On value change under the influence of international migration

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Intentions

૭ To discuss the theories of value change

૭ To empirically test for the complementarity of the socialization and the institutionalization assumptions, using the case of work values…

૭ … and the case of international migration as 'natural experiment' (Dinesen, 2013).

Structure

1. On value formation and change

2. Working values and immigrants
   i. Hypotheses
   ii. Methods
   iii. Findings
   iv. Implications

   Paper 1

3. Return migration and contagion
   i. Hypotheses
   ii. Methods
   iii. Findings
   iv. Implications

   Paper 2

4. Implications for the theory

Socialization & Institutionalization

Socialization (I)

- Values form during early socialization
- They reflect uncertainty and security in early childhood (Inglehart, 1971, 1997)
- Culture changes when generations change (Manheimm, 1952)

- Mannheim's (1952) generational replacement explanation
- Ryder's (1965) focus on cohorts
- Inglehart's (1971, 1997) socialization hypothesis (core of the postmaterialist theory).

Socialization (II)

ა ... is the normative approach to be found in most of the literature devoted to defining social values (Ester et al., 1994; Ester et al., 2006; Featherstone, 2011; Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Jagodzinski, 2004; van Deth & Scarbrough, 1994)

ა ... leads to the assumption that values are stable features (Jagodzinski, 2004)

ა ... is to be found, at least as background assumption in the main three streams/schools important in social sciences with respect to studying values: Hofstede's values inventory, Schwartz's basic human values, and Inglehart's & Welzel's revised modernization theory

Challenges to the socialization assumption

* Assimilation theories:
  * immigrants daily interact with the dominant culture and acquire new ways of doing, memories, behaviors, attitudes, values specific to the dominant group (Alba & Nee 1997, 2003; Esser, 2010; Portes et al., 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006)

* Ogburn's (1973) macro-level lag theory :
  * culture follows the changes in economic situation ➔ implies faster changes than the ones inferred based on generational replacement

* Inkeles' (1969) argument on factory as "school for modernization"

Culture as adaptive to economic changes

- Inglehart & Baker, 2000
- Inglehart & Welzel, 2005
- Welzel, 2007

- Retreat to traditional values in times of high inflation (and growing unemployment, economic recession etc.)

Institutionalization

- Gundelach (1994):
  - institutions as containers of value patterns to be interiorized by immigrants.
  - relevant social institutions, to provide patterns that people follow and internalize as social values:
    - *family* patterns,
    - the shape of the *welfare state*,
    - the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the *nation*.

- Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001, chapter 13):
  - The current adult generation in Western Europe not only that did not experienced times of real scarcity, but also grew in an environment in which there are strong norms which specifically structure the social and human relations. These relations are salient, defining in turn the life in collectivity, in its most intimate aspects.
  - salient norms that act as patterns for shaping values which are different as compared to the traditional ones:
    traditional values are in decline, losing relevance and practicability. They are replaced by newer values, more appropriate for the new risk society. The whole argument offers a convincing illustration of the mechanism through which social institutions determine value formation.
    - *Democracy*,
    - *Nuclear family*
    - *Market redistribution.*

Institutionalization (II)

ള Arts (2011):

ള conceptualization of the institutionalization assumption in value formation

ള a multilevel approach may contribute to a better understanding of value formation and change.

Beyond institutionalization?

    Can prevalent values be considered "institutional" patterns?

    Are wide-spread cultural norms permanently internalized and do they become values for individuals exposed to their influence?

Empirical testing?

ﬆ Not easy: changes in context are not easily to observe

ﬆ But immigrants do change their context...
(international migration is a 'vast natural experiment' – Dinesen, 2013)

What we know about immigrants?

ଓ Assimilation theories (Esser, 2010) ➔ implicit support for the
institutionalization assumption

ଓ Transnationalism (Vertovec, 2006) ➔ dual-contextuality

ଓ The Acculturation perspective (Berry, 2001)
- *"Moral bricolage"* (Craciun, 2013)

Existing empirical proof

Field	ORIGIN (socialization)	HOST (institutionalization)	reference
Life satisfaction	☑	☑	B.Voicu & M.Vasile (2013)
Voting	☒ **	☑	B.Voicu & M.Comşa (2013)
Mbship in associations	☑	☑	B.Voicu (2013)
Social Trust	☑	☑	B.Voicu (2013)
Confidence in institutions	☑	☑	B.Voicu & C.D.Tufiş (2013)
Gender Values	☑	☑	M.Voicu & A.Constantin (2014)
Work ethos	☑	☑	THIS PRESENTATION
Basic Human Values (Schwartz)	☑	☑	Rudnev (2013)
Gender differences in school achievements	☑		Dronkers & Kornder (2013)

** reversed relation!!! Need to control for real exposure and loyalties.

Additional findings

આ Institutionalization effects seem to be stronger ….
   (may this be simply due to methodology? It does not seem so...)

આ Time spent in the host society has little if any influence

Work values

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Work values

- Core to modernization theories

- part of the more general mix of value orientations (Zanden, 1994; Schwartz, 1999; Inglehart, 1997; Haagenars et al., 2003; Elizur & Sagre, 1999; Ros et al., 1999)

- compared with other life domains, work centrality is doubtless (de Witte, Halman, Gelissen, 2004)

- Contemporary processes:
  - higher interest for intrinsic than for extrinsic motivations of work (Ester et al., 2006; de Witte, Halman, Gelissen, 2004)
  - people with higher incomes, education, qualifications put more pressure for less working-hours (MacInnes, 2006: 239, Reynolds & Aletraris, 2006; Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2003)

Immigrants to Europe

- Move from their society of **ORIGIN** to a new **HOST** country and …

  - o May change their context drastically… or not

  - o May be high- or low-skilled

  - o Face different institutional set ups, and face different dominant work values

Hypotheses

- H1:
  - The work values at ORIGIN continue to influence immigrants' value orientations towards work

- H2:
  - The work values in the HOST society create an institutional context that mold immigrants' orientations towards work

Data & Method

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[PAPER 1]

Data

EVS 2008-2009:
- 6,297 foreign-born respondents.
- 153 origins and 47 hosts

- listwise deletion → 5444 cases with full information available (70 origins & 47 hosts).

Second set of models
- listwise deletion → 5087 cases European born, full information available (47 origins & 47 hosts).

Third set of models
- listwise deletion → 2270 cases: born in countries included in WVS2005, full information available (40 origins & 46 hosts).

Dependent

Work values:

- 5-point scales
  - It is **humiliating** to receive money without having to work for it
  - People who don't work become **lazy**.
  - Work is a **duty** toward society.
  - Work should always come **first**, even if it means less free time.

- [full metric invariance]   [no scalar invariance]

- [check also Dülmer, 2011 for similar analysis based on WVS2005, and for the selection of items]

- However, I computed the average...

Main independent (I)

- Since no scalar invariance ➜ averages of the main indicator (duty)

- Can one combine EVS 2008 and WVS 2005 to have data for more origins? (check next slides)

Comparison of WVS 2005 and EVS 2008

Country averages of wDuty

blue: 2005
red: 2008
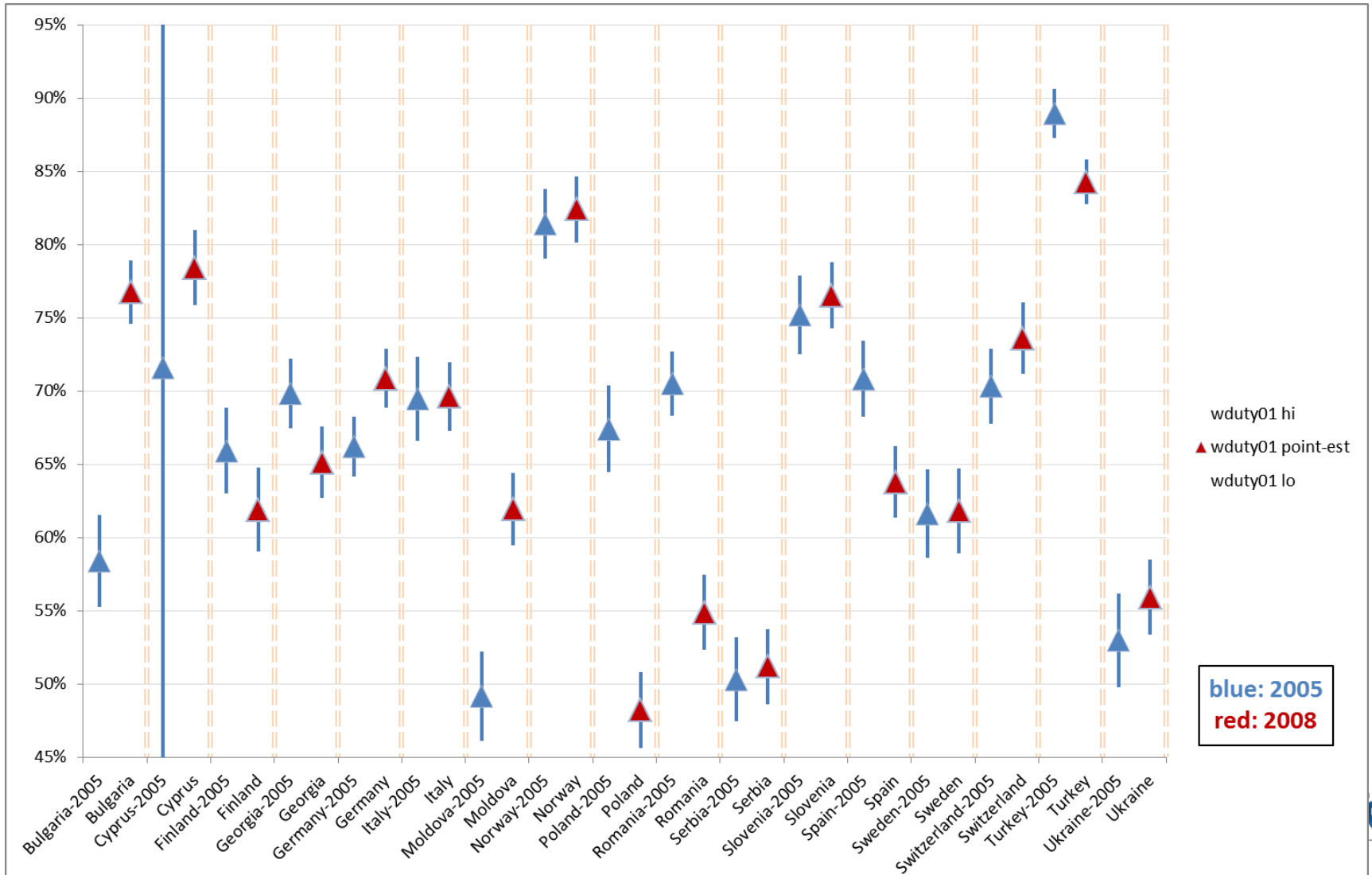
ꙅ Run a set of models only for European-born immigrants (data about origin: EVS 2008)

ꙅ Repeat analysis for those born in countries included in WVS 2005

ꙅ Repeat again using all data

lmer procedure in R

O_1 O_2 O_3

DV_1 DV_2 DV_3 DV_4 DV_5 DV_6

H_1 H_2 H_3 H_4 H_5 H_6
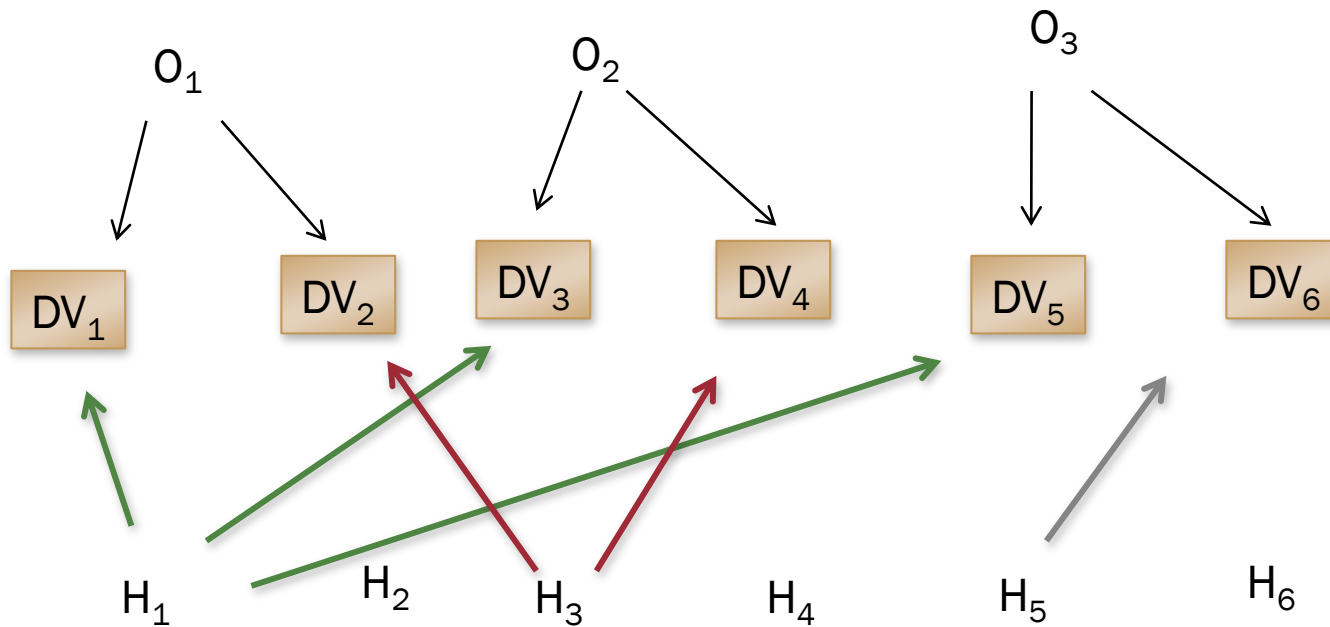
DV_i = dependent variable for the respondent i

H_h = Host Country $_h$
O_j = Society of Origin $_j$

Robustness checks

All analyses were repeated with wDuty as dependent. ➔ Same results.

Crosslevel interactions with time spent at host (to better measure the relevance of the estimates for the ORIGIN work values)

To assess relevance of the estimates for the ORIGIN work values: comparison with stayers. => include the native-born respondents and include only European-born immigrants.

Findings

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[PAPER 1]

Empty model: Variances

Groups	MCMC mean	95% lower bound	95% upper bound
origin	0,134	0,061	0,207
host	0,278	0,201	0,357
residual	1,624	1,595	1,652

Host & origin ➜ ~20% of total variation

Models: no crosslevel interactions

		Model 8: data for Origin=> EVS2008		Model 5: data for Origin=> WVS2005		Model A: all available information about Origin is pooled in	
HOST	h.Work=Duty	0,63	***	0,66	***	0,59	***
	Unempl.rate	-0,01		-0,02		0,00	
	lnGDPc	0,00		-0,13		-0,01	
	Democracy	-0,02		-0,02		-0,01	
	GrowthRate	-0,01		-0,02		-0,01	
ORIGIN	o.Work=Duty	0,18	(p=0,14)	0,34	**	0,15	+
	Unempl.rate	0,00		0,01		0,00	

	Point est.	95% CI			Point est.	95% CI	
h.W=Duty	0,66	0,31	1,02	uty	0,59	0,29	0,88
o.W=Duty	0,34	0,10	0,58	uty	0,15	-0,01	0,31

Controls at individual level for education, age, age squared, female, life satisfaction, marital status, number of children, subjective health, employment status (& part time/full time distinction)

Models: WITH crosslevel interactions

MCMC estimates
lmer (R)

		Model 8: data for Origin=> EVS2008		Model 5: data for Origin=> WVS2005		Model A: all available information about Origin is pooled in	
HOST	h.Work=Duty	1,03	***	0,60	***	0,67	***
	Unempl.rate	0,00		0,00		-0,02	
	lnGDPc	0,02		0,01		-0,13	
	Democracy	-0,01		-0,01		-0,03	
	GrowthRate	0,00		-0,01		-0,02	
ORIGIN	o.Work=Duty	0,05		0,20	+	0,34	+
	Unempl.rate	-0,01		0,00		0,00	
<o.Work=D>*<Time@HOST>		0,00		0,00		0,00	

Controls at individual level for education, age, age squared, female, life satisfaction, marital status, number of children, subjective health, employment status (& part time/full time distinction)

Models:
comparison to natives and stayers

MCMC estimates
lmer (R)

		Model 8: data for Origin=> EVS2008	
HOST	h.Work=Duty	0,63	***
	Unempl.rate	0,00	
	lnGDPc	0,04	
	Democracy	-0,04	+
	GrowthRate	0,00	
ORIGIN	o.Work=Duty	0,14	*
	Unempl.rate	0,00	

	Point est.	95% CI	
h.W=Duty	0,66	0,44	0,81
o.W=Duty	0,34	0,01	0,28

Controls at individual level for education, age, age squared, female, life satisfaction, marital status, number of children, subjective health, employment status (& part time/full time distinction)

Conclusions

[PAPER 1]

Summary of main findings

- Strong support for the institutionalization hypothesis

- Moderate support for the socialization assumption
(is there need for better measures?)

- HOST's effects = stronger as compared to ORIGIN's ones

- No support for time as moderator

Further steps (I)

- Better control for exposure (which data??)

- Case studies in particular countries where panel data is available? (the French ELIPA? The Dutch online panel? Swiss or British Household Panels?)

- Reversed contextual effects & contagion → Values as social remittances?

Values as social remittances

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Intentions

- Can one find institutionalization effects when direct exposure to a foreign context is not present?

- **Indirect exposure:** through (loose) connections, media consumption
- **Past exposure:** presence in contexts which are different as compared to the current one and to the ORIGIN's.

Types of exposure

- Return migration / direct exposure

- Relatives & friends who immigrated
- Friends from abroad

- Media consumption

Social remittances

- Levitt & Lamba-Nieves (2011): social remittances

- Ackers, 2012: knowledge transfer
- Amouendo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2010: children schooling

- Armendariz & Crow. 2010: political behavior
- Tsuda, 2012: civic participation

- Markov, 2013; Piperno, 2012: kin-family relations

- Suksomboon, 2008: "*These social remittances expose non-migrants to global cultural diffusion and cause to a degree a transformation of their social values and their life styles.*" [gender & family values]

Hypotheses

ﻬ Exposure to contexts different from ORIGIN's one may lead to value change, due to institutionalization effects

ﻬ The effect should be stronger in case of direct exposure (return migration).

ﻬ Duration/intensity of exposure might be important.

Data & Method

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[PAPER 2]

Dependent & main independent variables

- ❧ Dependent
  - ○ Importance of work: 4-point scale ...

- ❧ Independent:
  - ○ Average importance of work for the HOST societies in EVS 2008/2009 and WVS 2005/2006
  - ○ (Alternative measure: Averages for Work=Duty ➔ same results)

CS1. Have you ever lived abroad for work, study, family or other reasons except for tourism, pilgrimage, or health care? 1. Yes 2. No 99. NA

If yes, please let us know in which countries (if more than 10, please mention only those where you spent more time):

|	Country** *where*	Time [years, months]* *duration*	Starting year *when*
CS2			
CS3			
CS4			
CS5			
CS6			
CS7			
CS8			
CS9			
CS10			

*i.e. 2,7 = 2 years and 7 months

**code later using the list. Note only one country on each row!

*** code -3 if not the case (answered with 2 at CS1), respectively -4 if there are no other countries ...

- Leckie's (2013) Stata solution
- I make use of different sets of weights:
  - Simple presence of exposure
  - Weighted by duration of exposure,
  - By total number of potential influential contexts
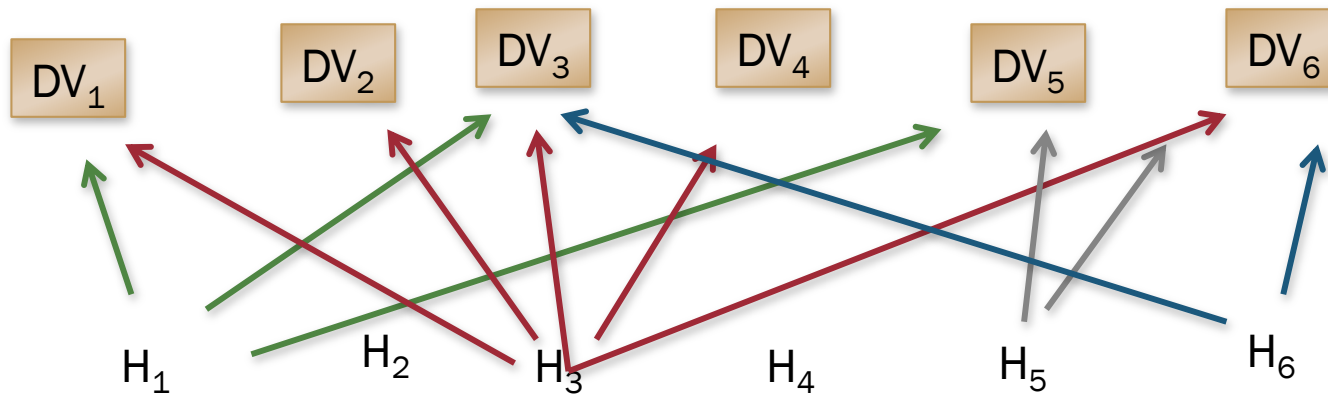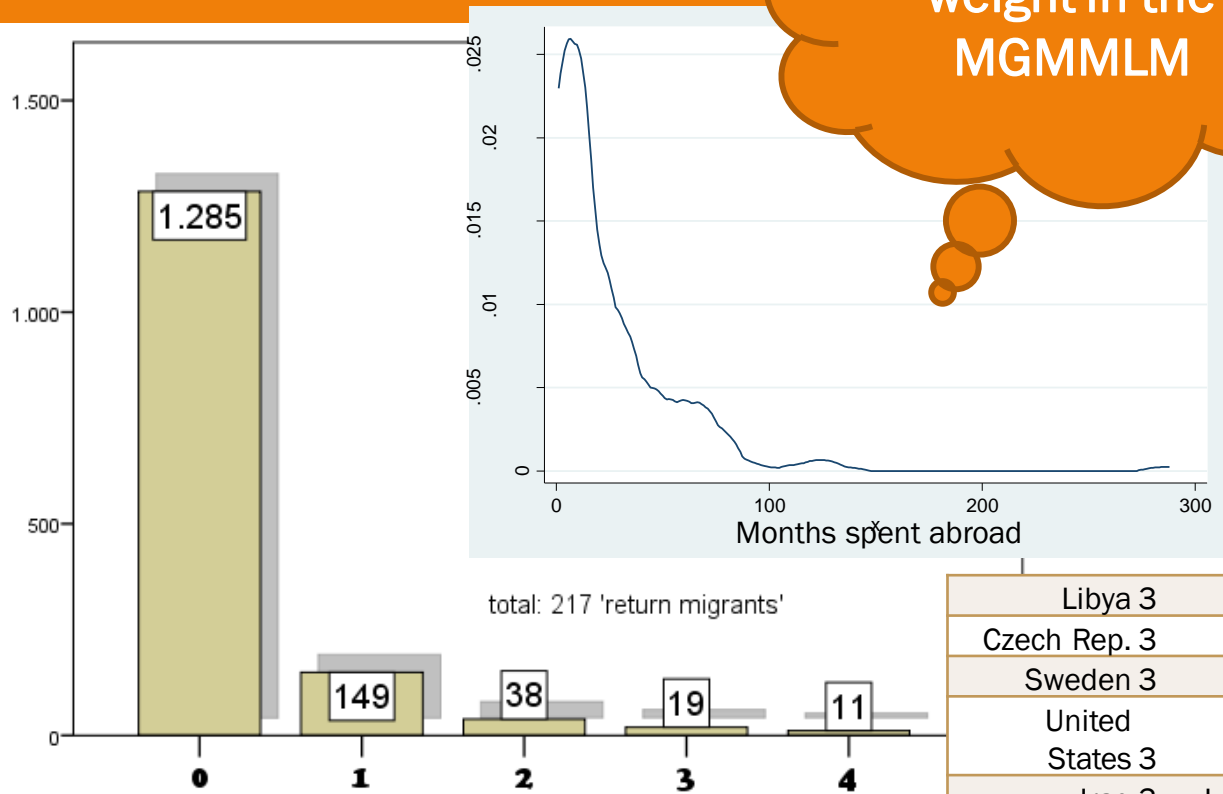

DV_i = dependent variable for the respondent i

H_h = "Host" Country $_h$
O_j = Society of Origin $_j$

'Return migration' (more than a month spent abroad, visit, except tourism and health care)

Italy	86
Spain	66
Germany	40
Hungary	18
France	12
Greece	12
Turkey	11
Netherlands	10
Belgium	9
Austria	7
Great Britain	6
Israel	5
Serbia	5

total: 217 'return migrants'

 # countries where the respondent spent at least one spell longer than one month

Months spent abroad

37 contexts they were exposed to
L2 information is available for only 29

Libya	3	China	1
Czech Rep.	3	Lebanon	1
Sweden	3	Portugal	1
United States	3	Egypt	1
Iraq	3	Luxembourg	1
Russia	2	Kazakhstan	1
Bulgaria	2	Iran	1
Ukraine	2	Kuwait	1
Syria	2	Morocco	1
Montenegro	2	Poland	1
Canada	2	Albania	1
Slovakia	2		
Switzerland	2		

Bar chart values: 1.285, 149, 38, 19, 11 for 0, 1, 2, 3, 4
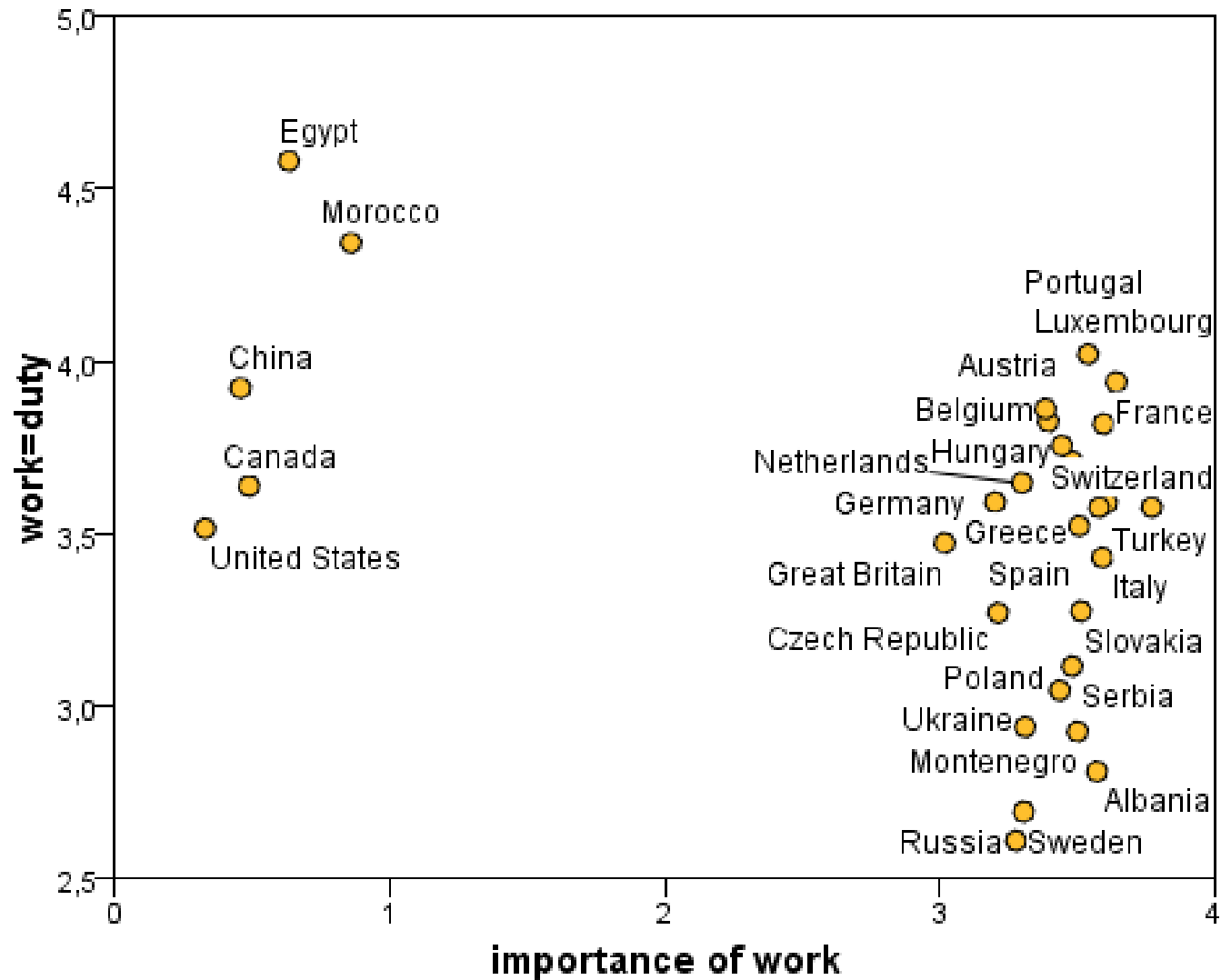
Former host societies ...

CS11. Among your close friends or among the relatives you speak with, are there persons who currently live or have lived abroad at least one month**?** 1. Yes   2. No   98. DK 99. NA

If yes, please tell us in which country and how often do you contact them:

[Example: I have both friends and relatives in Italy, and I weekly speak with at least one of them]
[For each country note only the most frequent interaction]

	Country**	Relation (multiple choices) 1. Family* 2. Other relatives 3. Friends born in Romania 4. Friends from other countries				*Frequency/intensity of contact* How often are you in touch with them	
CS12		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	1. daily
CS13		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	2. weekly
CS14		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	3. 2-3 times/month
CS15		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	4. Monthly
CS16		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	5. each 2-3 months
CS17		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	6. 1-2 times/year
CS18		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	7. less often
CS19		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	98. DK
CS20		1	2	3	4	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 98 99	99. NA

* Family: parents, husband/wife, fiancé, children/children-in-law, in-laws, grandson/granddaughter.

**code later using the list. Note only one country on each row!

*** code -3 if not the case (answered with 2 at CS1), respectively -4 if there are no other countries …

Connections living abroad:
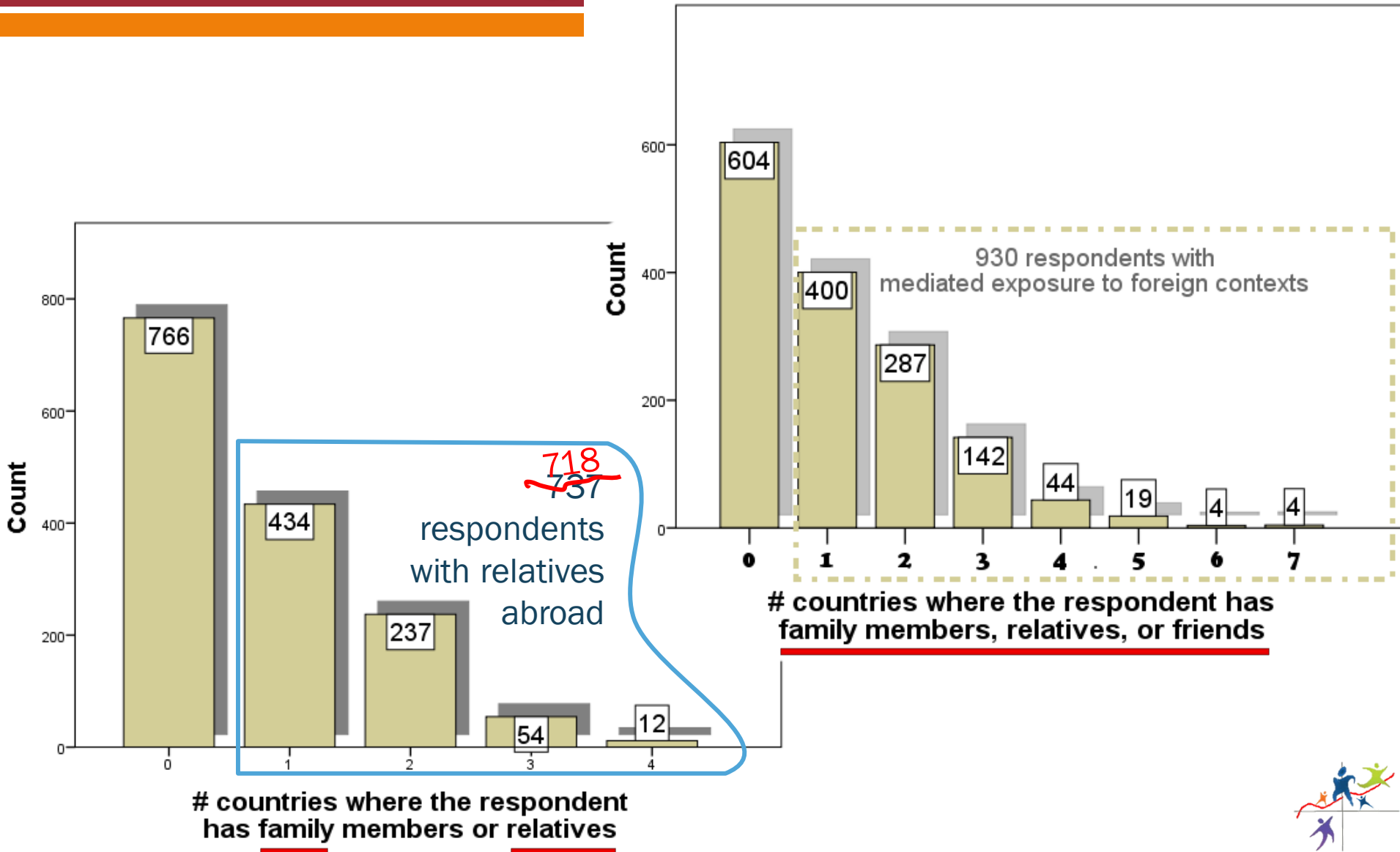## family, relatives, [Romanian] friends, [foreign] friends

country	Family, relatives, Ro friends, non-RO friends	Family only	family or relatives	fam, rel or RO friends
TOTAL CASES (sample size)	1503	1503	1503	1503
380 Italy	526	238	381	523
724 Spain	348	118	226	347
276 Germany	206	69	122	203
826 Great Britain	97	33	53	94
250 France	87	24	45	86
840 United States	77	27	50	77
124 Canada	50	17	34	50
348 Hungary	49	19	34	49
300 Greece	44	17	31	42
40 Austria	38	11	21	37
56 Belgium	34	15	23	34
620 Portugal	12	4	5	11
372 Ireland	12	6	9	12
578 Norway	11	5	5	11
528 Netherlands	11	2	7	10
752 Sweden	10	1	3	9
756 Switzerland	10	4	5	10
36 Australia	10	1	5	9

Total: 57 foreign contexts. Only the most frequent ones are included in the above table. The remaining are heterogeneous as location, including Peru, Japan, Kuwait, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Iraq, Israel, Togo, Mexico, most European countries (including small states like Malta or Andorra), etc.
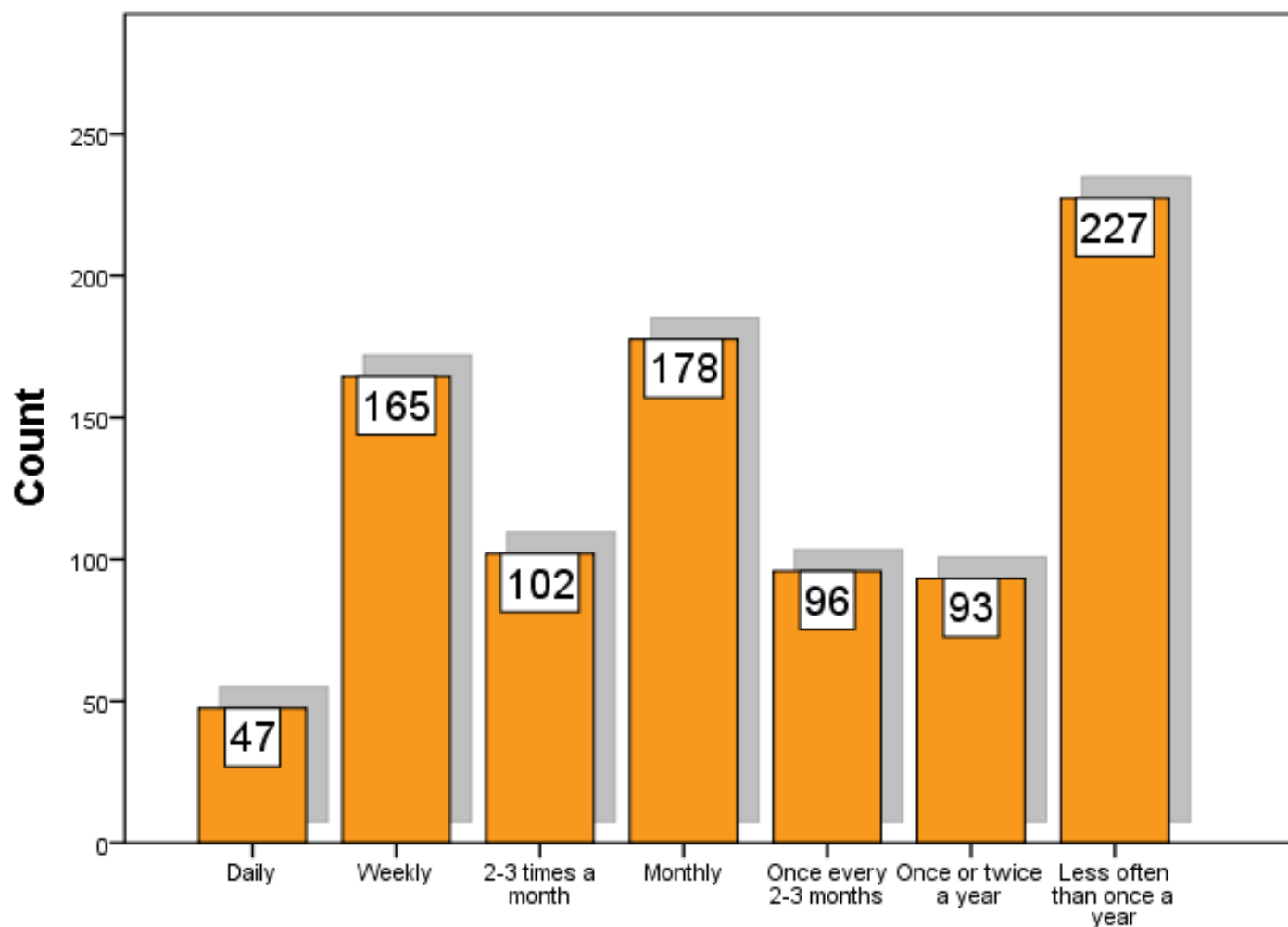
Connections living abroad:
family, relatives, [Romanian] friends, [foreign] friends

930 respondents with mediated exposure to foreign contexts

604
400
287
142
44
19
4
4

countries where the respondent has family members, relatives, or friends

766
434
237
54
12

718
737 respondents with relatives abroad

countries where the respondent has family members or relatives

Frequency of contacts (all relationships)

frequency of contacts with
friends, relatives, and family which live abroad

Findings

[PAPER 2]

'Return migrants'

predicted:	ImpWork					
		Coef.	**Std. E…**			
	_cons					
	age					
	edu…					
	fem…					
	chi…					

L1: individual characteristics

Same results if:

- Adjusting the length of staying in the former HOST for the time spent since being there

- Considering Work=Duty instead of WorkImportance as L2 indicator

- Considering less L1 indicators (remember that N is small)

S…						6
Retired						0,09
HousWife		(…,/9)			-0,43	0,33
Student	0,12	(…31)		…092	-0,48	0,72
Unempld	0,00	(…ted)				
LifeSat	-0,03	(…02)	-1,42	0,155	-0,07	0,01
SHealth	**0,2…**	**(0,07)**	**3,88**	**0,000**	**0,13**	**0,39**
check	0,0…	(0,05)	0,14	0,892	-0,09	0,11
L2: former HOST	**mhImpWk**	**0,12**	**(0,06)**	**2,00**	**0,046**	**0,00**	**0,24**

N=186,   L2: 29 countries

Variances -> the empty model: L2=0.020   L1=0.379
-> this model: L2=0.013   L1=0.304

Results for the impact of contacts with immigrated 'family and relatives'

- (N=718)

- No significant effect ☹, but close (p=0.147)

  [nothing changes when testing various weights]

  [nothing changes when considering only frequent contacts]

- On the other hand: no possibility to adequately adjust exposure by frequency of contact. ➔ go to the next analysis.

Results for the impact of contacts with any type of contact (family, friends etc.)

- (N=920)

- No significant effect ☹, far from being significant (p=0.457), and negative sign... (!!)

  [nothing changes when testing various weights]

  [nothing changes when considering only frequent contacts]

Caveats

- No control for the quality and content of communication with the contacts

- No control for intentions to migrate. (should I add a control for attitudes towards emigration?)

- Small sample size (add data from RES, but not for work importance)

- Quality of the output variable (acquiescence, reliability, ordinal, etc.)

Conclusion & Implications

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Contextual Impacts

Immigrants

ℝ Both HOST and ORIGIN matters

ℝ HOST >> ORIGIN

ℝ No time related interaction effects

Direct exposure leads to value change

Returning Immigrants

ℝ Effects of the former HOST support the institutionalization assumption

ℝ No differences related to duration time spent abroad or given by how old the exposures to different cultures

Mediated exposure

ℝ No support for exposure effects: contagion does not occur? (or better measures should be used? Or further refinemnet should be considered?)

Implications

Policy

- ORIGIN:
  - Changing work ethic?
  - changing legitimacy & support for the type of welfare regime?
  - changing gender values?

- HOST:
  - Similar questions

Theory
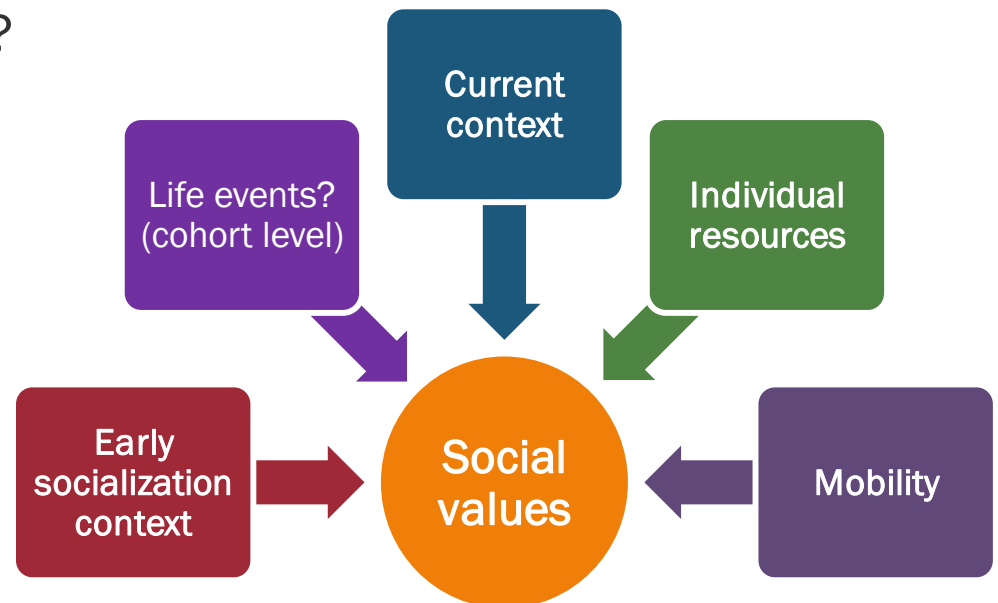
- Less deterministic (& pessimistic) view on value change

- Modernization and postmodernization processes may speed up or be hindered depending on the international migration flows?

Further steps (II)

ର If contextual effects prove significant, should other contextual changes considered?

- o Negative life events?

- o Social mobility?

Final section

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Q & A

Do you have
Questions or Comments?

Thank you for your attention and comments!