ The concentrations in table 2 have been estimated based on the averages and standard deviations in urban municipalities.

occupation analyses adds variables related to parental tenure and wealth, and parental household formation. The second model for concentrations first adds variables related to distance to parents and parental household formation. The third and most complete models in both sets include all personal and parental variables.

We present analyses of various origin groups for 2018 based on individuals aged 18 to 52 years old who live independently. The maximum age is 52 to reliably designate the origins for multiple generations. The analyses are based on descriptive data and on logistic regression techniques. Multi-variate models are meant to account for individual and parental characteristics as well as environmental context. In addition to illuminating the role of generational transfers, these models are also a way to better gauge the position of the relatively young grandchildren of Turkish, Surinamese and Indish migrants.

Generations and groups

Following the definitions of Statistics Netherlands, first generation migrants are nationals and non-nationals born abroad, unless they have two Dutch parents. The ‘second generation’ is defined on the basis of at least one non-Dutch parent, whereby the national origin is based on the migrant parent. If two migrant parents have different origins, the ‘second generation’ is defined as mixed (omitted in this analysis). Children of at least one parent that belongs to the second generation are characterized as ‘third generation’. In our categorization, we distinguish between persons with two parents with immigration backgrounds, and persons with one third generation native-Dutch parent and one from the ‘second generation’.

This paper looks at migrants and their offspring from Germany, colonial-era Indonesia (Dutch East Indies), Surinam, and Turkey. Except for a brief period, Germans have been free to migrate to the Netherlands after WWII. Given the cultural and linguistic similarities, geographical proximity and long history of exchange, these migrants and particularly their children should face the least obstacles in Dutch society and are expected to be indiscernible from third generation native-Dutch. Migrants from the Dutch East Indies and Surinam have often been made familiar with the metropole before their arrival. Yet, while the relatively small number of European colonials may have attained some affluence, many were former subjects that were recognized as non-White by the majority population. These migrants, together with ‘guest workers’ from Turkey and Morocco, were often disadvantaged in the labour market and found employment in low-skilled jobs. These disadvantages have been recorded as a native-migrant gap in employment, quality of jobs and income (Crul and Doornik 2003; Zorlu & Hartog 2012). Most immigrants hold a poor

socioeconomic position and, while their children have booked some gains, the second generation still appear to carry a substantial part of parental disadvantages (Van Ours and Veenman 2003).

The timing of migration should be noted here. There has been a steady stream of German immigration since WWII. Dutch East Indian groups mostly arrived in the 1940s and 1950s. Turkish migrant first came in the 1960s but chain migration continued well into the 1980s. The largest influx of Surinamese was in the 1970s. As a consequence, the first generation born in Dutch East Indies is too old for the age restrictions in our comparative analyses but was included in definition of our concentrations.

Lastly, for our owner-occupation analyses, we also include people with native-Dutch grandparents to serve as a reference for housing market integration. The descriptive data in tables 1 and 2 presents the full population, but our regression models use a 10% sample of third generation native-Dutch.

Other variables

In addition to tenure and measures of concentration, our descriptive data includes share of low income households (defined as lower two quintiles of equivalised household income), average housing value (tax data), the share of individuals living in single-family housing and in single-family owner-occupation, and the share living in urban municipalities (based on address density).

The models that estimate likelihood of being in owner-occupation or living in a first generation concentration, look at *migration background* based on origin and generation as detailed above, but also account for *gender*, *age* and *age squared*. The dummy variable *urban municipality* is based on Statistics Netherlands definitions and denotes the highest category of address density among Dutch municipalities. The reference ‘non-urban’ includes all suburban and rural municipalities. To account for individual socio-economic status, we include *main source of income* and *equivalised household income quintiles*. The concentration models include a categorical variable for *tenure*, whereby ‘social rent’ refers to rental dwellings owned by a housing association.

The variables that account for intergenerational transfers are *parental wealth quintile*, and, because tenure position is often reproduced (Chatterjee & Zahirovic-Herbert 2011), *tenure position of parents*. As we do not have cross-national data, information on parental wealth and location is often missing for first generation migrants except for those who migrated with their parents. To account for family proximity in mobility (Zorlu 2009), we also include variables for the *distance to parents*. The distance denotes the distance in kilometers between neighbourhoods of residence. This may explain living in concentrations, but the need or desire to live close to family may also mean a

limitation of housing market options. Because parents may live separately in different households, we include a *parental formation* variable: the parental wealth quintiles is the highest of both parents, and distance is to the nearest parent. The table in the appendix gives the descriptives for the models.

Table 1. Age, income, housing market position and location of origin groups (18-52 years old, living independently).

	Age (mean)	% Low income	Tenure <i>Owner- occupied</i>	<i>Social rent</i>	<i>Private rent</i>	Average housing tax value per m2	Single- family housing	Single- family owner occupation	Urban municipality	N
Dutch (3+ generation)	38	25,2%	69,3%	15,9%	14,3%	2.046	74,9%	61,9%	21,7%	3837170
Germany - 1st generation	35	33,0%	42,3%	18,1%	38,5%	2.209	52,7%	34,8%	39,4%	50666
Germany - 2nd generation	40	31,6%	62,4%	22,2%	15,0%	1.969	71,7%	54,9%	22,9%	55048
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	42	25,9%	70,4%	17,8%	11,5%	1.961	77,8%	63,3%	18,9%	215432
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	43	28,1%	70,0%	18,6%	11,1%	1.849	78,3%	63,6%	16,0%	10506
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation	45	24,1%	69,5%	19,3%	11,0%	2.263	72,8%	58,7%	31,3%	82086
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	32	35,4%	49,9%	21,9%	27,5%	2.330	54,7%	39,7%	40,3%	108645
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	32	40,0%	42,9%	28,1%	28,5%	2.399	51,7%	33,1%	42,4%	7930
Surinam - 1st generation	43	41,5%	48,9%	40,5%	10,4%	2.041	50,1%	35,1%	60,6%	77672
Surinam - 2nd generation	33	44,6%	40,7%	41,6%	17,4%	2.163	42,3%	27,4%	58,2%	73626
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	32	42,4%	44,4%	30,4%	24,5%	2.340	50,8%	34,6%	43,3%	5573
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	29	25,7%	37,8%	30,9%	30,0%	2.469	37,9%	27,3%	58,2%	340
Turkey - 1st generation	41	55,2%	44,7%	46,0%	9,0%	1.880	54,5%	33,2%	51,9%	118051
Turkey- 2nd generation	32	48,9%	50,0%	37,5%	12,2%	1.888	53,8%	36,3%	49,5%	71076
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	26	48,9%	40,8%	36,4%	22,8%	2.125	46,0%	27,8%	37,3%	350
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	23	57,1%	42,9%	32,9%	24,3%	1.700	49,3%	32,9%	46,6%	73
Total population	37,6	31,7%	60,1%	22,5%	17,0%	2.077	67,0%	51,9%	29,8%	4714244

Table 2. Age, income, housing market position and location of origin groups, in urban municipalities (18-52 years old, living independently).

	Age (mean)	% Low income	Tenure <i>Owner- occupied</i>	<i>Social rent</i>	<i>Private rent</i>	Average housing tax value per m2	Single- family housing	Single- family owner occupation	N
Dutch (3+ generation)	35	30,6%	52,2%	19,0%	28,2%	2.648	42,9%	33,3%	834165
Germany - 1st generation	33	32,4%	32,2%	15,8%	50,8%	2.982	27,4%	17,1%	19953
Germany - 2nd generation	38	34,2%	49,7%	23,6%	26,3%	2.718	40,7%	29,8%	12583
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	40	28,6%	57,7%	20,7%	21,2%	2.740	47,3%	37,2%	40828
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	40	28,3%	57,2%	20,7%	21,5%	2.951	46,4%	35,7%	1679
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation	44	24,0%	64,3%	19,6%	15,8%	2.890	47,7%	39,5%	25681
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	31	39,7%	38,2%	20,2%	40,6%	2.963	30,1%	20,3%	43759
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	30	41,7%	34,7%	22,3%	42,1%	3.154	27,9%	17,4%	3362
Surinam - 1st generation	43	43,7%	44,9%	44,0%	10,9%	2.173	34,9%	25,1%	47102
Surinam - 2nd generation	33	46,6%	36,0%	43,9%	19,7%	2.368	27,1%	17,5%	42891
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	30	48,4%	32,3%	32,7%	34,2%	2.888	26,8%	16,6%	2414
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	27	55,8%	27,8%	30,9%	41,2%	2.833	18,7%	10,3%	198
Turkey - 1st generation	41	57,5%	40,5%	48,2%	11,1%	2.113	33,8%	21,6%	61297
Turkey- 2nd generation	32	50,2%	48,2%	37,8%	13,7%	2.093	37,0%	25,8%	35216
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	27	50,4%	31,7%	38,1%	30,2%	2.630	23,7%	10,3%	130
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	24	45,5%	n/a	45,2%	n/a	1.937	n/a	n/a	34
Total population	35,5	39,1%	42,9%	28,0%	28,4%	2.597	35,5%	25,3%	1171292

Findings: Housing Market Position

Table 1 presents comparative housing market data for our groups. Native Dutch, as well as second and third generation German-Dutch and second generation Indish, are more likely to live in owner occupied dwellings compared to overall average. They are also more often found in single family dwellings. Strangely, their average housing value is comparatively low however. The difference in housing prices and tenure may be explained by the living environment. Except for the (grand)children of German migrants, all ‘migrant groups’ are more likely to live in urban municipalities. This selection may skew housing market data as there is less owner occupied housing available and prices per m² are generally higher in cities. Table 2 shows data for urban municipalities alone. We see that the owner occupation rates tend to be lower here. The groups show similar relative differences, but the Surinamese first generation and the Turkish-Dutch second generation show above-average owner-occupation rates for cities. These rates are not as high as for native Dutch and second and third generation Germans though. The second and third generation Germans are generally less likely to live in urban municipalities, but those who do live in cities, are more often found in owner occupied dwellings and in single family housing than the other groups.

Models

Tables 1 and 2 also indicate that there are quite some differences in average age and income positions. For instance, a large share of first generation Germans are students who have relatively small income and are younger. The second generation Dutch-Indish is relatively old while the third generation groups from former colonies and Turkey are relatively young. Also, around 50% for the Turkish-Dutch belong to the lower income quintiles, which would make it harder for this group to acquire ownership housing.

To get a better sense of generational and ethnic differences, we employ three logistic regression models that estimate being in owner occupation (table 3). Model 1 only includes individual and environmental characteristics. Model 2 adds parental data to account for the intergenerational cost of migration. Model 3 adds the distance-to-parents variables that are likely more relevant for the spatial concentration models. While distance to parents may still explain housing market options, model 3 shows only a slightly higher explained variance (R²). In terms of background variables, the models indicate that people who are older, who are (self)employed, who have a higher income and who live outside urban municipalities, are all more likely to be owner occupants. Gender differences in model 2 and 3 disappear when parental positions and distance to parents are included

in model 3. As expected, there is also a positive effect for parental wealth and for two parents being in owner occupancy, which are both indicative of intergenerational transfers.

Differences between groups

To help interpretation, figure 1 shows the conditional probability for living in an owner occupied dwelling for each group as estimated in model 3, the most extended model. The general trend is that the second and third generations are more likely to gain access to owner-occupied housing than the first generation and that, with the exception of Turkish-Dutch, all groups show lower rates than third generation Native Dutch. The lower rates indicate that migration histories may have an effect on housing market positions. Yet, models 2 and 3 show that taking into account parental status explains only part of the gap between people from migrant families and non-migrant families. The persistent gap is also there for German-Dutch who are least likely to show such differences. While their actual rates are higher than native-Dutch, the models predict lower rates when accounting for individual and environmental characteristics. When accounting for parental status, the differences for the third generation German-Dutch become smaller (odds ratios closer to one), yet do not vanish.

Compared to German-Dutch, groups with colonial histories show only modest increases in ownership rates across generations (Surinamese-Dutch), or even a downward trend (Indish-Dutch). The first generation from the East Indies could not be included in these analyses, but third generation groups show a decline in owner occupancy rates compared to the second generation. This is likely related to the variation in this migrant group: former colonists, administrators, soldiers of both Dutch and Indonesian descent. Some of these had accrued modest to considerable wealth, while others –often former colonial subjects with Asian backgrounds - have historically been struggling in Dutch society (Özer et al. 2017). It may be that this latter group is more likely to intermarry than colonial families with European upper- and middle-class backgrounds. So, assortative matching may explain the relatively poor housing market and economic position of individuals who are third generation colonial migrants from both sides of their family (see income in table 1).

The reverse is the case for Turkish-Dutch. While their actual rates are lower, model 1 predicts higher ownership among the second generation. When also accounting for family background (models 2 and 3), odds ratios become stronger for all Turkish-Dutch groups, and there is a significant positive effect for individuals with one ‘second generation’ Turkish-Dutch parent. The most remarkable group are ‘third generation’ individuals with two parents with a Turkish background. Despite their young average age and very small size, the models estimate

comparatively high ownership rates; higher than all other groups. This will likely become lower in the future but it is indicative of an orientation on ownership among this ethnic group (Musterd and Van Gent 2012).

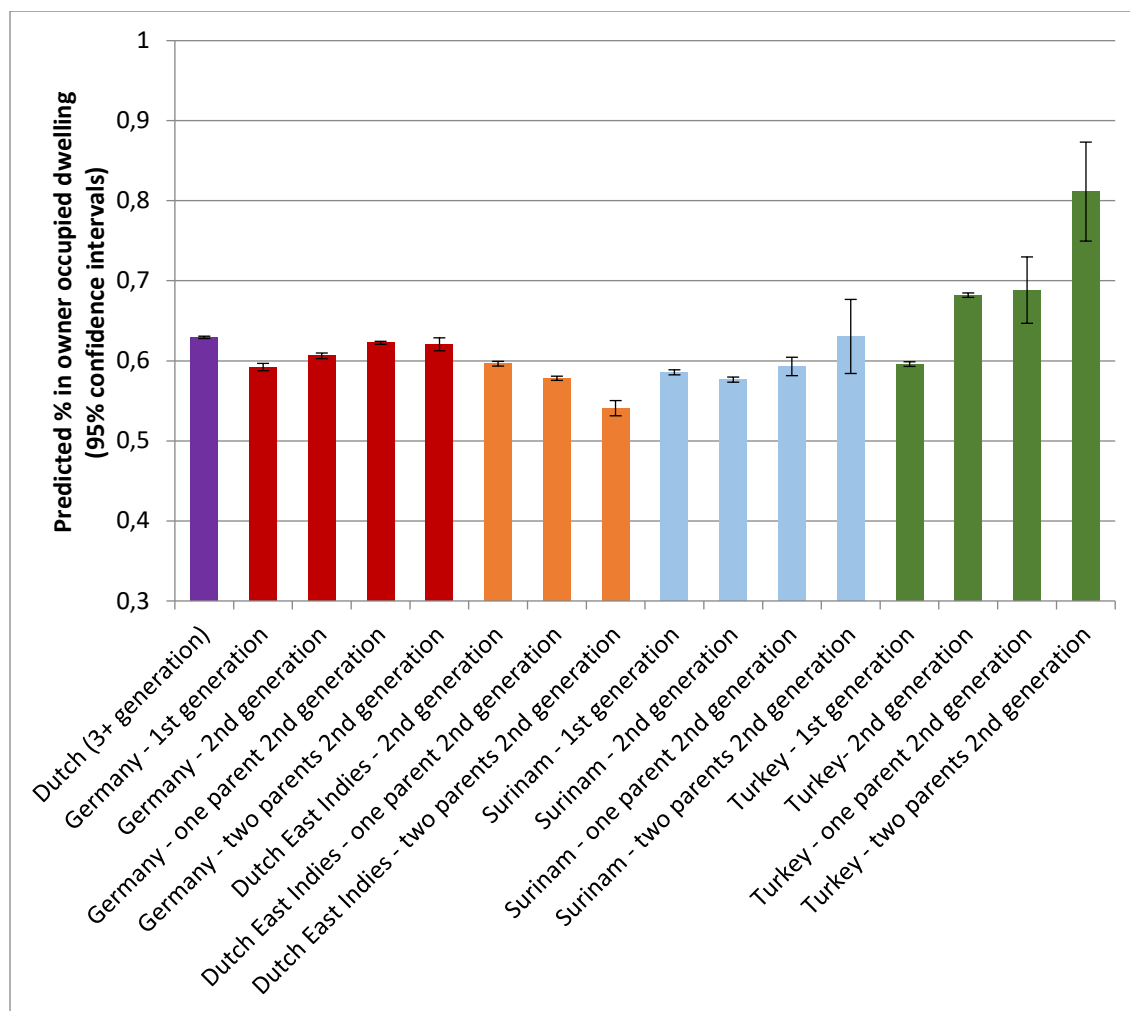
In sum, except the Turkish-Dutch group, individuals with migration histories still show a gap in terms of housing market position compared to third generation native Dutch. Our models could only attribute these differences to parental status to a limited degree, which indicates that they are not just constituted by intergenerational material disadvantage but may also be structured by the orientations and preferences of the groups, how they are approached and treated by housing market actors and majority populations, and what options that leaves them in their preferred housing market areas.

Table 3. Logistic regression models of homeownership probability; odds ratios.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Migration background (ref: native Dutch grandparents)			
Germany - 1st generation	0.570***	0.804***	0.794***
Germany - 2nd generation	0.774***	0.862***	0.866***
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	0.908***	0.957***	0.958***
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	0.896***	0.946*	0.947*
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation	0.716***	0.800***	0.815***
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	0.688***	0.721***	0.730***
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	0.520***	0.576***	0.586***
Surinam - 1st generation	0.551***	0.774***	0.764***
Surinam - 2nd generation	0.572***	0.734***	0.723***
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	0.693***	0.799***	0.798***
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	0.869	1.017	1.007
Turkey - 1st generation	0.593***	0.834***	0.813***
Turkey- 2nd generation	1.114***	1.452***	1.415***
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	1.212	1.506**	1.477**
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	3.405***	4.178***	3.949***
Gender (ref: male)			
Female	0.990*	0.988*	0.993
Age			
Age, squared	0.996***	0.997***	0.997***
Urban municipality (ref: non-urban)			
	0.528***	0.527***	0.543***
Equalised household income quintiles (ref: third)			
First	0.186***	0.191***	0.192***
Second	0.392***	0.401***	0.400***

Fourth	1.817***	1.771***	1.786***
Fifth	2.482***	2.315***	2.402***
Main source of income (ref: employment)			
Self-employment	1.220***	1.191***	1.195***
Benefits	0.419***	0.431***	0.430***
Student loans	0.832***	0.780***	0.837***
Other	1.746***	1.772***	1.780***
Parental formation (ref: parents live together)			
Parents live separated		0.825***	0.823***
One parent in dataset		0.759***	0.771***
No parents in the set		0.826***	0.843***
Both parents in set; missing address data		0.922***	0.929***
Parental wealth quintile (ref: third)			
First		0.824***	0.822***
Second		0.882***	0.877***
Fourth		1.005	1.011
Fifth		1.084***	1.108***
Missing data		0.853***	0.813***
Tenure position parents (all parents in ownership)			
All parents in social rent		0.691***	0.677***
All parents in private rent		0.813***	0.811***
Parents in ownership and rent		0.876***	0.862***
Parents in social and private rent		0.742***	0.730***
Parental tenure data missing		0.774***	0.721***
Distance to parents (in km)			
			0.992***
Distance to parents (in km), squared			
			1.000***
Constant	0.003***	0.004***	0.004***
N	1201649	1193686	1193686
R2 Pearson	0.257	0.264	0.265
Log likelihood	-5.96e+05	-5.87e+05	-5.85e+05

legend: * p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of ownership for origin groups (model 3).

Findings: Spatial concentrations

While the ethnic-native gap seems to be present for multiple generations, the preceding analysis also provided some evidence for upward intergeneration mobility in terms of housing market position. The question is whether housing market integration also translates into spatial dispersal.

Table 4 presents the shares of our origin groups that live in concentrations of first generations as well as concentrations of first and second generations of their own group for both the Netherlands as a whole and for urban municipalities. Note that the concentrations for municipalities are defined based on the distribution of neighbourhood compositions in those municipalities. Because definitions differ, the shares for cities and the Netherlands should be seen in their respective context.

Looking at the shares in concentrations, Surinamese- Dutch and Turkish-Dutch are most likely to live close to the first generation migrants (and their children), while Dutch-Indish and Dutch-

Germans groups are least likely to do so. The shares are quite high for the country, but this may be the result of the urban orientation of these groups. When we look at cities and redefine our definitions, the same picture emerges but shares are much lower. What is more important here though, is that all groups show a decline over generations. This is indicative of spatial assimilation. Only individuals with two second generation Dutch-German parents are more likely to live in concentrations than the first generation. This difference is likely due to that, more so than other immigrant groups, a substantial share of the first generation German population stays in the Netherlands for a short period for work or education.

Models

To take into account background characteristics and the role of family background (particularly location of parents), three logistic regression models are estimated with living in a first generation own group concentration (country-wide) as the dependent variable. We follow a similar modelling strategy as above: model 1 includes individual and environmental characteristics, while model 2 adds distance to parents and model 3 adds parental wealth and tenure. The odds ratios for the models are shown in table 5.

In general, socio-economic variables have an effect, whereby higher income groups are less likely to live in concentrations, and those who receive benefits are more likely. Interestingly, those in ownership are more likely to live in concentrations than those in private rent but there is no difference between social tenants and owners for living in concentration areas. This implies that an improved housing market position in terms of ownership may not necessarily lead to spatial dispersal. As expected, the concentrations are more often in urban municipalities, where first generation migrants have typically entered the Netherlands. Model 5 also shows that there is an effect of distance to parents, while model 6 also indicates a modest effect of parental wealth and parental tenure position. Parental wealth and ownership seem to lessen the likelihood of living in a concentrations.

Figure 2 shows the predicted probabilities of residing in a concentration area by distance in km to parents. As residential histories and family ties structure the residential trajectories of children (Zorlu 2009, Zucotti 2019), parental proximity increases the likelihood of living in concentration areas. This positive effect flattens out after 60 kilometers in this overall pattern.

Table 4. Share of living in own group concentration neighbourhoods (based on first and first two generations) and average share of third generation native-Dutch in neighbourhood for Netherlands and urban municipalities. Please note: definition of concentration areas is based on distributions of neighbourhood shares, and separately defined for country and urban municipalities.

	Netherlands			Urban municipalities		
	% in concentration 1st generation with similar migration background	% in concentration 1st and 2nd generation with similar migration background	Average share of Dutch (3+ generation) of all ages (in %)	% in concentration 1st generation with similar migration background	% in concentration 1st and 2nd generation with similar migration background	Average share of Dutch (3+ generation) of all ages (in %)
Dutch (3+ generation)			77,7%			61,8%
Germany - 1st generation	21,5%	16,0%	66,1%	0,0%	10,5%	56,2%
Germany - 2nd generation	7,5%	11,8%	74,2%	0,0%	2,9%	59,8%
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	5,6%	10,6%	76,4%	0,0%	2,4%	61,5%
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	12,2%	26,6%	74,6%	0,0%	3,3%	61,5%
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation	4,2%	5,4%	72,6%	4,3%	6,0%	60,4%
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	3,3%	3,4%	70,0%	2,9%	3,1%	59,1%
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	5,8%	7,1%	67,7%	3,3%	4,6%	57,6%
Surinam - 1st generation	51,5%	55,1%	51,5%	23,2%	23,0%	41,2%
Surinam - 2nd generation	40,8%	44,8%	55,4%	14,8%	15,1%	45,6%
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	17,9%	20,3%	65,8%	5,3%	5,3%	54,4%
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	27,9%	30,9%	59,7%	9,1%	10,1%	51,0%
Turkey - 1st generation	47,9%	50,0%	52,0%	37,8%	37,9%	39,0%
Turkey- 2nd generation	40,9%	43,9%	55,5%	28,4%	30,1%	42,8%
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	14,8%	15,7%	66,6%	9,9%	10,7%	53,6%
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	35,6%	37,0%	56,6%	n/a	n/a	50,1%
Total population			72,7%			55,5%

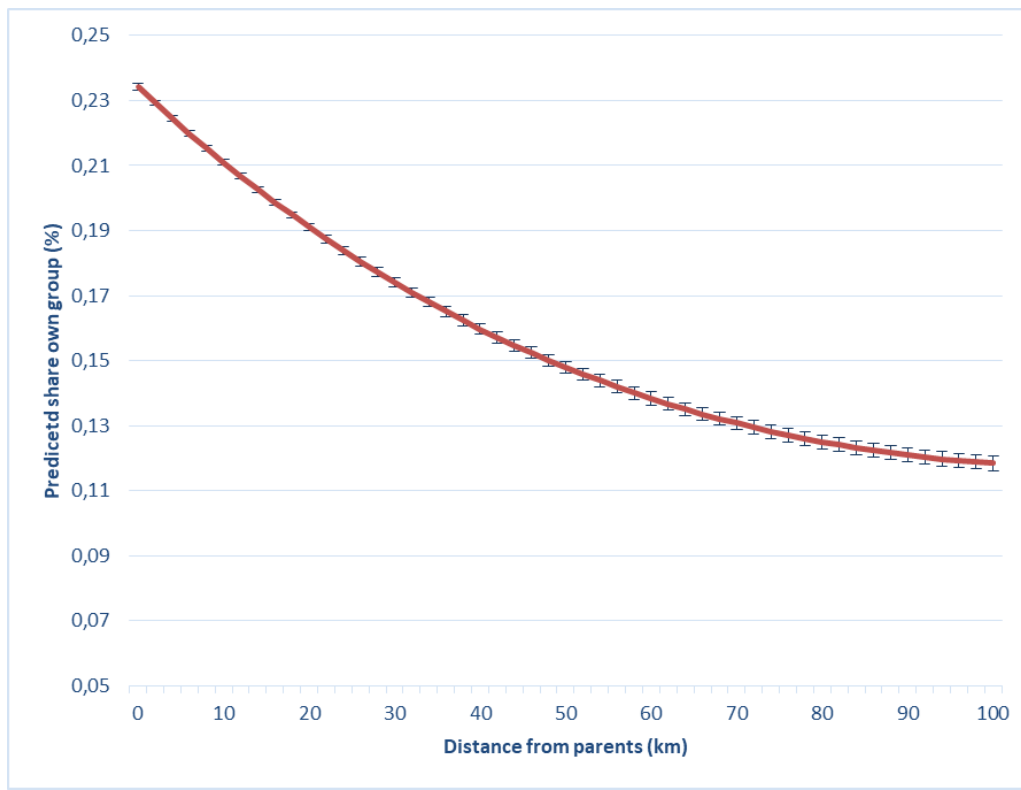
Table 5. Logistic regression models of living in a 'concentration neighbourhood' of the first generation of own background; odds ratios.

	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Migration background (ref: Germany - 1st generation)			
Germany - 2nd generation	0.508***	0.569***	0.609***
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	0.398***	0.446***	0.482***
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	0.982	1.098**	1.172***
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation	0.269***	0.309***	0.332***
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	0.174***	0.205***	0.225***
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	0.311***	0.368***	0.395***
Surinam - 1st generation	4.881***	5.225***	5.143***
Surinam - 2nd generation	3.033***	3.332***	3.360***
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	1.037	1.160***	1.224***
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	1.672***	1.913***	1.982***
Turkey - 1st generation	4.462***	4.455***	4.352***
Turkey- 2nd generation	3.152***	3.268***	3.151***
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	0.794	0.857	0.867
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	2.253**	2.406**	2.548***
Gender (ref: male)			
Female	1.004	1.022**	1.020**
Age			
Age	0.960***	0.962***	0.964***
Age, squared	1.000***	1.000***	1.000***
Urban municipality (ref: non-urban)	2.601***	2.613***	2.634***
Equivalised household income quintiles (ref: third)			
First	1.075***	1.084***	1.086***
Second	1.097***	1.095***	1.093***
Fourth	0.887***	0.899***	0.905***
Fifth	0.616***	0.652***	0.669***
Main source of income (ref: employment)			
Self-employment	0.919***	0.923***	0.935***
Benefits	1.068***	1.065***	1.061***
Student loans	0.880***	0.962*	0.982
Other	1.082***	1.082***	1.087***
Tenure (ref: ownership)			
Private rent	0.744***	0.792***	0.796***
Social rent	1.009	1.001	0.985*

Other	0.685***	0.720***	0.717***
Parental formation (ref: parents live together)			
Parents live seperated		0.896***	0.840***
One parent in dataset		1.011	0.983
No parents in the set		0.894***	0.973
Both parents in set; missing address data		0.973**	0.958***
Distance to parents (in km)		0.981***	0.981***
Distance to parents (in km), squared		1.000***	1.000***
Parental wealth quintile (ref: third)			
First			1.168***
Second			1.128***
Fourth			0.914***
Fifth			0.690***
Missing data			1.152***
Tenure position parents (all parents in ownership)			
All parents in social rent			0.947***
All parents in private rent			0.900***
Parents in ownership and rent			0.944**
Parents in social and private rent			0.936*
Parental tenure data missing			0.783***
Constant	0.332***	0.364***	0.351***
N	839052	839052	833656
R2 Pearson	0.264	0.271	0.273
Log likelihood	-3.22e+05	-3.19e+05	-3.16e+05

legend: * p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001

Figure 2. Predicted share of own group (first generation) for distance to closest parent(s) in km with 95% confidence intervals (Model 6).



Differences between groups

The models show odds ratios of our origin groups in relation to Dutch residents born in Germany. Since these are not intuitive, we present the predicted probabilities for living in a concentration neighbourhood of the first generation with a similar background in figure 3.

The model largely reproduces the generational and ethnic differences found in the descriptive statistics. The Surinamese and Turkish-Dutch groups show relatively high shares living in concentrations but these diminish for each generation. For these and other groups, Dutch with one parent from the second generation tend to be least likely to live close to the first generation, followed by Dutch with two second generation parents. Confidence intervals are high for Surinamese and Turkish Dutch with two second generation parents because of their relatively small size, yet there is a significant difference with the first generation (for Turkish-Dutch) or with both preceding generations (Surinamese-Dutch).

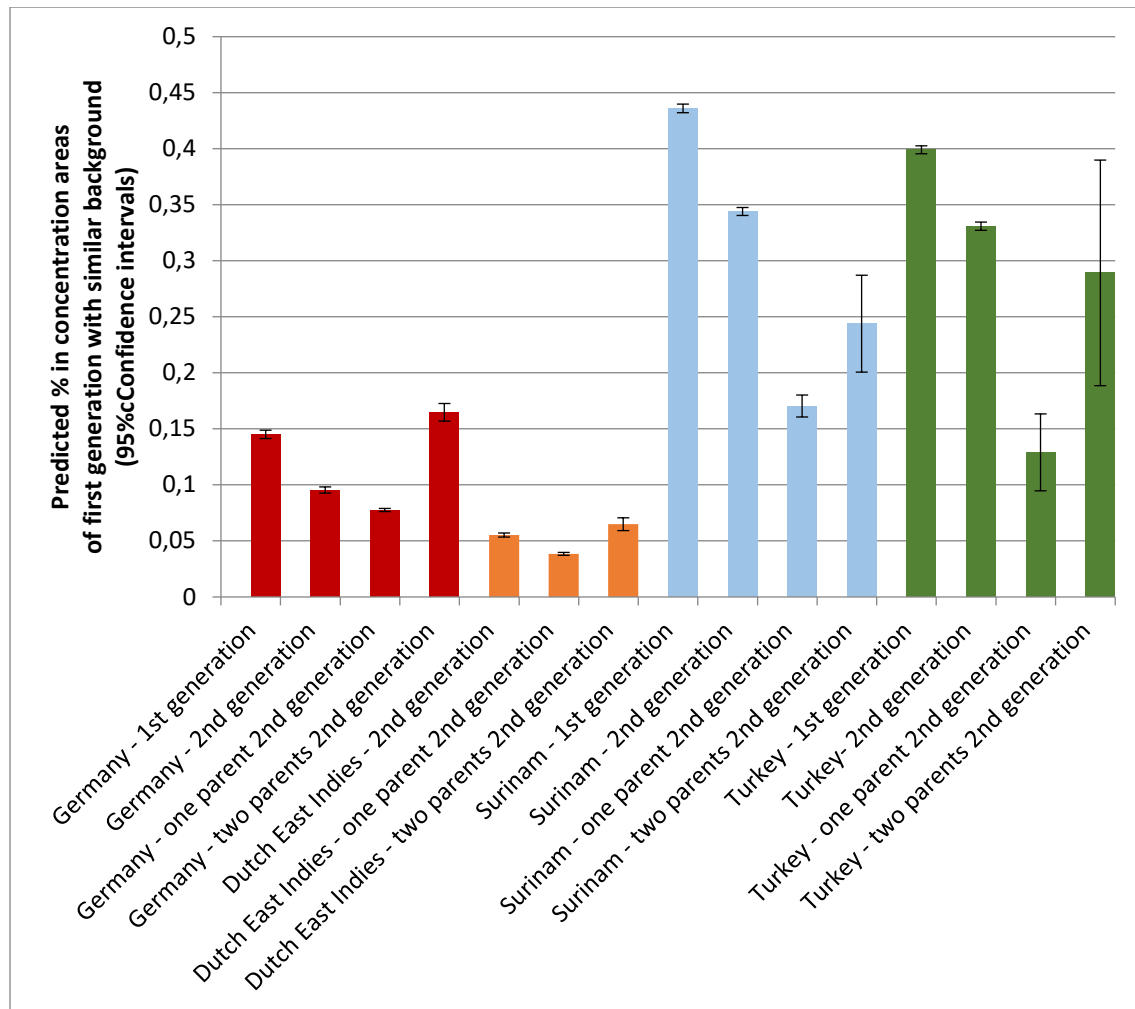
German-Dutch with two second generation parents are more likely to live in concentrations of first generation Germans than the first generation itself. The concentrations are mostly in the border regions, as well as in Amsterdam and smaller cities with large student populations. The

third generation, a relatively old group, is overrepresented in non-urban municipalities near the German-Dutch border; leading to higher shares in concentrations than first and second generations.

The predicted shares for people with a Dutch-Indish background are relatively low. There is a slightly higher probability for people with two second generation parents to be living in concentrations, compared to the second generation. This was also the case in the descriptive analyses. The explanation may also be related to intergroup differences between colonists and colonial subjects. A first generation of Moluccan descent were housed in various concentrations across the Netherlands (Özer et al. 2017). These concentrations are still visible today and –again– it may be that this group is also more likely to intermarry (see Lucassen & Laarman 2009), which would lead to higher concentrations for those with two 2nd generation parents.

So, while we see that subsequent generations are still found in own-group concentrations, there is evidence for generational spatial dispersal, particularly among Turkish-Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch groups. Models that estimate living in concentrations of the first *and* second generation of the own group show similar trends between generations (data not shown). The models were also able to explain these patterns to a degree, yet differences between groups and generations are still present, which indicates that different groups follow different trajectories.

Figure 3. Predicted margins for rates of living in own-group first generation concentration neighbourhoods for origin groups (model 6).



Conclusion and discussion

Classical assimilation theories and urban ecology models predict that across multiple generations new immigrants groups find their footing, improve their socio-economic and housing market positions and will integrate spatially by moving away from initial neighbourhoods of entry to more established areas. These theories have been critiqued for ignoring path dependency, institutional arrangements, discrimination, and group differences, which may all lead to different trajectories. This paper sought to understand the housing market positions and spatial patterns of various migrant groups and their children and grandchildren in the Netherlands. Our study shows that first generations are generally more likely to live in rental housing and in concentrations compared to successive generations. Except for the grandchildren of migrants from colonial Indonesia, there is also evidence that the ‘third generation’ has a better housing market access than their parents.

There is also preliminary evidence that ‘third generation’ Surinamese-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch are less likely to live in concentrations than their parents, which is indicative of generational dispersal and desegregation.

Our findings highlight the significance of parental tenure and wealth, and, for spatial location, distance to parents in explaining housing market position and living in concentrations. Yet, even when personal and parental characteristics were taken into account, all migrant origin groups show housing market disparities compared to third generation native-Dutch. Also, there are large differences in concentration between groups. The differences within and between groups imply the importance of migration histories, their orientations and preferences, and their perception and treatment by majority populations, market actors and the state. To better understand found differences, further research may take a look at different immigration cohorts comparatively, at their opportunities and constraints on the housing market, their specific life course trajectories, and their modes of intergenerational transfer (cf. Finney 2011; Zuccotti 2019). Such analyses may also further investigate transfers over multiple generations, whereby grandparental status is taken into account as well.

In addition to looking at groups and cohorts more closely, there are also opportunities for further geographical analyses. With more grandchildren reaching adulthood, we may use common and novel measures of isolation, distribution and evenness to assess their spatial patterning. Also, the focus on concentrations may provide some new avenues for further inquiry. Some groups in our analyses show a generational decrease in share of living in first generation concentrations. Yet, we may take a closer look at those concentrations over time for multiple generations. First generation concentrations may shift over time as migrants become settled and housing market conditions change (Musterd & De Vos 2007). Also, subsequent generations may live in their own concentrations, or in (dis)advantage, elsewhere.

So, our study may provide an impetus to further investigate the spatiality of migrants and their offspring from a generational perspective. The demographics of postwar migration to Western Europe means that European countries will see more multi-generational families with a migration background in the coming years. This paper provides a first look at their position and situation (see also Zorlu & Van Gent 2020), and sought to develop a framework of generational spatial analyses that incorporates parental background. To be sure, our ‘third generation’ is generally very young. The findings for Turkish-Dutch should be regarded as preliminary. So, as time progresses and populations grow more research will be possible. There is a danger, though, in studying the grandchildren of migrants using social and spatial statistics, particularly when groups are designated

as ‘non-native’, ‘migrants’ or as ‘non-European’ (Yanow and Van der Haar 2013). We acknowledge that the use of ‘second’ and ‘third generation’ might imply certain citizens being different and ‘out of place’. Yet, while we should be aware of the politics of statistics, language and statecraft (see Uitermark et al. 2017; Slootweg et al. 2019), research is needed to assess how the offspring of various migrant groups are faring and, more importantly, whether they are not becoming subordinated, marginalized and segregated populations in European societies.

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APPENDIX

Table. Descriptives logistic regression models.

	Ownership models	Concentration models
% in owner occupied dwelling	60,36	
% in concentration neighbourhood (own group)		13,41
Migration background		
Dutch-born grandparents	30,83	X
Germany - 1st generation	3,41	4,97
Germany - 2nd generation	4,40	6,37
Germany - one parent 2nd generation	17,32	25,01
Germany - two parents 2nd generation	0,84	1,22
Dutch East Indies - 2nd generation generation	6,60	9,51
Dutch East Indies - one parent 2nd generation	8,66	12,57
Dutch East Indies - two parents 2nd generation	0,63	0,92
Surinam - 1st generation	6,11	8,83
Surinam - 2nd generation	5,80	8,45
Surinam - one parent 2nd generation	0,44	0,64
Surinam - two parents 2nd generation	0,03	0,04
Turkey - 1st generation	9,24	13,25
Turkey- 2nd generation	5,65	8,16
Turkey - one parent 2nd generation	0,03	0,04
Turkey - two parents 2nd generation	0,01	0,01
Gender (ref: male)		
Female	52	52,1
Age (average)		
	38,7	38,9
% in urban municipality (dummy variable)	32,95	38,09
Equivalised household income quintiles		
First	18,36	21,27
Second	15,26	16,28
Third	20,9	20,44
Fourth	23,02	21,4
Fifth	22,46	20,62
Main source of income		
Employment	65,64	62,49
Self-employment	11,32	10,98
Benefits	12,96	15,37
Student loans	5,4	5,54
Other/ unknown	4,69	5,61

Tenure		
owner-occupied		55,48
Private rent		14,57
Social rent		27,96
Other		1,99
Parental formation		
Parents live together	45,04	37,81
Parents live seperated	14,45	14,71
One parent in dataset	5,55	8,06
No parents in the set	9,56	13,78
Both parents in set; missing address data	25,4	25,64
Parental wealth quintile		
First	10,46	12
Second	17,7	20,56
Third	14,68	13,72
Fourth	19,09	15,91
Fifth	21,61	15,99
Missing data	16,46	21,82
Tenure position parents		
All parent(s) in owner-occupied	45,25	36,85
All parent(s) in social rent	26,25	29,35
All parent(s) in private rent	4,34	4,13
Parents in ownership and rent	5,23	5,24
Parents in social and private rent	1,15	1,27
Parental tenure data missing	17,78	23,16
Distance to parents (in km)	19,0	17,69