The impact of having foreign-born parents on migration

A study of Swedish emigrants

by

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Abstract:

Return migration among the second generation has been a topic of interest for researchers in the last decade, but little quantitative research has been done. Identity, feelings of belonging and moving when entering a new life stage have been proposed as reasons for the second generations to move back to their ancestral home. Using a dataset on emigrants from Sweden, this research describes the migration patterns and the impact of having foreign-born parents. By using maximum-likelihood models, the paper aims at exploring potential differences in migration patterns, explain return migration and differences in satisfaction with their stay abroad, based on their parent's origin. This study finds that most individuals with foreign-born parents have the same migration pattern as those with Swedish-born parents. Second-generation returnees is found to migrate to different destinations. The migration pattern is also found to differ as second-generation returnees are more likely to stay in their migration destination and less likely to move back to Sweden compared to the individuals with Swedish-born parents. Second-generation return migration is found to be associated with lower education and migration at younger ages or retirement age, and they are found to be less satisfied with their stay abroad compared to the individuals with Swedish-born parents.

Keywords: emigration, migration patterns, second-generation return migration

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1   Introduction

In Ravensteins "laws of migration" from 1885, he states that with every stream of migrants, there will be a counter-current stream. He argues that the counter-current migrants does generally not consist of first-generation immigrants returning, but that the returnees "[...] includes, no doubt, many children of migrants, who have gone to the counties of which their parents were born [...]" (Ravenstein, 1885, pp.187–188). Second-generation return migration is here described already in 1885 but has only been of interest among researchers in the last decade.

Ravenstein was mistaken to some degree, as research has shown that many immigrants also return to their country of origin within their lifetime, so-called return migration (Klinthäll, 2003). There has been a big interest in return migration in the last decades, trying to explain why they return and what effects these returns might have on their host and home societies.

A part of the "counter-current stream" of migration that Ravenstein (1885) first observed is the second-generation returnees that are returning to their parent's place of origin. In 2002, Levitt and Waters wrote that most of the second generation in Europe is too young to know what type of relationship they will have with their parents' country of origin. They state that even though there might be plans on going back to their ancestral homes, there is no way knowing (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002). Now, more than a decade later, this second generation is older, and data on their choices of migration are becoming available.

Researchers point to the movement of the second-generation immigrants to be an explanatory part of future migration streams, and their migration decisions should be of greater interest today. In 2002, Levitt and Waters (ed. 2002) wrote that migration is no longer considered a one-way process and that the second generation can to some degree also affect the migration streams in the future.

For the second-generation returnees, sociologists have pointed towards causes such as identity and a search for belonging for the second generation to return to their ancestral homes. A strong need to reconnect with roots and extended family is enhanced in interviews with second-generation returnees, as well as an idea of a better life. Research has also shown that second generation return migrants in many cases are disappointed about their return, being met by different bureaucracies, labor market demands and social and cultural differences they were not aware or familiar with before the return. Many second-generation returnees also struggle as they to a certain degree feel alien in their ancestral homes and do not find the confirmation of identity and belonging as they expected. As second-generation returnees is a small group, previous studies are mainly done through interviews and other qualitative analyses. This is due to very limited available data on this sub-group of migrants. (ed. Conway & Potter, 2009; ed. Lee, 2008; ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

This paper aims to describe the destinations of the individuals that outmigrate from Sweden, depending on their parents' area of origin. With migration pattern the destination of the migration is meant, but also the likelihood of staying in the country of residence or moving back to Sweden. The paper also aims to answer what explains that some individuals with foreign-born parents return to their parent's country of origin, while others migrate to other destinations. Further, this paper aims to explore potential differences in the experience of their stay abroad.

1.1   Research question

Ravenstein (1885) suggests that there should be an observable second generation return migration, leading to the first research question:

- Does having foreign-born parent(s) affect the migration pattern of the children?

As outmigrants with foreign-born parents are found to be divided into two groups; the ones that follow the same migration pattern as those with Swedish-born parents and those who move back to their parent's country of origin, the next research question is focused on the reason behind this divide:

- What explains return migration for the second generation?

Second-generation return migrants might have more information on the standards, culture and what to expect when being a second generation return migrant. Even so, previous research on second-generation returnees has found that some returnees are disappointed with their return, as many are surprised by a different governmental system, social norms or other factors they did not consider when moving back to their parent's country of origin (Levitt & Waters, 2002). This leads to the third research question:

- Does being a second-generation return migrant affect the satisfaction of the stay abroad?

In the next section, theory and previous research on transnationalism and return migration are presented. This is followed by a summary of Swedish migration history before hypotheses from the literature are presented. In the third section, the data used will be described before the following chapter presents the methodology used in this study and descriptive statistics. Next, the results are presented and discussed. In section 5, the last chapter, a conclusion is reached.

2 Theory and previous research

Research within the field of emigration from highly developed countries is a fairly unexplored area[1]. Some aspects of the theoretical and empirical results on emigration are presented, giving an explanatory background for emigration from Sweden. Further, theory within the field of first-generation returns is presented. The theoretical background on second-generation return migration is limited, as the area of research has only recently gained attention from sociologists with empirical focus. Theory on first generation return migration is therefore presented, as this potentially could explain the return of the second generation. Research on the second generation return migration is generally qualitative empirical research, mostly done through the use of interviews. Previous research presented is therefore focused on the findings within second generation return migration.

2.1 Theoretical background

2.1.1 Transnationalism

With emigration, transnational activities and transnational identities appear. Transnationalism is defined as "regular and sustained social contacts over time across borders" by Levitt and Waters (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002, pp.5–12).

Little research is done on non-return emigration from highly developed countries. In studies on the Netherlands, emigration is found to be explained only partly by economic factors. The economic factors are suggested to be wage differentials and skills premium, suggested by neo-classical economic theory (ed. Massey, 2005). Van Dalen and Henkens (2007) finds, in the case of the Netherlands, that other factors than economic ones motivate emigration. They point to reasons such as having family and networks abroad, and individual characteristics for deciding to emigrate. The main characteristic found for the individuals that emigrate is described as a need for international adventures, being less risk-averse and self-efficacy. Mobility restrictions, geographical (and cultural) proximity and historical links seem to be partial determinants for the choice of destination (Van Dalen Hendrik P. & Henkens Kène, 2007).

Within transnationalism as a concept, Lee (2008) argues that there is a distinction between transnational practices and transnational migration. The difference between the two concepts is that transnational practices organize their daily activities in networks that include another country than the one the individual is living in, so individuals who live in their home

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[1] If not looking at high skilled workers in particular.

countries also can engage in transnational activities. Transnational migration is movement between countries where the individuals become "transmigrants". This study will focus on the concept of the individuals that are transnational migrants and not the transnational activities in the country of upbringing. (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2002; Giorgas, 2008; Lee, 2008).

Transnational identities derive from the identities obtained from the migrants' home- and host country. This leads to "double identities" for the migrants, being able to integrate and adapt in both societies. With transnationalism follows cross-border social networks that make it easier to move back and forth. (Kibria, 2002; Levitt, 2009; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

Transnationalists could potentially be attached to their country of birth, but also their country of origin or current country of residence. A part of the transnational identity is a connection to their historical and emotional background. The background of parents or ancestors can create a curiosity of their cultural, lingual and social heritage, leading to visits on stays in their ancestral homes. Transnationalism can also explain a development of identities where the individuals do not feel an attachment to either their place of origin nor destination. (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

2.1.2   Theories on first generation return migration

Research finds that in many cases, the majority of migration is temporary migration. A large number of migrants, therefore, return to their home country in their lifetime. Klinthäll (2003) finds that among the approximately 1.3 million immigrants that came to Sweden between 1968 and 1996, 30 percent had returned before the end of 1996. Looking at the 1980 immigration cohort, Klinthäll finds that 25 percent of the immigrants had left in 1998. The return rate is suspected to be lower in more recent years, as the type of migration has changed toward a larger portion of refugee migration (Klinthäll, 2003).

Bovenkerk (1974) presents the "laws of migration" for internal migration that he has been found to hold:

- The shorter the distance of emigration, the more of return migration
- The longer the emigrants stay in their host country, the lower the chance they will return.
- Changes in the economic balance between the place of origin and place of destination directly affect the number of return migrants.

These laws are found to hold for internal migration and not international migration. Even so, these "laws of migration" does capture some of the essential theoretical aspects of international return migration. The distance today might have other pre-requisites, such as country borders, opportunities for visas, language and culture might be as explanatory as the distance itself.

Bovenkerk (1974) also points out that many studies have shown that most migrants return due to family ties and homesickness, and rarely due to economic motives.

In the neoclassical migration theories where migration is motivated as of wage differences, employment possibilities, and utility maximization, the return can be explained through failed migration. A failed migration would be a failure in employment, expected earnings or duration of stay (Cassarino, 2004). Return migration can also be explained by changes in the wage differences between home and host country and employment opportunities available in both countries (ed. Massey, 2005; Van Dalen Hendrik P. & Henkens Kène, 2007).

In what Cassarino (2004) refers to as new economics of labor migration, return migration is explained by the fulfillment of the economic target of the stay. The theory of new economics of labor migration would be an explanation of the high return rates for the first generation.

As for the reason for the return, Cerase (1970, 1974) identifies four types of return migration. In these groups of returns, the intention and the motivation of the return are correlated.

- *Retirement returns:*
  Retirement returns are migrants that return to their home countries in their old ages. Most of these individuals have invested in property in their home country and returns with a better economic situation than before the initial migration.

- *Returns of failure:*
  These individuals return as they cannot integrate properly in the host society, mainly in the labor market leading to a lower income than expected. This failure of return is motivated by a lack of participation in the host country, which leads to a return to the home country.

- *Returns of innovation:*
  Returnees of innovation are individuals that return with a new skill set they wish to make use of in their home country. These are individuals with ambitions of entrepreneurship and returns to create a business or advance in their career.

- *Return of conservatism:*
  Individuals that return as of conservatism has always planned to return with saved capital. They do not wish to reform or develop the social context of their home society; they wish to conserve it and keep traditions and their cultural heritage.

Economic theory suggests that migrants have a life cycle perspective on their migration. During the migration, certain migrants save their income to be able to maximize their utility once they have returned to their home country (Klinthäll, 2003, p.64; ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002)

Social network theory suggests that networks facilitate migration for the first generations. This could also be turned the other way around, suggesting that migrants that keep a strong connection and linkage with their home society are more likely to return. Having a social network in the home country can facilitate a return migration regarding practical aspects such as job opportunities and housing, but also create motivation for the return to occur (Cassarino, 2004; ed. Massey, 2005).

Having regular contact with their home countries also allow for the migrants so be well prepared when their return. The contact with the home society gives the migrants abilities to weight in the economic consequences and possibilities of a return (Cassarino, 2004).

The theoretical background suggests that migrants from highly developed countries migrate to destinations in other highly developed countries. Being a second-generation returnee, mobility restrictions and cultural proximity might be different, as these individuals might have legal rights and knowledge about the culture and language of their ancestral home which could affect the migration pattern of these individuals. Having a "double identity", second-generation returnees often migrate to their parental home in search of this identity and belonging. Looking at outmigration patterns of these individuals compared to those who do not have a return destination could, therefore, shed some light on these perspectives. Transnationalism is a result of migration, where individuals adapt and integrate into both their home and host society. Returns of retirement, failure, innovation, and conservatism could therefore also apply to the second-generation and their decision to move back to their parental home.

2.2   Previous research

Previous research on first generation returnees has found little evidence of the returns being motivated by economic reasoning. Klinthäll (2003) finds that there do seem to be selectivity in the individuals that return, that the returnees to some degree have a lower income in the host country. The individual reason for returning was not included in this study, and could explain parts of the selectivity concerning expectations and motivations of the returnees' effort and success in the host country.

Even so, economic factors do not seem to be the primary motivation for return migration for the first generation. Bovenkerk (1974) underlines that economic motives have little effect on return migration, compared to the decision to migrate in the first place. Business cycles do not seem to affect the decision of a return to the home country, further emphasizing that economic factors have smaller importance on the return migration decision. King (ed. Ghosh, 2000) finds that pull factors in their home country are more important for a return migration to occur than push factors from the host country. Factors such as family bonds and social networks are more important than economic considerations for the return.

Ravenstein (1885) observes that many returnees are children of migrants, but the counter-current group of migrants consists mostly of people with business purposes. Sociologists have in the last decade studies second-generation returns. Levitt and Waters (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002) mark the beginning of the research on the second-generation returnees stating that they do not engage as much in their ancestral homes as their parents, but that they are potentially raised transnationally. Findings show that most second-generation immigrants do not plan on a return to their parent's home country (Levitt, 2009). Even so, a share of the second-generation immigrant does return to their ancestral homes. Wessendorf (2007) explain this with: "Although they do not 'return' to their parents' homeland (they have never lived there),

they move to a place which has always been part of their identity and their everyday lives, and their migration is strongly motivated by nostalgia" (Wessendorf, 2007, p.1091)

The level of transnational activity is in research found to be dependent on the life stage of the individual. When the second-generation immigrants move from their parental home, a curiosity and search for knowledge and their identity and belonging often begin. These transnational activities would be more independent of their parents, and could, for example, be that the children choose studies or exchange semesters related to their parent's origins or a career that requires longer stays or co-operation in their ancestral homes (ed. Lee, 2008; ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002).

Further, research suggests that young adults leaving the parental home, individuals establishing a family and individuals facing retirement are most likely to return to their ancestral home. This because they have a stronger need of connection to their family roots, traditions and a search for their identity and belonging (King, Christou & Ahrens, 2011; Levitt, 2009; ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002; Vathi & King, 2011).

Through the use of interviews, King, Christou, and Ahrens (2011) find three necessary drivers for the second generation to return to their ancestral homes:

- Emotional attachment to the country and/or lifestyle
- Opportunity to return
- Human capital that gives these opportunities

This is in line with the finding of the individual's life-stage. The opportunity to return is described as a life stage where migration is possible. This could be entering higher education, losing a job in the home country or reaching retirement. As for emotional attachment, having a relationship with the country, culture and possibly family and friends in the ancestral home is necessary for the migration to occur. The last driver is human capital providing the opportunity for the migration. This could, for example, be the wish for higher education or have the skills or education that can provide a job in the ancestral home. Further, King and Christou find that the return for the second generation is motivated by a search for the individuals' identity and to find a sense of belonging (King & Christou, 2010).

Research also finds that push factors from their country of upbringings such as discrimination, feelings of second-class citizen and economic difficulty are not as important as the ancestral country's pull factors, in line with research on first-generation migrants. Pull factors found for migration to their ancestral homes are factors such as climate, returning to family roots, study or career opportunities and finding back to their cultural heritage (ed. Conway & Potter, 2009, p.225)

Second-generation return is in some cases explained by the individuals to be "return delayed by a generation", where the first-generation migrants initially planned to return to their home country but never did. The second generation returns as an extension of their parents desire to return. These second generation return individuals are often found to know the language and culture of their ancestral home. (King & Christou, 2010; Potter & Phillips, 2009)

Levitt (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002) finds that both lower and higher socioeconomic status can motive second generation return migration. Individuals that do not have the education or job skills to succeed in their country of upbringing engage more in transnational activities as they are prevented through their skills, culture and possibly language to find economic opportunities in any of the locations. The other side of this is the well-educated second generation immigrants that take advantage of their knowledge of two cultures and languages positioning themselves on the labor market as very valuable, leading to more extended stays and much connection with the ancestral home (Levitt, 2002). Negative selection bias of the return migrants found in the first generation return migrants is therefore not necessarily present for the second generation returns.

Levitt (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002) finds that institutions such as religious communities, aid-groups for their country of origin, political, religious or civic groups that are transnationally organized can meet the need for migrants to feel connected to their home country. If the second generation is raised in such environment, and to a high degree is in contact with their ancestral home, they would feel more belonging and loyalty to their parent's country of origin. This again encourages and increases transnational activities. Second generation children that were not included in such activities should, therefore, have less transnational activities. The more institutional opportunities there are, and the higher parent's participation in them, the higher the probability for the children to also participate in transnational activities. This institutional completeness could also lead to individuals not becoming transnational migrants, as they can stay in contact with their ancestral roots in their current country of living. The institutional completeness could therefore also be discouraging in term of second generation return migration (Giorgas, 2008; Levitt, 2002; Potter & Phillips, 2009)

Fouron and Glick-Schiller use the term long distance nationalism to describe individuals that root their identity and sense of belonging to another country than they are living in. This long-distance nationalism also leads to return migration to their ancestral home. Long-distance nationalism could also explain the low number of second-generation return migrants, as individuals that do not return identifies with their parent's country and work for development in the ancestral home from a distance (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2002).

Studies on the experience of the return to the ancestral home for the second generation has shown that many of the individuals are disappointed over the stay and their ancestral home. Individuals have been found to have difficulties in the labor market in their ancestral home countries. Women are found to have a more challenging time, both in the professional and personal life. Some have difficulties entering the labor market, and others experience less contact with family living in the host country than they expected. The negative experiences in the ancestral home are also found to be rooted in poorer facilities, fewer resources and less functioning infrastructure (Christou, 2009; Ishikawa, 2009; Kibria, 2002; Lee, 2009; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009; Potter & Phillips, 2009).

For many, the return reveals that they feel "in between" two identities, not feeling that they belong in neither their country of upbringing nor their ancestral home. Research finds that this disappointment is much less present the older the return migrant is (Christou, 2006; King, Christou & Ahrens, 2011). Marital status has also shown to affect the experience of the return. Married individuals seem to settle better, and the single migrants seem to return with

an unrealistic expectation of the stay. Older (and married) root migrants have a more clear idea of why they return, usually presented as a job or business opportunity in the ancestral home (Wessendorf, 2007, pp.1093–1094).

Previous research finds that economic factors seldom motivate return to the ancestral home. Returns seem to be motivated by a search for belonging and that this return happens in certain stages of life where identity and feelings of belonging can be argued to be more important, but further explanations on why some individuals return to their ancestral homes are needed. Second-generation returnees are found to enjoy their return less than expected, this being dependent on marital status and age.

2.3   Definition of second-generation returnees

There do not seem to be an agreement on the definition of the second generation return migrants. The definitions differ as for whom to include as second generation return migrants, but also for what term to use to describe the individuals that return to their parent's country of origin.

Due to limitations in the data, a broad definition of the second generation return migrants will be used in this study. Three types of second-generation immigrants are included. All individuals that were born and raised in the host country (here: Sweden) is a potential second generation return migrant. This also includes the individuals that had their main part of upbringing in the host country, the so-called "1.5 generation". The "1.5 generation" is the individuals who came to their host countries as young children, often not remembering much from their home country. These individuals would define Sweden as their main country of upbringing. The "2.5" generation is also included in the definition used in this study. The "2.5" generation is individuals with one parent from the country of upbringing and one immigrant parent (Bolzman, Bernardi & Le Goff, 2017; Lee, 2008). These three groups all have the possibility of returning to their parent(s) country of origin and are therefore potential returnees.

There are many terms used for the second generation returnees, such as return mobility to parental homelands, ethnic returns, the transnational behavior of the second generation, counter-diasporic migration, root migration and ancestral return (Wessendorf, 2007). In this study, the individuals are referred to as second generation return migrants or returnees. Their return destination is referred to as their host country, ancestral country, parent's country of origin or their return destination. The intention of the term "home country" aims at their country of upbringing, which in this study is Sweden. Their host country is therefore equal to their migration destination/their parent's country of origin.

In this study, the included individuals are divided into three groups. "Swedish-born parents" are used to describe the individuals where both parents are raised in Sweden. "Foreign-born parents" are individuals that have one or both parents not from Sweden, but the individuals have migrated to another destination than to their parent's country of origin. "Second-

generation returnees" or "return migrants" are used for those individuals that have one or both parents not from Sweden and where the individuals have returned to their parent's country of origin.

2.4 Swedish migration history

The first substantial migration flows to Sweden came under the Second World War, with Nordic, Estonian and Polish migrants coming to Sweden. After the war and until the end of the 1970's, the immigrants coming to Sweden were mostly from other European countries such as Italy, Greece, Turkey and former Yugoslavia. This was mainly labor migrants coming to Sweden for work due to the poor economic situation of Southern Europe. After the 1970's, Sweden has taken in larger groups of immigrants from outside of Europe and taking in more refugees compared to labor migrants compared to earlier periods.

The largest immigration countries to Sweden between 1950 and 1990 were the Nordic countries, which also had a stable in and outflow of migration. The eight largest non-Nordic migration countries to Sweden in the period 1950-1990 were Chile, Greece, Germany, Iran, Poland, Turkey, the United States and Yugoslavia. The migration from the European countries was mainly labor migrants, while the migrants from Chile and Iran were refugees. In total, these countries made up 42 percent of the non-Nordic migration to Sweden. The largest non-Nordic migration countries to Sweden changed in the 1990's with an upward shift of immigrants from countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Thailand, Somalia, and Ethiopia.

As this study is looking at second generation return migrants, the migration flow to Sweden from time periods that today would have second generation immigrants is the migration groups of interest. In this study, it could be expected to possibly find return migrants to the Nordic countries, Poland, Chile, Germany and other countries where the immigration flow has been high before the 1990'. It is not expected to find too many second generation return migrations from the immigrant countries that came to Sweden in or after the 1990' as many of the second generation has not reached an age or a life stage where they can and or want to return to their ancestral homes.

2.5 Hypotheses

As Ravenstein (1885) suggested, a stream of second-generation returnees can be expected to be found. This group can be expected to have different migration destinations than other migration groups, leading to the first hypothesis.

H1: Having foreign-born parents can motivate the children to return migration, which leads to migration destinations that differ from individuals with Swedish-born parents and that are in line with the countries that had a high migration inflow to Sweden between 1950-1990.

Second-generation returnees are in previous research found to return to find a sense of belonging and identity. Finding a sense of belonging and understanding of their roots could potentially lead to the returnees to stay longer or permanently. Second-generation returnees are more likely to already have family and friends in the host country, which also could contribute to the returnees to stay longer, as migration from highly developed countries often is motivated by having a closeness to family and friends. The second hypothesis is therefore as follows:

H2: Individuals that are second-generation returnees are more likely to plan on staying in the country of residence and less likely to move back to Sweden.

Previous research finds that second-generation returnees often are disappointed with their return and that they can have a hard time adapting to their host country's culture, social norms and labor market. It can, therefore, be expected that second-generation returnees are less satisfied with their stay, leading to the third and last hypothesis.

H3: Second-generation returnees are less satisfied with their stay compared with individuals that migrated to another country than their parent's country of origin and individuals that have Swedish-born parents.

3   Data

The data used in this study is a sample survey from the SOM-institute at the University of Gothenburg. The survey is called "SOM-undersökningen för utomlandssvenskar 2014" and is a survey on a sample of Swedish citizens living abroad in 2014 (University Of Gothenburg, 2016). The dataset is cross-sectional.

The information on the participants of the survey is collected from the Swedish Tax Authority, where everyone who intends to live abroad for at least a year register. The sample is chosen using a stratified probability selection, with geographical regions as the groups of selection (strata). The regions are weighted differently, to include enough individuals in areas where there are few Swedish emigrants to be able to conduct analysis on a regional level. Thus, there is an equal probability of the individuals in the same geographical region to be a part of the sample, but there are different probabilities between these regions. The sample consists of a total of 10 000 individuals, where 2668 answered the survey. Not all individuals have answered all questions. The regions of Latin America, Asia and Africa, are overrepresented in terms of being a representative number in the survey, to be able to include enough individuals for statistical analysis, as shown in table 1 (Vernersdotter, 2016).

Data on outmigrants from countries are rare, and especially datasets that contain information on their parent's origin and data on their feelings of satisfaction, identity, belonging and expected future return migration. This dataset is used as there are very limited data available on outmigrants in general and especially on second generation return migrants.

Table 1 Overview of the weighting of the survey sample.

Overview of the survey sample		
Regions	Number (percent) of observations from each region included in the total survey	Percent of the Swedish population in the region included in the survey
The Nordic countries	2000 (20%)	4.08%
Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand	4000 (40%)	4.28%
Africa and the Middle East	1000 (10%)	14.95%
Asia	1000 (10%)	16.09%
Eastern Europe and former Soviet States	1000 (10%)	26.03%
Latin America	1000 (10%)	33.03%

The individuals that answer another country than Sweden as their primary country of upbringing are excluded from the dataset in this study as they might not be Swedish emigrants. These individuals might be first-generation returnees, circular migrants or labor migrants only living in Sweden for a shorter time period. These individuals are outside the scope of this study and are, therefore, not included. The number of individuals removed due to this is 318 of 2668.

We cannot assume that the individuals in the dataset are permanent migrants, but we can assume that the migrants have an intention of a long-term stay of more than a year. This is due to the fact that the individuals in our sample are only found in the Swedish Tax Authority register as an emigrant if they expect to live outside of Sweden for at least a year.

3.1 Response rate

The data was collected through a letter with instructions to fill out an online survey. The individuals in the sample were also sent two reminders. The total response rate was 27 percent. The highest response rates were in Western Europe, North America, New Zeeland and Australia as a region and Asia as another, with response rates of just above 30 percent. Within the Nordic countries, all countries have a response rate close to 30 percent except for Norway[2] (Vernersdotter, 2016).

There were many countries in Africa and the Middle East with no/few Swedish emigrants that did not receive an answer from the particular individuals or they were not included in the survey sample. Data for many African countries are thus missing. There were two countries with more than 10 Swedish emigrants, Syria and Somalia where there were no respondents. The lack of response from these individuals is suspected by the SOM-institute to be caused by the lack of a proper postal system due to conflict in these countries at the time of the survey. There was also missing response from Cuba, where five individuals were included in the sample (Vernersdotter, 2016). A compromised postal system might also here be a part of the explanation. The lack of response from these countries could potentially cause bias in the data, as will be discussed in section 3.3.

Another reason for the low response rate could be that the address' of the individuals in the Swedish Tax authorities register is wrong and/or not updated[3].

Having a response rate of 27 percent could affect the quality of the dataset and introduce potential bias if the non-respondents are not random. It is difficult to assess whether the low

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[2] A probable cause of this is that many young Swedish outmigrants are living in Norway, and the response rate for these groups is lower than for the other older outmigrants.

[3] The number of returned letters because of wrong address was 183, were 116 of these were returned letters from Norway. It is not possible to separate those individuals that do not answer due to a wrong address and those who did not care to participate in the survey. This could also be a potential source of bias in the survey data.

response rate is affecting the quality of the survey, but as will be discussed further down, the representativeness of the Swedish outmigrant population based on demographic characteristics seem well reflected.

3.2   Representativeness

The representativeness of the dataset is how well it reflects the population of Swedish outmigrants. The demographic composition differs among the regions, with Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand having a higher proportion of women in the population while Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America has a higher proportion of men. The Swedes living in Nordic countries have a lower average age than the Swedish average while for Eastern Europe and Latin America the average age is above the Swedish average (Vernersdotter, 2016).

In the survey sample, the demographic composition of outmigrated Swedes is well reflected in the individuals that answered, with a few exceptions. In the Nordic countries, women are to some degree overrepresented, while men are overrepresented in Latin America. As for many surveys, the older population in the sample is more likely to answer, making higher ages overrepresented in the dataset (Vernersdotter, 2016).

It is not possible to know whether the second-generations return migrant in the dataset is representative for all the second-generation return migrants that leave Sweden. This lack of control for representativeness concerns all demographic variables including the destination of the returns. Even so, the returnees do seem in line with cohorts of the large migration groups that arrived in Sweden between 1950 and 1990.

3.3   Potential bias

The dataset has potential sources of bias, where the variable values in the dataset differ from the correct value. Survey data such as the data used here can contain bias in the answers. Individuals might answer to live up to expectations or change their answers for some other reason which could under- or overestimate the size of the variables. This would create a social desirability bias in the answers (ed. Lavrakas, 2008, p.748) Further, the low response rate could be an indication that individuals with certain unobservable characteristics are answering the survey, creating a potential bias in the data. Another potential issue of bias is that outmigrants that did not plan on staying for a year or longer might not be registered with the Swedish Tax Authority and is therefore not a part of the survey. The same problem could be found with those keeping their address in Sweden but move abroad for a longer period anyway. This could, for example, be young adults volunteering or traveling for a longer period of time, being registered on their parents' address while doing so.

A factor of possible bias in the data that is important for this study is the lack of responses from two countries with a rather large number of Swedes, Syria, and Somalia. One can imagine that these are somewhat unavailable countries for the average Swede and that the individuals in these areas might be return migrants, second generation return migrants or have some other connection or knowledge about the country. The size of the sample is also limiting the possible use of the data. With only 2,668 respondents, the statistical analyses that can be applied are rather limited when performed on sub-groups such as countries or continents. All of these issues with the survey data must be taken into consideration when using and interpreting the data and the results.

It is likely that the data suffer from bias in the survey sample. This is because individuals with specific characteristics only stayed a shorter time period and the selection of these variables can be suspected not to be random. This could probably bias the results as to individuals that succeed or have other unmeasurable characteristics are to a higher degree included in the dataset and, therefore, also creates a bias.

The potential selection bias in the sample that is used in this study could potentially compromise the internal validity of this study as certain variables suggested in previous research is not included due to data limitations. The data is not collected through an experiment, and selection bias might, therefore, be an issue as described earlier in the chapter.

As for external validity, the data used are for Swedish outmigrants. The findings might be possible to generalize for other highly developed countries. Even so, countries have different return rates and feeling of belonging to their home country which can change the results when applied to other countries. As for the findings of second-generation returnees, the background of immigrants in Sweden might be comparable to other highly developed countries, even if nationalities might differ.

4 Methodology

4.1 Descriptive approach

To answer what effect having foreign-born parents have on the children's migration pattern, a descriptive method combined with econometric models is used. The different migration destinations dependent on the parents' background are presented, and differences will be discussed. Maps are presented as to visually describe and compare the potential different migration destinations between the return migrants, those with foreign-born parents who migrate to another destination and the individuals with Swedish-born parents.

4.2 Econometric models

To answer the research questions, three different econometric models are used. Multinomial logistic regression is used to further answer whether having foreign-born parent's affect the migration pattern of the children, using a dependent variable of future migration. A logit model is used for the research question concerning what explains return migration, while an ordered logit is used for looking at the potential association between the satisfaction of the stay and the parent's origin. The different models are presented in the order the research questions are asked.

4.2.1 Multinomial logistic regression

Multinomial logistic regression is used to see if there are any associations between having foreign-born parents and the individual's migration pattern. Two different dependent variables are used. Multinomial logistic regression can be used to predict probabilities of the different outcomes of a categorical dependent variable. The model provides the probabilities for the $j + 1$ choice for the individual with the characteristics w_i (Greene, 2012, pp.803–806).

$$\rho = (Y_i = j \mid w_i) = \frac{\exp(w_i \alpha_j)}{1 + \sum_{k=1}^{j} \exp(w_i \alpha_j)}, \; j = 0, 1, 2$$

In the model, i is the individual and j is the alternative (here: type of migrant).

The dependent variables used are "the likelihood of moving back to Sweden" and "the likelihood of staying in the country in five years". A potential shortcoming of these variables is that these migrations have not yet happened, and can only give an indication of future planned migration. Even so, Van Dalen and Henkens (2008) finds that intentions are a good predictor of future migration, which makes it possible to describe the differences in the desire to move back to Sweden and stay in the host country respectively, dependent on parent's country of origin. The two dependent variables measure different things, as a low likelihood of moving back to Sweden does not mean that the individual would stay in their current country of residence.

The multinomial logit is used as the dependent variables of these models have four outcomes; "Yes, probably", "Maybe", "No, probably not" and "Do not know". The outcome variable is therefore also a categorical variable. "Yes, probably" is used as the baseline for this variable.

The explanatory variable of primary interest is parents' origin, divided between individuals with Swedish-born parents, foreign-born parents and those how are second-generation returnees. The variables included in this model are presented in table 2. The construction of the variables can be found in Appendix B, table 11. The regression is performed in a set of models including an increasing number of the variables mentioned. The first model includes the main explanatory variable as well as basic demographic variables. The models are then extended to include economy and further questions on citizenship and opinion of the country's and Sweden's "mentality". The last model also includes a control for regional differences. This approach can also be a robustness test as this approach can test the sensitivity of the coefficients to some degree. The regressions include a weight to adjust for the stratified sampling.

Table 2 Variables included in the multinomial logit model.

Variables:	Reasoning:
Parent's origin	The main independent variable. Swedish-born parents are the baseline.
Gender	Swedish outmigrants have in general an even divide between the sexes. This might not be true for those with foreign-born parents or the second generation returnees.
Education	Education is included as Levitt suggests that this could affect transnational activity (Levitt & Waters, 2008)
Age	Age groups are included as a control for different stages in life. Age group 18-24 is the baseline.
Reason to move	The reason to move could affect the desire to move back/stay. Moving because of a connection to the country or retirement could be reasons decreasing the incentives to move back to Sweden or increasing the probability of staying in the country. The construction of this variable follows below. Work as the reason to move is the baseline category.

Marital status	One could expect that individuals that are married or cohabitating are less likely to move from their current place of residence. Single is the baseline.
Economic situation of the household	Economic situation is argued by Levitt to affect transnational activity; a worse economic situation could be expected to be positively connected to moving back to Sweden. "Good" is used as the baseline category.
Citizenship in the country	Having citizenship in the country of residence might increase the probability of staying in the country as legal issues such as visas are less of an issue.
Feeling as a citizen of the country	Feeling as a citizen could be expected to increase the probability of staying. It could also be a proxy for integration in the country. "Yes" is used as the baseline in this categorical variable.
Opinion of the Swedish "mentality"	It could be suggested that a negative opinion of the mentality in Sweden would be a push-factor for migration, decreasing the probability of moving back to Sweden. "Neither" is used as a baseline.
Opinion of the country's "mentality"	It could be suggested that a negative opinion of the mentality in the country would be a push-factor for moving back and not staying in the country. "Neither" is used as a baseline.
Regions	It could be expected to be regional differences due to development, culture, language and other differences between the regions. This is controlled for including this variable. The region including Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand is used as the baseline.

The variable "reason to move" is constructed by using the different variables where the respondents answered for what reason they moved from Sweden. Two assumptions are made when constructing the variable:

- Many respondents only answer "yes" to certain questions, but not "no" on the other alternatives. It is therefore assumed that if the respondent has answered "yes" to one or several reasons, the rest of the alternatives are a "no" from the respondent, and coded thereafter. If the respondent has not answered yes to any of the alternatives, the individual's answers are coded as missing, as "other reasons" is an option.

- The respondents were able to answer yes (or no) to all options. This would, therefore, be a non-exclusive variable. For the respondent to only be represented in one of the alternatives for their reason to move, a list of priority is made for the alternatives, where the individual is placed in the group where they have answered "yes" that is

highest up on the list:

1. Connection to the country
2. Study
3. Relax after the work life/retirement
4. Work
5. To fulfill a dream
6. Other reasons

Having a connection to the country is ranked highest, as those who also answered any of the other alternatives too, probably chose the specific country of destination due to their connection before (or rather) than their task or activity at the destination. If the respondent did not answer that s/he had a connection to the country but answered studies or retirement as the cause of migration, the respondent is put into these groups. Studies and retirement are placed above work because many students and retired individuals might also do work on the side, without the work being their main activity. Due to this, work is place below studies and retirement on the list. After work, migration to fulfill a dream is found. This is because the reason to leave might be to fulfill a dream, but the dream might consist of one of the activities described above, or to fulfill a dream to move to the country the individual has a connection to. Last is "other reasons". This category includes reasons such as following or spreading their religious beliefs, volunteering or other reasons that are not listed as an option in the survey.

Table 3 Parents' origin by reason to move.

Reason to move:	Swedish-born parents		Foreign-born parents		Return migrants	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Connection to the country	451	29,67%	115	36.05%	62	52.99%
Study	62	4.08%	10	3.13%	1	0.85%
Retirement	89	5.86%	18	5.64%	3	2.56%
Work	288	18.95%	36	11.29%	4	3.42%
Follow a dream	487	32.04%	105	32.92%	38	32.48%
Other	143	9.41%	35	10.97%	9	7.69%
Total	1520	100%	319	100%	117	100%

The results of the multinomial model are presented in Relative Risk Ratio which can be interpreted in the same way as the odds ratio, being interpreted as how variables affect the choice of one outcome compared with another outcome (Long & Freese, 2014, p.435).

The Relative Risk Ratio is calculated as $e^{coefficient}$. The Relative Risk Ratio indicates the risk of the outcome falling in the comparison group compared to the risk of the outcome to fall in the reference group changes with the specific variable. Having a Relative Risk Ratio larger than one, the comparison outcome is more likely. A Relative Risk Ratio smaller than one increases the risk of the outcome to fall in the reference group.

4.2.2   Logistic regression

Logistic regression will be used to see what variables that might be determining the decision to return vs. go to a different country, thus aiming at answering the research question on what explains return migration for the second generation.

The logit model is used as the dependent variable of this model has two outcomes; having a foreign-born parent but migrating to another country and being a second-generation return migrant. The outcome variable is, therefore, a binary variable.

Following the methodology used by Klinthäll (2003), a logistic regression with return migration as the outcome variable is dichotomous. By using a logistic regression, maximum likelihood estimation is performed, where the outcome is interpreted as the probability of a non-zero outcome.

$$\rho(\text{return migration}) = \frac{e^{x\beta}}{1+e^{x\beta}}$$

$$\rho(\text{not return migration}) = 1 - \rho(\text{return}) = \frac{1}{1+e^{x\beta}}$$

The results are presented in odds ratio, which is to be interpreted as how variables affect the choice of one outcome compared with another outcome (Long & Freese, 2014, p.295). The odds ratio approximates how much more likely the outcome is when individuals hold a specific characteristic compared with those who do not. For example, an odds ratio of 1.5 tells us that for X=1 the odds of Y=1 is 1.5 times higher than for Y=0. Having an odds ratio below 1 (e.g. 0.5) should be interpreted as being Y=1 the odds are one-half the odds compared to Y=0 (Hosmer, Lemeshow & Sturdivant, 2013, pp.50–51).

The dependent variable: Whether the migrant has foreign-born parents but migrates to another country than their parents' country of origin (0) and if they are second-generation return migrants (1).

The individuals that have one or both parents that grew up outside of Sweden, but not in the country where the individual was currently living are coded 0, as individuals with foreign-born parents. The individuals that are living in the same country as one or both parents grew up in are coded 1 and are considered second-generation returnees.

Individuals with Swedish-born parents are not included as they are not at risk of being a return migrant. As they are not at risk of being a return migrant, they cannot explain what characteristics that explain why certain individuals are return migrants and others not.

Independent variables: Age, gender and the reason to move are variables that can be assumed not to have changed since the move. The variable of the individual's reasons to move is also considered accurate to the time of the move, even if this is dependent on the individual's respondent having a clear memory of their original reason to outmigrate. Further presentation follows below in table 4. The construction of the variables can be found in Appendix B, table

12. The first model includes the demographic variables, while the other includes a control for regions. This is done as a sensitivity analysis and to see the potential effect of controlling for regions in the model. The regressions include a weight to adjust for the stratified sampling.

Table 4 Variables included in the logit model.

Variables:	**Reasoning:**
Gender	Research shows that females have a less positive experience of the return, and it could be that many females choose not to return to begin with as they are familiar the possible negative experiences.
Education	Through social network theory, it can be expected that the second-generation return migrants potentially has a lower level of education than other outmigrants. This as migration itself would demand less from the individual, as they have a network that facilitates the migration. The education variable is constructed as a dummy, where zero is those with only primary school (9th grade in Sweden), while one is everyone with a high school education or more. This divide is made, as all individuals included in the dataset have been able to finish high school.
Age at move (age groups)	Age at the time of the move, divided into age groups, is included as a control as the previous literature suggests that individuals are more likely to return to their parental home if standing in front of a new life stage such as starting higher education, having a family or retirement. 25-35 is used as the baseline.
Reason to move	The variable reason to move is included as theory suggests that outmigrants and second generation returnees have different reasons for migrating. Work is used as the baseline.

4.2.3   Ordered logistic regression

To answer whether the experience of the stay abroad is affected by having foreign-born parents, an ordered logistic regression is used.

An ordered logistic regression estimates the relationship between an ordered categorical variable and the independent variables. The dependent variable in the model, testing what affects the experience of the stay abroad, is an ordinal variable, thus a categorical variable that can be placed in an order. The dependent variable is a measure of how satisfied the individuals are with their life, and the dependent variable can, therefore, be assumed to be ordinal as one would assume that a higher satisfaction with life is always better.

More specifically, the proportional odds model (also called cumulative logit model) is used, which is a type of ordered logit model. The proportional odds model compares the probability of a smaller or equal response ($Y = \leq k$) to the probability of a larger response ($Y > k$) (Hosmer, Lemeshow & Sturdivant, 2013, pp.291–292; Menard, 2010, pp.196–197). The proportional odds model models the probability of life satisfaction falling in one of the four categories. The categories are defined by three cut-off points.

The ordered logistic estimation used is:

$$y_k(x) = \tau_k - x'\beta, \ \ k = 1,2,3$$

Where the outcome is equal to k conditional on the vector x (Hosmer, Lemeshow & Sturdivant, 2013, pp.289–293)

The proportional odds model assumes that the relationship between each combination of the outcomes groups are the same, which is tested using the Brant test. Having insignificant p-values in the Brant test is rejecting that the outcomes groups are different (Hosmer, Lemeshow & Sturdivant, 2013, p.302). The test has no significant results for the variables used in this model. The assumption of each combination the outcome groups to have the same relationship can be assumed in this model.

The aim is to answer whether the migration is experienced differently for the second-generation return migrants and the migrants with foreign-born parents.

The coefficient from the ordered logistic regression is reported in odds ratio. In the proportional odds model, the ratio is interpreted as the probability of being in a higher ordered group with being in the equal or lower outcome groups (Hosmer, Lemeshow & Sturdivant, 2013, pp.296–302). For greater detail on the odds ratio, see section 4.2.1.

The dependent variable: Satisfaction with life, where the individuals report how satisfied they are with their life with three options: "Very satisfied", "satisfied", "unsatisfied". The assumption made is that being more satisfied is better, thereof the categories are assumed to have an order.

Self-reported satisfaction with life is used as the dependent variable as a measure of the experience of the stay abroad for the individual. If finding differences in satisfaction of the

stay, it could suggest that one group adapts better or has better pre-conditions, for example with a level of expectations and lifestyle in the host country when outmigrating. Life satisfaction is used as a proxy for the individual's experience of the stay, even if this variable only measures one aspect of it.

Independent variable of main interest: Parents origin. The origin is divided into three groups; if the migrant has Swedish-born parents, having foreign-born parents but migrated to another country than their parent's country of origin and second generation return migrants. If one parent is originally from the country where the individual is currently living, the individual is considered a return migrant.

The control variables included are presented in table 5 below. The construction of the variables can be found in table 13 in Appendix B. The first model includes the main explanatory variable and basic demographic variables. Further, the model is then extended with variable controlling for health and regional differences. The model is then extended with a variable on the economic situation of the individual's household. The last model also includes a control for the reason for the migration. This approach can also be a robustness test as this approach can test the sensitivity of the coefficients to some degree. The regressions include a weight to adjust for the stratified sampling.

Table 5 Variables included in the ordered logit model.

Variables:	Reasoning:
Gender	Theory suggests that females have a less positive experience than men when returning to their ancestral home. This is argued to be due to less inequality in many destinations and other social norms that they are not satisfied with. A negative association is therefore expected.
Years since migration	It could be assumed that the longer the individuals stay in a country, the more satisfied they are. It could, therefore, be expected that the more years the individual have lived in a country, the higher is the life satisfaction.
Education	Included as Levitt (ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002) found that individuals with lower socioeconomic status had difficulties participating in both home and host society. This could again affect their life satisfaction. Lower education levels could, therefore, be expected to be associated with a negative effect on the life satisfaction score in the model.
Self-reported health status	Included as an individual's health situation can be assumed to correlate with life satisfaction. Poor health would be expected to lower the life satisfaction score in the model. "Neither" is the baseline category.
Reason to move	Included as one can suspect that the reason for migration could also affect the stay abroad. Further explanation of the construction of the variable, see section 4.2.2. Work is the baseline category.

Marital status	Included as empirical studies find that married return migrants are less disappointed with the experience of the return destination (Levitt, 2009; ed. Levitt & Waters, 2002; Wessendorf, 2007). Being married or possibility cohabitating would, therefore, be expected to be associated with a higher life satisfaction score. Single is used as the baseline.
Feel at home in the country	Included as it could be argued that feeling at home in your country of residence could be associated with a higher life satisfaction score. That the individual feels more at home is therefore expected to be associated with a higher life satisfaction score. "Neither" is used as the baseline.
Feel as a citizen of the country	It could be that return migrants do not feel at home in their ancestral homes but that they do feel like a citizen. "Neither" is used as a baseline category.
Region	There could be regional differences affecting the results due to development, culture, language and other differences between the regions. This is to a certain degree controlled for in this variable. The region including Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand is used as the baseline.

4.3   Descriptive statistics

Included in the descriptive statistics are tables of the dependent variable and the main explanatory variable in the different models. For the logit model, all variables are described in this section.

As table 6 show, there is a rather even divide between the responses in the survey except for the category "do not know". For individuals with Swedish-born parents, there are no large differences between the responses. As for the group with foreign-born parents, they have a higher degree of responses of "maybe", with an otherwise even divide between yes and no. For the second-generation returnees, the response "maybe" is higher than for the two other groups.

Table 6 Frequency table of parents' origin by the likelihood of moving back.

Likelihood of moving back	Swedish-born parents		Foreign-born parents		Second generation returnees	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes, probably	542	33.29%	100	29.76%	37	27.82%
Maybe	511	31.39%	130	38.69%	58	43.61%
No, probably not	522	32.06%	91	27.08%	34	25.56%
Do not know	53	3.26%	15	4.46%	4	3.01%
Total:	1628	100%	336	100%	133	100%

As for the variable on the likelihood of staying in the country in five years, the distribution of answers is somewhat different, as can be seen in table 7. Those with Swedish-born parents have the highest percent that answers "yes, probably" with 64 percent, while 58 percent of the second-generation returnees answer the same. The individuals with foreign-born parents placed between the Swedish-born parents group and the returnees group. This also applies to the likelihood of moving back, shown in table 6. The second-generation returnees' answers have a higher response rate for "do not know" and "maybe" compared to the two other groups, which could imply that these individuals are more divided in their identity and belonging or have less of a concrete plan of a move and a potential return to Sweden.

Table 7 Frequency table of parents' origin by the likelihood of staying in the country in 5 years.

Likelihood of staying in the country in 5 years	Swedish-born parents		Foreign-born parents		Second generation returnees	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes, probably	1038	63.64%	202	60.12%	77	57.89%
Maybe	271	16.62%	58	17.26%	30	22.56%
No, probably not	299	18.33%	64	19.35%	19	14.29%
Do not know	23	1.41%	11	3.27%	7	5.26%
Total:	1631	100%	336	100%	133	100%

Table 8 shows the variables included in the logit model. The distribution of gender is very equally divided for both groups, while there is a large majority for both individuals with foreign-born parents and second-generation returnees that have high school education or more. It is a larger majority of those with foreign-born parents that higher education (83 percent) compared to the returnees where 74 percent have higher education. Migrants with foreign-born parents have a larger portion migration in the age group 35-55 compared to the return migrants, while the return migrants have larger portions of migration in the age groups 18-24. The age groups 25-34 and 55+ have similar portions for the returnees and foreign-born parents. As for reason to move, the distribution between the two groups differs notably in three of the categories. Returnees have a larger portion of migrants that migrate because of a connection to the country, while individuals with foreign-born parents have a larger portion of the individuals migrating due to work, study and retirement compared to the returnees.

Table 8 Parents' origin by explanatory variables for return migration.

Variables	Foreign-born parents		Return migrants	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Gender:				
Female	172	51.19%	67	50.38%
Male	164	48.81%	66	49.62%
Total	336	100%	133	100%
Education:				
At most secondary school	57	16.96%	34	25.56%
High school or more	279	83.04%	99	74.44%
Total	336	100%	133	100%
Age at move:				
18-24	47	14.51%	32	30.48%
25-34	139	42.90%	50	47.62%
35-55	114	35.19%	14	13.33%
55+	24	7.41%	9	8.57%
Total	324	100%	105	100%
Reason to move:				
Connection to the country	115	36.05%	62	52.99%
Study	10	3.13%	1	0.85%
Retirement	18	5.64%	3	2.56%
Work	36	11.29%	4	3.42%
Follow a dream	105	32.92%	38	32.48%
Other	35	10.97%	9	7.69%
Total	319	100%	117	100%

The distribution of life satisfaction does seem somewhat different between the three groups, as table 9 shows. The highest percent that is "very satisfied" with their life is the individuals with Swedish-born parents, while the lowest is the second-generation returnees where only 35 percent answered the same. The individuals with foreign-born parents have a rather equal distribution between "very satisfied" and "satisfied", while the returnees have a higher percentage of responses in "satisfied" compared to "very satisfied". All three groups have low response rates in the option "unsatisfied". Even so, second-generation returnees have a five percent higher response rate in this category compared to the individuals with Swedish-born parents, suggesting that they might be less satisfied.

Table 9 Frequency table of parents' origin by life satisfaction.

Life satisfaction	Swedish-born parents		Foreign-born parents		Second generation returnees	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Unsatisfied	56	3.43%	18	5.36%	11	8.27%
Satisfied	710	43.53%	161	47.92%	75	56.39%
Very satisfied	865	53.03%	157	46.73%	47	35.34%
Total:	1631	100%	336	100%	133	100%

4.4   Limitations

The data only allows for certain models as the data is a cross-section survey. The number of individuals is also to some degree limiting, as the number of individuals with foreign-born parents is proportional to this, thus having a very small number of second-generation return migrants in the dataset. The final number of second-generation returnees that can be used in this study is 133. The optimal would be to have a much larger sample, so to be able to map all return migrant destination and have larger computing power as to the factors that explain the return. Further, a limitation of the methodology applied that the method is not causal and only descriptive analysis and potential associations can be found.

A limitation of the models included in this that the dataset does not contain any controls for parent's characteristics or numbers of visits to the country before the migration. This could potentially affect the results of the model and would be optimal to include in the models. At the same time, theory suggests that most second-generation immigrants develop an interest for their ancestral home and identity in adolescent, particularly after leaving the parental home and not during their childhood. This bias would then probably be a downward bias of the missing variable of visits to the parent's home country during childhood, and therefore not a great issue in these models.

The dataset cannot control for the return of the first generation. Some research suggests that some second-generation immigrants return to their ancestral homes due to their parent's return. The dataset provides no variables concerning this aspect. This is a missing variable that could potentially create an issue of endogeneity.

Further, only education levels lower than high school is included that in some way can capture socio-economic background. Previous literature suggests that individuals with the lower socio-economic status have a higher degree of migration to their ancestral home. The same study also suggests that individuals with higher socioeconomic status use their knowledge and language advantage in their working life, which again leads them to transnational migration between their home country and their ancestral home. Only a division between primary education and high school and more is included. Including better measurements, especially for the parent's background would improve the model as of theoretical measures.

As for the second model, the logit model, few variables are included as the dataset does not allow for more variables that are time-invariant. The inclusion of parents' return, visits to the country, socioeconomic background and measures on the individuals and their parent's integration in Sweden would improve the explanatory power of this model.

As for the third model, the ordered logit regression, the dataset has no measure of the expectations of the stay abroad. It could, therefore, be that second-generation returnees have higher or lower expectations to begin with. Selection bias is potentially an issue in this model, as it is possible that those who are very satisfied or very unsatisfied are those who are motivated to answer the survey, leading to a potential bias in the results.

5   Results

5.1   Migration patterns

5.1.1   Descriptive results

The maps presented below in figure 1, 2, and 3 shows that outmigrants with Swedish-born parents choose different destinations than the second-generation return migrants. The proportions of migrants also differ within the same destinations, as can be seen in table 10. Outmigrants that have foreign-born parents, but are not returnees are found to have a similar outmigration pattern as the individuals with Swedish-born parents when comparing figure 1 and 2, as well as in table 10.

Table 10 The most frequent migration destinations for second-generation returnees, individuals with Swedish-born parents and individuals that have foreign-born parents but not returnees.

Second-generation return migrants			Swedish-born parents			Foreign-born parents		
Country	Frequency	Percent	Country	Frequency	Percent	Country	Frequency	Percent
Finland	12	9%	Norway	188	11.5%	GBR	40	11.9%
Poland	9	6.8%	USA	178	10.9%	USA	33	9.8%
Hungary	9	6.8%	GBR	138	8.5%	Norway	25	7.4%
Germany	8	6%	Germany	85	5.2%	Switzerland	25	7.4%
Norway	7	5.3%	France	83	5.1%	Spain	18	5.4%
Denmark	6	4.5%	Denmark	74	4.5%	Germany	12	3.6%
Chile	6	4.5%	Switzerland	68	4.2%	France	12	3.6%
Greece	6	4.5%	Thailand	60	3.7%	Denmark	11	3.3%
GBR	5	3.8%	Spain	56	3.4%	UAE	9	2.7%
France	4	3%	Brazil	42	2.6%	Canada	9	2.7%
Switzerland	4	3%	Australia	42	2.6%	Thailand	9	2.7%
Turkey	4	3%	UAE	40	2.5%	Brazil	9	2.7%
Thailand	3	2.3%	Japan	39	2.4%	Japan	8	2.4%
Italy	3	2.3%	Singapore	36	2.2%	Netherlands	7	2.1%
Netherlands	3	2.3%	China	33	2%	Singapore	7	2.1%
Czech Rep.	3	2.3%	Italy	32	2%	China	6	1.8%
Åland Islands	3	2.3%	Netherlands	27	1.7%	Finland	6	1.8%
Argentina	3	2.3%	Belgium	25	1.5%	Belgium	6	1.8%
Slovenia	3	2.3%	Canada	23	1.4%	Austria	6	1.8%
Uruguay	3	2.3%	Estonia	20	1.2%	Israel	5	1.5%
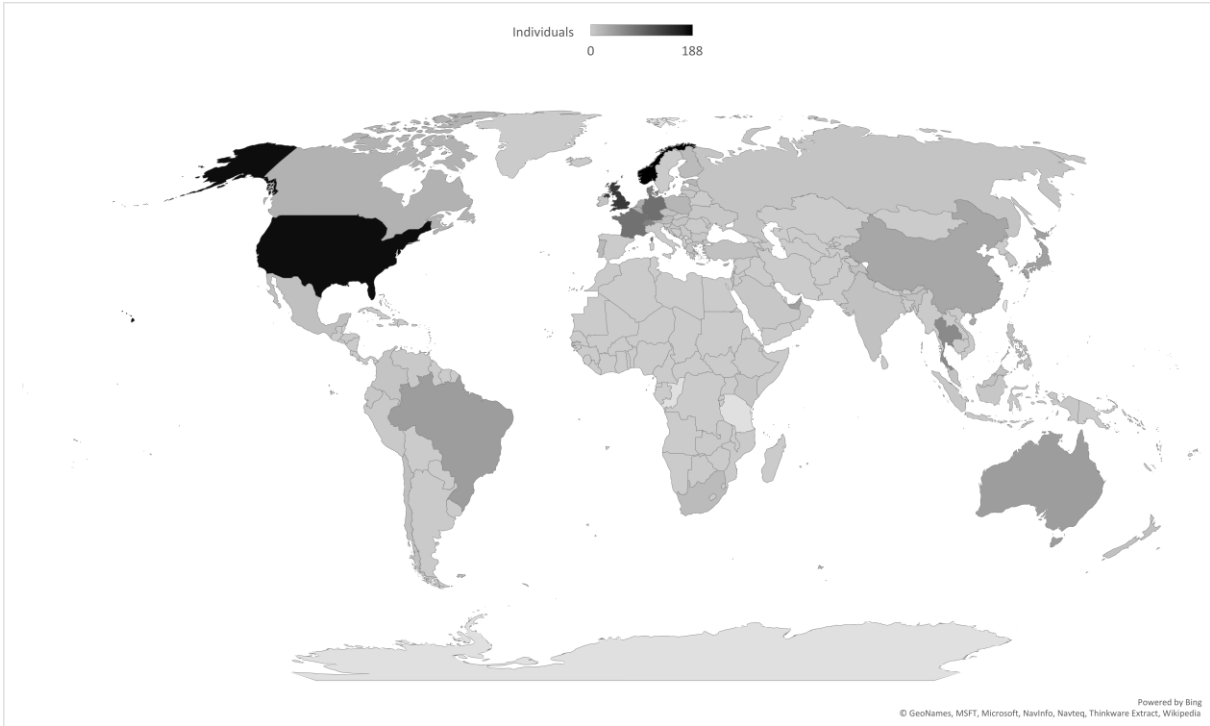
Figure 1Migration destinations for individuals with Swedish-born parents.
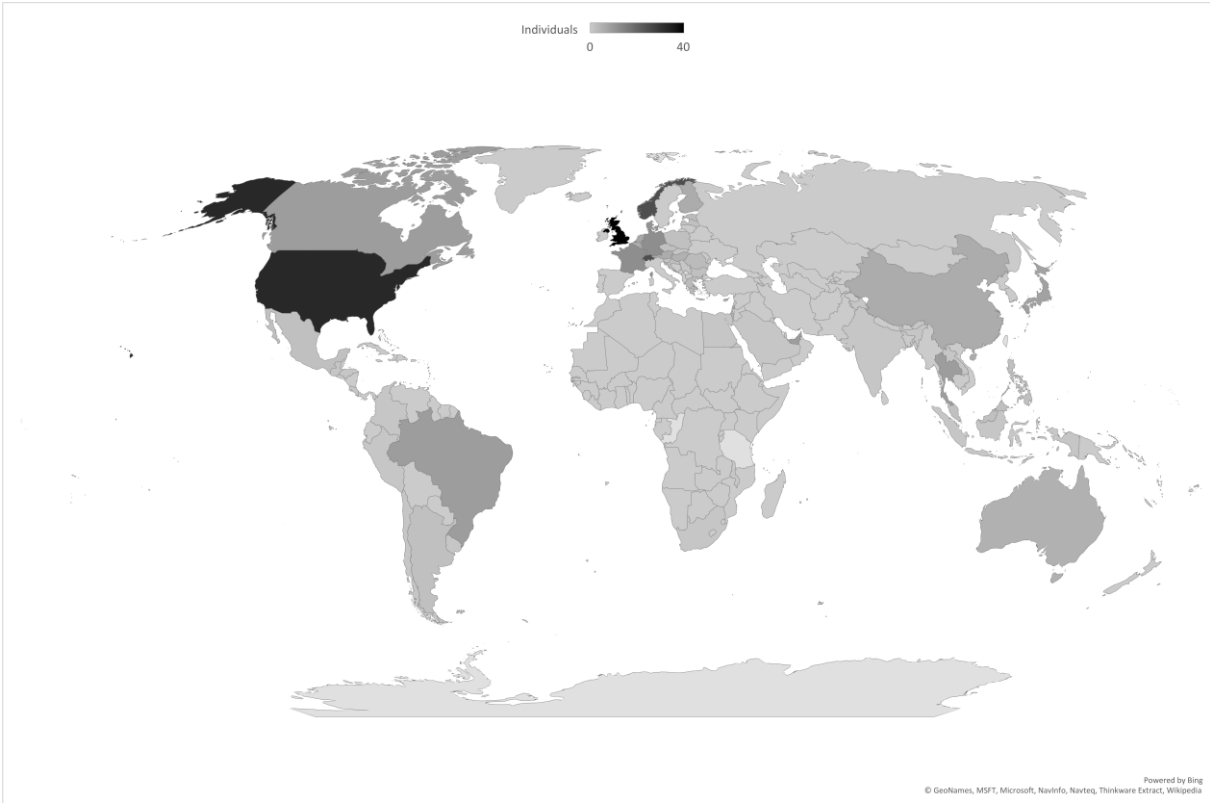
Figure 2 Migration destinations for individuals with foreign-born parents.
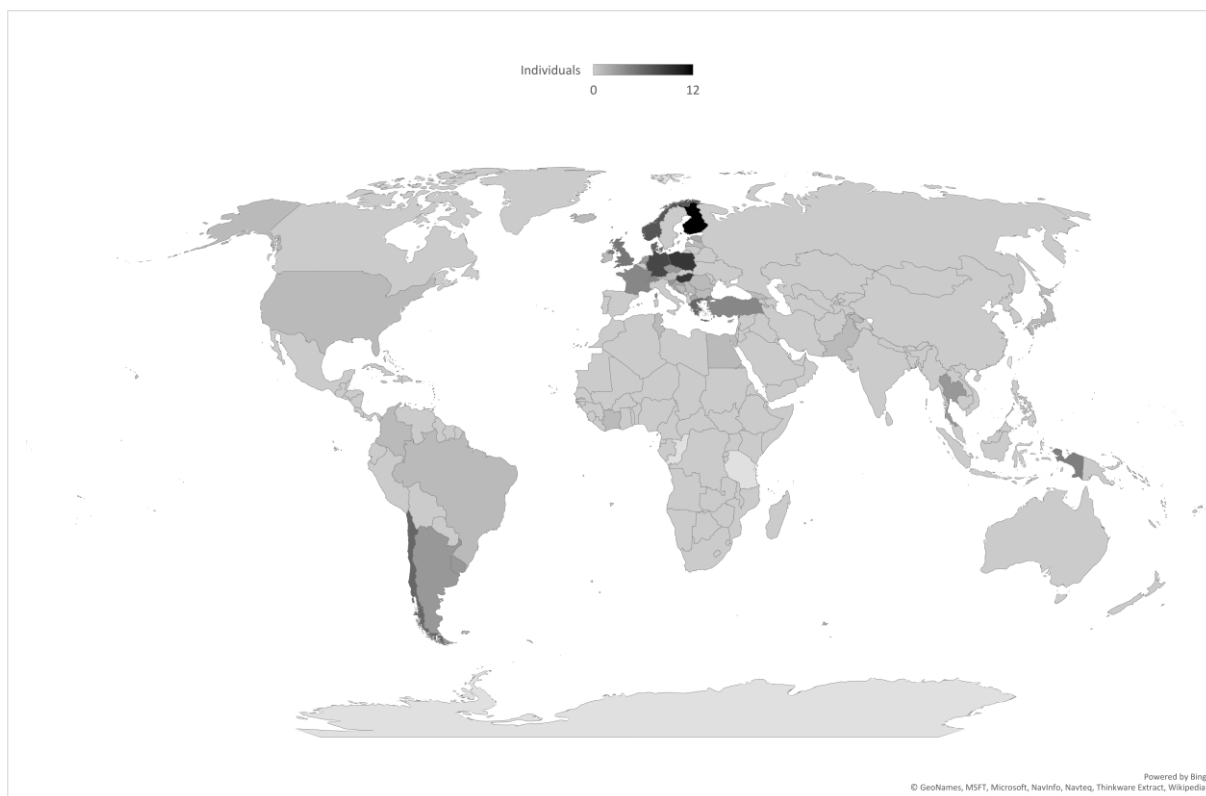
Figure 3 Migrations destination for second-generation return migrants.

The most frequent migration destinations for individuals with Swedish-born parents are Scandinavia, USA, and destinations in North Europe such as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Switzerland. The most frequent destinations outside Europe are USA, Thailand, Australia, and Brazil.

Among the most frequent migration destinations, individuals with foreign-born parents seem to migrate to a larger degree to Great Britain and Switzerland compared to individuals with Swedish-born parents. The lack of destinations for individuals with foreign-born parents compared to the individuals with Swedish-born parents is likely to be explained by the differences in sample size, as the sample size for individuals with foreign-born parents that are not returnees is considerably smaller.

As for return migrants, the Nordic countries, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Chile, and Greece are the most frequent destinations. These destinations are coherent with the migration inflows to Sweden between 1950 and 1990 and differs to a large degree from the two other migration groups.

These results are in line with Bovenkerk's first "law of migration", stating that the shorter the distance, the more return migration. The destinations seem associated with the migration inflows to Sweden before 1990, but the frequency also seems somewhat associated with geographical distance as can be seen in figure 3.

5.1.2   Results from the econometric models

For the likelihood of moving back to Sweden, the main independent variable of interest is whether the individual has foreign-born parents or is a second-generation return migrant with the individuals with Swedish-born parents as the reference category. The results are presented in Appendix A. The results suggest that being a second-generation return migrant seem to have a negative association with the likelihood of moving back to Sweden when including a larger number of control variables in model 3 and 4. The interpretation of the result in model 3 is, holding all other variables constant, the individuals with Swedish-born parents are more likely to answer "yes, probably" than "no, probably not" compared to the second-generation returnees. It is more likely that individuals with Swedish-born parents move back to Sweden compared to second-generation returnees. This does seem logical, as these individuals are in the literature expected to have family and friends in the return country.

Model 1, 3 and 4 also suggest that there an association where individuals with Swedish-born parents are less likely to answer "yes, probably" than "maybe" compared to individuals with foreign-born parents.

Control variables that are associated with the likelihood of moving back are gender, education, having a connection to the country, feeling as a citizen of the country of residence and the opinion of the country and Sweden's mentalities.

Being male is associated with being less likely to answer "yes, probably" compared to "no, probably not" compared to women in the models. For second-generation returnees, it is found in previous research that women have more difficulty adapting to social norms and expectations than men, which might be a part of the explanation for this finding. The models suggest that this can also apply independently of parent's origin.

The model suggests that individuals that have less education than high school are more likely to answer "yes, probably" than "no, probably not" compared to the individuals with high school education or more on the probability of moving back to Sweden. This is in line with Levitt's findings that individuals without the education or skill set to succeed in their home country engage in more transnational activity as they might be prevented from finding economic opportunities in any location (Levitt & Waters, 2002).

Having a connection to the country of the migration seems to be associated with a lower likelihood of moving back to Sweden. The same association seems to be for individuals that have a favorable impression of the country's mentality and individuals that feels very much as a citizen of the country they are currently living in. Feelings of identity and belonging do seem in the models to be associated with the likelihood of future migration back to Sweden. Having a positive impression of the Swedish mentality and not feeling as a citizen of the country increases the likelihood of moving back to Sweden. Living in Africa, the Middle East and Asia also increase the probability of answering "yes, probably" when asked about the likelihood of moving back.

In the model looking at the likelihood of staying in the country in five years, the main independent variable is the parent's origin as in the previously presented model. The question of interest is whether the parent's origin can be associated with the likelihood of the individual staying in the country of residence in five years.

Model 1 and 2 suggest that individuals with Swedish-born parents are less likely to answer "yes, probably" than "do not know" compared to the individuals that are second generation return migrants. Model 3 and 4 suggests that individuals with Swedish-born parents are less likely to answer "yes, probably" than "maybe" compared to second-generation returnees. These results would imply that it is more likely that second-generation returnees stay in their parent's country of origin than individuals with Swedish-born parents staying in the current country of residence in five years. Having foreign-born parents is not significantly different from those with Swedish-born parents. This could further suggest that the individuals with foreign-born parents that do not return to their parent's country and Swedish-born parents do have a similar migration pattern, as suggested by the migration destinations in figure 1, 2 and 3 and findings in the model using likelihood of moving back as the dependent variable.

Control variables that are found to be associated with the likelihood of staying in the country in five years are similar to those from the previous model. Gender, education, age, marital status, feeling as a citizen, the mentality in the country and region living in are all found to be associated with the likelihood of staying in the country in five years.

Being male is associated with being more likely to stay compared to not while having an education higher education than secondary school is found to make is less likely to answer "yes, probably" compared to "no, probably not" on the likelihood of staying in the current country in five years. Higher ages and being married or cohabitating seems associated with less probability of staying in the country in five years. Not feeling as a citizen of the country increases the risk of leaving within five years. Having a positive opinion about the country's mentality is associated with being more likely to stay compared to answering "no, probably not", while the opposite found when having a negative opinion on the country's mentality. Living in Africa, Middle East, Asia, Eastern Europe and former Soviet states are associated with a decreased risk of staying.

Interestingly, in both models, having citizenship in the country of residence is not associated with the likelihoods of moving back to Sweden or staying in the country in five years. The variable that ask whether the individuals feel a citizen is found to be associated with both outcomes, suggesting that identity and belonging might not be connected to citizenship and be more than formalities, such as citizenship. This study finds little support for mobility restrictions affecting the migration pattern suggested by Van Dalen and Henkens (2008).

5.2   Return migration for the second generation

In the model including basic explanatory variables for second-generation returnees, two associations are found. The model is a basic model only including variables that in the dataset is found to be time-invariant. The result is found in Appendix A. Variables measuring the number of visits to the country before the return, parent's country of residence and other possible explanatory variables suggested by previous literature are not included due to data limitations.

The model suggests that there is an association between being a second-generation returnee and having lower education than high school. This is in line with Levitt's finding that lower education can suggest a higher transnational activity to the parent's country of origin. Social network theory also suggests that less human capital is needed for returnees, as they have a network in their migration destination that can provide job opportunities and accommodation.

The results also suggest a negative association between second-generation returnees and being in the age group 36-55. This could potentially be in line with the life course findings in previous literature, suggesting that standing in front of a new life stage is a push for second-generation migration to occur. These life stages are suggested to be starting higher education, starting a family and retirement, all life events that are less likely to happen in the age group 36-55. No significant difference in gender is suggested in the model, or any significant differences in the reason to move. It could be expected that the individuals not returning to their parents' countries and those being returnees would potentially differ as the returnees to a larger degree would have a connection to the country, migrate to study or to retire as suggested in previous research but no such differences are found.

5.3   The experience of the stay abroad

In the ordered logit model, the results suggest that several of the included variables are associated with life satisfaction. The results from the regressions is presented in Appendix A. Being a return migrant compared to having Swedish-born parents is associated with lower odds of higher life satisfaction compared to equal or lower life satisfaction. This is in line with findings in previous research, suggesting that second-generation returnees often were disappointed by their return and was less happy in their new country than expected.

The model also finds that being in the higher age group (55+) is associated with higher odds of higher life satisfaction. Having lived in the country longer is also found to be associated with slightly higher odds of higher life satisfaction as the variable "years since migration" has an odds ratio just above 1. Good health and economy are also found to be associated with higher life satisfaction.

The result could also be explained by selection bias, as discussed in section 3.4. There is a possibility that second-generation returnees had lower life satisfaction even before the migration. As the data is cross-sectional, this cannot be controlled for.

5.4   Discussion

This study finds several interesting associations. Based on theory and previous research, three hypotheses were presented at the beginning of this study.

H1: *Having foreign-born parents can motivate the children to return migration, leading to migration destinations that differ from migrants with Swedish-born parents.*

This study finds that migrants with Swedish-born parents and migrants with foreign-born parents that do not return to their parent's country of origin have very similar migration patterns. There could, therefore, be an indication of integration or an indication that these destinations are particular attractive migration destination. Second-generation returnees travel "back" to other countries that are in line with migration inflow to Sweden in the time period 1950-1990. The return destinations are also found to be associated to some degree with geographical distance.

H2: *Individuals that are second-generation returnees are more likely to plan on staying in the country of residence and less likely to move back to Sweden.*

This study finds an association of higher probability of planning to move back among individuals with Swedish-born parents compared to the second-generation returnees. As for the probability of staying in the country in five years, second-generation returnees are found to be more likely to answer "yes, probably" compared to "do not know" or "maybe" compared to individuals with Swedish-born parents.

As for variables that explain second generation returns, this study finds that being a second-generation return migrant is associated with lower education levels. The model also suggests that the probability of being a return migrant is lower in the age group 36-55, in line with the return migrant groups suggested by Cerase (1970, 1974) and the life course findings for the second generation returnees. The model suggests no differences in gender or their reason to move.

H3: *Second-generation returnees are less satisfied with their stay compared with individuals that migrated to another country than their parent's country of origin and individuals that have Swedish-born parents.*

The ordered logit model suggests an association between being a second-generation returnee and lower life satisfaction. This is in line with findings that second-generation return migrants can be disappointed by their return and struggle with social norms, cultural differences, and integration in their ancestral homes.

6 Conclusion

This study describes the destinations of the individuals that outmigrate from Sweden, depending on their parents' area of origin. It is found that a minority of second-generation immigrants in Sweden choose to return to their parents' countries of origin. This group is less likely to move back to Sweden and less likely to move from their ancestral home. Individuals with foreign-born parents that do not return to their parent's country of origin are found to follow similar migration patterns in terms of destinations, the likelihood of moving back to Sweden and the likelihood of staying in the current country as those with Swedish-born parents.

This study also aim to answer why some individuals with foreign-born parents return to their parent's country of origin, while others do not. The basic model presented in this study suggests that lower levels of education are associated with return migration compared to migration to other countries than the parent's country of origin. Migration at younger and older ages is also found to be associated with returns to the ancestral home.

Further, this paper looks into the experience of their stay abroad. This study finds a negative association between second-generation returnees and life satisfaction compared to outmigrants that have Swedish-born parents. The returnees are found less probable to have a higher life satisfaction. This could be due to selection bias, for example that second-generation returnees as a group have a lower life satisfaction to begin with, without the data allow controlling for this possibility in this study.

This study has used a different methodology than previous research to look into outmigration and second-generation returnees. By using a quantitative method and using data on outmigrants, this study provides a new perspective within this area of research. Most findings in this study are confirming the previous finding in the field, while some are additions to previous research.

A large part of the individuals with foreign-born parents are in this study found to have the same migration pattern as those with Swedish-born parents. Even so, a part of those with foreign-born parents become return migrants and, therefore, also migrates to other destinations than the larger group.

The practical implications of this study are related to this divide in migrations patterns. Second-generation returnees are also found to be less probable to return to Sweden, and an increase in the number of second-generation returnees would change the migrations streams from Sweden and the duration of the stays. This could potentially lead to a shift in trade and political focus, as many Swedes would be engaged in transnational activity in these return destinations.

Finding a significant difference in life satisfaction between the individuals with Swedish-born parents and the second-generation returnees is also a finding of interest. This difference in life satisfaction is only found between those with Swedish-born parents and the second-generation returnees, not between individuals with Swedish-born parents and those with foreign-born parents that are not returnees. Even if this study cannot control for the difference before the migration, it does suggest that the second-generation returnees have a lower life satisfaction in their stay abroad. This could be due to the expectations of the return are not met, fewer economic opportunities, lower socioeconomic status, and low integration in both Sweden and their host country or other factors that can affect life satisfaction.

Further research within this topic could be to extend the models in this study to include socioeconomic background, measurements of integration in their country of upbringing and number of visits to their parents' home country. Current country of residence of parents and family would also be interesting aspects to include. This would require more data on the individuals - data that could be difficult to measure. Further, research within outmigration from highly developed countries seems like an unexplored field of research. Researching economic motives in the choice of destination for outmigrants such as wage- and education premiums, tax levels and beneficial taxation for companies as well as cultural and lingual barriers would be interesting aspects to further consider.

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Appendix A

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Maybe RRR	No, probably not RRR	Do not know RRR	Maybe RRR	No, probably not RRR	Do not know RRR
Likelihood of moving back to Sweden						
Swedish-born parents	baseline			baseline		
Foreign-born parents	1.381**	1.020	1.301	1.358*	1.025	1.304
	(0.215)	(0.173)	(0.456)	(0.213)	(0.175)	(0.465)
Return migrants	1.118	0.814	0.555	1.077	0.822	0.556
	(0.302)	(0.247)	(0.433)	(0.294)	(0.251)	(0.438)
Male	1.130	1.505***	0.635	1.129	1.478***	0.632
	(0.143)	(0.196)	(0.188)	(0.143)	(0.194)	(0.189)
High school or more	0.751*	0.453***	0.256***	0.743*	0.448***	0.265***
	(0.126)	(0.0731)	(0.0800)	(0.125)	(0.0733)	(0.0848)
Age groups:						
18-24	baseline			baseline		
25-35	0.784	0.695*	0.968	0.803	0.689**	0.946
	(0.140)	(0.130)	(0.438)	(0.144)	(0.129)	(0.427)
36-55	0.472***	0.470***	0.745	0.483***	0.469***	0.771
	(0.0920)	(0.0941)	(0.358)	(0.0947)	(0.0943)	(0.372)
55+	0.334***	0.400***	0.653	0.338***	0.397***	0.659
	(0.0946)	(0.111)	(0.347)	(0.0959)	(0.110)	(0.349)
Reason to move:						
Connection to the country	1.422**	1.534**	2.161	1.405*	1.545**	2.076
	(0.250)	(0.297)	(1.309)	(0.249)	(0.299)	(1.264)
Study	1.585	2.097**	1.642	1.505	2.072**	1.561
	(0.553)	(0.740)	(2.045)	(0.527)	(0.729)	(1.962)
Retirement	1.564	2.207**	7.402***	1.541	2.169**	7.255***
	(0.508)	(0.698)	(4.841)	(0.498)	(0.688)	(4.720)
Work	baseline			baseline		
Follow a dream	1.370*	1.928***	3.234**	1.340*	1.958***	3.267**
	(0.235)	(0.353)	(1.903)	(0.232)	(0.360)	(1.929)
Other	1.261	1.911***	6.084***	1.259	1.994***	6.374***
	(0.299)	(0.454)	(3.738)	(0.302)	(0.474)	(3.937)
Marital status:						
Single	baseline			baseline		
Cohabitant	1.652**	1.655**	1.463	1.688**	1.670**	1.486
	(0.341)	(0.373)	(0.759)	(0.353)	(0.380)	(0.768)
Married	1.331*	1.851***	1.530	1.331*	1.827***	1.485
	(0.220)	(0.336)	(0.601)	(0.223)	(0.334)	(0.585)
Widow	3.156*	13.62***	1.47e-05***	3.248*	12.96***	9.04e-06***
	(2.064)	(8.053)	(1.02e-05)	(2.154)	(7.828)	(6.43e-06)
How good is the household economy:						
Very good				baseline		
Good				1.240*	1.177	1.349
				(0.158)	(0.154)	(0.402)
Not good nor bad				1.183	0.910	1.236
				(0.239)	(0.194)	(0.556)
Bad				1.300	0.525*	0.818
				(0.380)	(0.191)	(0.630)
Very bad				0.589	0.442	1.21e-06***
				(0.376)	(0.303)	(6.41e-07)
Constant	0.975	0.819	0.0979***	0.887	0.819	0.0867***
	(0.277)	(0.244)	(0.0812)	(0.262)	(0.250)	(0.0728)
Pseudo R2	0.0535			0.0624		
P-value	0.0000			0.0000		
Observations	1898	1898	1898	1893	1893	1893

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Likelihood of moving back to Sweden

	Model 3			Model 4		
	Maybe RRR	No, probably not RRR	Do not know RRR	Maybe RRR	No, probably not RRR	Do not know RRR
Swedish-born parents		baseline			baseline	
Foreign-born parents	1.412**	1.186	1.592	1.393**	1.167	1.548
	(0.232)	(0.224)	(0.577)	(0.230)	(0.223)	(0.563)
Return migrants	0.903	0.491**	0.409	0.866	0.496**	0.413
	(0.262)	(0.167)	(0.363)	(0.260)	(0.176)	(0.345)
Male	1.282*	1.830***	0.696	1.346**	1.878***	0.706
	(0.170)	(0.268)	(0.221)	(0.184)	(0.285)	(0.234)
High school or more	0.870	0.576***	0.300***	0.878	0.577***	0.296***
	(0.154)	(0.108)	(0.101)	(0.156)	(0.109)	(0.102)
Age groups:						
18-24		baseline			baseline	
25-35	0.895	0.858	1.144	0.950	0.901	1.209
	(0.170)	(0.180)	(0.546)	(0.181)	(0.190)	(0.575)
36-55	0.606**	0.687*	1.037	0.691*	0.763	1.152
	(0.127)	(0.154)	(0.538)	(0.146)	(0.174)	(0.612)
55+	0.393***	0.560*	0.765	0.429***	0.609	0.799
	(0.118)	(0.178)	(0.421)	(0.129)	(0.196)	(0.455)
Reason to move:						
Connection to the country	1.455**	1.615**	1.663	1.417*	1.539**	1.605
	(0.266)	(0.337)	(1.001)	(0.263)	(0.323)	(0.980)
Study	1.417	1.546	1.433	1.332	1.442	1.357
	(0.517)	(0.621)	(1.804)	(0.486)	(0.578)	(1.722)
Retirement	1.294	1.538	6.037***	1.362	1.578	6.319***
	(0.451)	(0.570)	(3.921)	(0.478)	(0.597)	(4.232)
Work		baseline			baseline	
Follow a dream	1.232	1.551**	2.873*	1.277	1.571**	2.840*
	(0.222)	(0.311)	(1.620)	(0.235)	(0.318)	(1.649)
Other	1.209	1.695**	5.333***	1.201	1.657*	5.136***
	(0.306)	(0.449)	(3.303)	(0.306)	(0.441)	(3.206)
Marital status:						
Single		baseline			baseline	
Cohabitant	1.619**	1.612*	1.349	1.577**	1.563*	1.305
	(0.351)	(0.394)	(0.713)	(0.345)	(0.383)	(0.694)
Married	1.133	1.382	1.320	1.222	1.450*	1.323
	(0.197)	(0.272)	(0.502)	(0.215)	(0.290)	(0.508)
Widow	1.993	5.338***	5.74e-06***	2.173	5.652***	5.79e-06***
	(1.334)	(3.354)	(4.15e-06)	(1.453)	(3.596)	(4.22e-06)
How good is the household economy:						
Very good		baseline			baseline	
Good	1.235	1.225	1.427	1.230	1.213	1.400
	(0.166)	(0.179)	(0.455)	(0.167)	(0.178)	(0.450)
Not good nor bad	1.087	0.947	1.367	1.033	0.899	1.291
	(0.229)	(0.220)	(0.638)	(0.220)	(0.213)	(0.610)
Bad	1.283	0.618	0.835	1.239	0.577	0.761
	(0.410)	(0.237)	(0.718)	(0.395)	(0.225)	(0.676)
Very bad	0.490	0.331	9.94e-08***	0.526	0.350	1.08e-07***
	(0.283)	(0.250)	(6.27e-08)	(0.304)	(0.274)	(6.87e-08)
Having citizenship in the country	1.080	1.471*	2.169*	1.022	1.421	2.020*
	(0.221)	(0.314)	(0.880)	(0.214)	(0.313)	(0.831)
Feel like a citizen in country:						
Yes, very much	1.111	2.658***	0.973	1.134	2.711***	1.016
	(0.365)	(0.822)	(0.549)	(0.372)	(0.840)	(0.573)
Yes		baseline			baseline	
No	0.429***	0.275***	0.368***	0.445***	0.285***	0.380***
	(0.0713)	(0.0479)	(0.135)	(0.0748)	(0.0500)	(0.138)
Not at all	0.242***	0.147***	0.295***	0.267***	0.161***	0.319***
	(0.0446)	(0.0304)	(0.125)	(0.0504)	(0.0336)	(0.139)
Opinion of the Swedish mentality:						
Positive	1.021	0.652***	0.524**	0.999	0.646***	0.523**
	(0.149)	(0.103)	(0.166)	(0.148)	(0.103)	(0.167)
Neither		baseline			baseline	
Negative	1.274	1.347	0.321**	1.341	1.415*	0.333**
	(0.252)	(0.270)	(0.164)	(0.270)	(0.288)	(0.171)
No opinion	16.87**	58.16***	159.3***	13.95**	48.10***	133.3***
	(21.24)	(73.92)	(218.4)	(17.07)	(59.37)	(177.6)
Opinion of the country's mentality:						
Positive	0.989	1.466**	1.168	0.960	1.432**	1.157
	(0.144)	(0.233)	(0.369)	(0.141)	(0.231)	(0.376)
Neither		baseline			baseline	
Negative	0.783	0.718	0.728	0.786	0.719	0.709
	(0.143)	(0.159)	(0.342)	(0.146)	(0.161)	(0.330)
No opinion	0.240**	0.0549***	0.0783**	0.258**	0.0614***	0.0877**
	(0.163)	(0.0454)	(0.0858)	(0.171)	(0.0498)	(0.0944)
Regions:						
Nordic				1.072	0.962	0.757
				(0.193)	(0.189)	(0.341)
Western Europé, North America, Australia and New Zealand					baseline	
Africa and Middle East				0.571**	0.436***	0.423
				(0.143)	(0.126)	(0.303)
Asia				0.450***	0.574***	0.528
				(0.0900)	(0.120)	(0.272)
Eastern Europé and former Soviet states				1.309	1.066	1.246
				(0.322)	(0.303)	(0.611)
Latin America				0.852	1.041	1.069
				(0.233)	(0.292)	(0.618)
Constant	1.677	1.475	0.215*	1.620	1.531	0.246
	(0.616)	(0.576)	(0.193)	(0.614)	(0.615)	(0.225)
Pseudo R2	0.1734			0.1934		
P-value	0.0000			0.0000		
Observations	1841	1841	1841	1841	1841	1841

Robust seeform in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The likelihood of staying in the country in five years

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Maybe	No, probably not	Do not know	Maybe	No, probably not	Do not know
	RRR	RRR	RRR	RRR	RRR	RRR
Swedish-born parents		baseline			baseline	
Foreign-born parents	1.059	1.096	2.242*	1.062	1.129	2.007*
	(0.189)	(0.183)	(0.932)	(0.190)	(0.191)	(0.849)
Return migrants	1.406	0.699	4.293***	1.395	0.730	3.621**
	(0.399)	(0.260)	(2.307)	(0.402)	(0.269)	(1.928)
Male	1.167	0.907	0.842	1.167	0.915	0.895
	(0.166)	(0.125)	(0.272)	(0.167)	(0.127)	(0.297)
High school or more	1.911***	1.961***	0.856	1.881***	1.895***	0.989
	(0.362)	(0.367)	(0.341)	(0.360)	(0.356)	(0.414)
Age groups:						
18-24		baseline			baseline	
25-35	1.582**	1.419	1.153	1.605**	1.405	1.245
	(0.308)	(0.313)	(0.680)	(0.314)	(0.313)	(0.724)
36-55	1.954***	3.382***	2.964*	1.941***	3.372***	3.094*
	(0.419)	(0.768)	(1.711)	(0.420)	(0.774)	(1.829)
55+	1.079	3.268***	3.337*	1.079	3.290***	3.287
	(0.355)	(1.022)	(2.402)	(0.355)	(1.040)	(2.393)
Reason to move:						
Connection to the country	0.640**	0.662**	1.678	0.644**	0.686**	1.453
	(0.128)	(0.122)	(0.914)	(0.130)	(0.128)	(0.782)
Study	0.730	0.622	1.325	0.715	0.679	1.012
	(0.271)	(0.245)	(1.511)	(0.269)	(0.271)	(1.129)
Retirement	0.553*	0.291***	0.284	0.555	0.299***	0.302
	(0.198)	(0.105)	(0.321)	(0.199)	(0.109)	(0.341)
Work		baseline			baseline	
Follow a dream	0.729*	0.536***	1.079	0.711*	0.536***	0.968
	(0.133)	(0.0971)	(0.661)	(0.131)	(0.0980)	(0.592)
Other	0.784	0.482***	0.808	0.772	0.474***	0.639
	(0.196)	(0.123)	(0.605)	(0.194)	(0.123)	(0.503)
Marital status:						
Single		baseline			baseline	
Cohabitant	0.631**	0.623**	0.274*	0.622**	0.607**	0.277*
	(0.135)	(0.147)	(0.190)	(0.133)	(0.145)	(0.190)
Married	0.406***	0.560***	0.405**	0.396***	0.545***	0.464*
	(0.0707)	(0.103)	(0.172)	(0.0696)	(0.101)	(0.198)
Widow	0.292**	1.83e-07***	1.60e-07***	0.311**	1.45e-07***	9.27e-07***
	(0.152)	(4.95e-08)	(7.90e-08)	(0.164)	(4.15e-08)	(5.05e-07)
The household economy:						
Very good					baseline	
Good				1.056	0.619***	2.887**
				(0.148)	(0.0882)	(1.332)
Not good nor bad				0.792	0.709	2.962*
				(0.184)	(0.161)	(1.660)
Bad				1.766*	1.492	8.904***
				(0.569)	(0.491)	(6.020)
Very bad				1.486	1.032	14.05***
				(1.037)	(0.865)	(12.79)
Constant	0.263***	0.245***	0.0313***	0.266***	0.301***	0.0122***
	(0.0810)	(0.0800)	(0.0259)	(0.0846)	(0.102)	(0.0105)
Pseudo R2	0.0000			0.0000		
P-value	0.0535			0.0624		
Observations	1901	1901	1901	1896	1896	1896

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Likelihood of staying in the country in five years

	Model 3			Model 4		
	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio	Odds ratio
	Maybe	No, probably not	Do not know	Maybe	No, probably not	Do not know
Swedish-born parents	baseline			baseline		
Foreign-born parents	0.993	1.017	2.200*	1.016	1.016	2.133
	(0.189)	(0.193)	(1.046)	(0.195)	(0.199)	(1.053)
Return migrants	2.506***	0.905	1.590	2.174**	0.641	1.227
	(0.790)	(0.360)	(1.004)	(0.686)	(0.273)	(0.881)
Male	0.941	0.774*	0.981	0.885	0.619***	1.085
	(0.141)	(0.120)	(0.392)	(0.137)	(0.103)	(0.420)
High school or more	1.488**	1.491*	0.722	1.528**	1.605**	0.771
	(0.299)	(0.311)	(0.334)	(0.312)	(0.352)	(0.350)
Age groups:						
25-35	1.454*	1.071	1.525	1.386	0.948	1.637
	(0.303)	(0.261)	(1.173)	(0.291)	(0.234)	(1.313)
36-55	1.519*	2.237***	4.158*	1.362	1.694**	4.044*
	(0.359)	(0.569)	(3.286)	(0.327)	(0.444)	(3.288)
55+	0.959	2.738***	1.825	0.868	2.244**	1.642
	(0.332)	(0.989)	(1.600)	(0.308)	(0.851)	(1.443)
Reason to move:						
Connection to the country	0.657**	0.656**	0.891	0.656*	0.652**	1.129
	(0.140)	(0.135)	(0.489)	(0.141)	(0.138)	(0.654)
Study	0.913	0.763	3.76e-07***	0.930	0.762	2.99e-07***
	(0.354)	(0.329)	(2.86e-07)	(0.367)	(0.328)	(2.38e-07)
Retirement	0.656	0.345**	0.391	0.613	0.296***	0.345
	(0.254)	(0.149)	(0.447)	(0.239)	(0.134)	(0.419)
Follow a dream	0.739	0.652**	0.986	0.723	0.595**	1.028
	(0.147)	(0.136)	(0.628)	(0.146)	(0.128)	(0.705)
Other	0.873	0.521**	0.409	0.856	0.520**	0.392
	(0.232)	(0.160)	(0.337)	(0.232)	(0.164)	(0.339)
Marital status:						
Cohabitant	0.674*	0.572**	0.190**	0.678*	0.597*	0.197**
	(0.154)	(0.151)	(0.147)	(0.155)	(0.161)	(0.149)
Married	0.453***	0.629**	0.521	0.437***	0.587**	0.426*
	(0.0845)	(0.130)	(0.249)	(0.0826)	(0.124)	(0.210)
Widow	0.619	6.30e-08***	8.06e-07***	0.578	3.68e-08***	3.29e-07***
	(0.365)	(2.43e-08)	(4.88e-07)	(0.338)	(1.58e-08)	(2.27e-07)
How good is the household economy:						
Good	0.962	0.604***	4.923***	0.966	0.618***	5.312***
	(0.143)	(0.0962)	(2.654)	(0.145)	(0.101)	(2.997)
Not good nor bad	0.696	0.667	3.583**	0.708	0.745	4.006**
	(0.167)	(0.171)	(2.276)	(0.171)	(0.196)	(2.684)
Bad	1.526	1.559	6.240**	1.660	1.762	7.408***
	(0.543)	(0.564)	(4.737)	(0.593)	(0.662)	(5.503)
Very bad	1.555	1.231	31.32***	1.476	1.370	32.49***
	(1.386)	(1.392)	(33.31)	(1.351)	(1.451)	(35.21)
Having citizenship in the country	0.650*	0.954	3.883***	0.685	1.094	3.645***
	(0.150)	(0.247)	(1.646)	(0.160)	(0.290)	(1.572)
Feel like a citizen in country:						
Yes, very much	0.470**	0.593	2.82e-07***	0.482*	0.588	2.12e-07***
	(0.179)	(0.253)	(1.51e-07)	(0.183)	(0.254)	(1.26e-07)
No	3.468***	2.956***	2.213	3.393***	2.780***	2.209*
	(0.648)	(0.647)	(1.094)	(0.634)	(0.611)	(1.053)
Not at all	4.387***	10.45***	2.589*	4.053***	8.734***	2.175
	(0.944)	(2.324)	(1.436)	(0.882)	(1.954)	(1.213)
Opinion of the Swedish mentality:						
Positive	0.752*	0.879	1.535	0.748*	0.902	1.434
	(0.122)	(0.145)	(0.762)	(0.122)	(0.153)	(0.698)
Negative	1.196	0.849	0.516	1.133	0.773	0.474
	(0.238)	(0.187)	(0.472)	(0.229)	(0.178)	(0.425)
No opinion	0.207	0.0766*	6.593***	0.226	0.0930*	8.283***
	(0.204)	(0.102)	(4.676)	(0.218)	(0.124)	(6.342)
Opinion of the country's mentality:						
Positive	0.804	0.632***	0.433	0.821	0.652**	0.418*
	(0.129)	(0.107)	(0.223)	(0.133)	(0.113)	(0.213)
Negative	0.795	1.364	1.850	0.777	1.284	1.712
	(0.177)	(0.271)	(0.924)	(0.175)	(0.259)	(0.855)
No opinion	0.807	3.816**	4.338**	0.777	3.625**	3.218*
	(0.733)	(2.327)	(2.825)	(0.695)	(2.277)	(2.215)
Regions:						
Nordic				1.263	1.328	0.644
				(0.247)	(0.311)	(0.437)
Africa and Middle East				2.197***	2.657***	2.877*
				(0.636)	(0.775)	(1.748)
Asia				1.945***	4.623***	1.230
				(0.430)	(0.991)	(0.869)
Eastern Europé and former Soviet states				1.410	2.702***	2.126
				(0.403)	(0.730)	(1.132)
Latin America				1.441	2.127***	1.55e-07***
				(0.413)	(0.608)	(6.33e-08)
Constant	0.218***	0.183***	0.00452***	0.199***	0.155***	0.00437***
	(0.0854)	(0.0875)	(0.00552)	(0.0801)	(0.0769)	(0.00535)
Pseudo R2	0.1734			0.1934		
P-value	0.0000			0.0000		
Observations	1844	1844	1844	1844	1844	1844

Robust seeform in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Determinants of return migration

	Model 1 Odds ratio	Model 2 Odds ratio
Male	1.107	1.230
	(0.320)	(0.383)
High school or more	0.462**	0.499**
	(0.149)	(0.171)
Age groups:		
18-24	1.348	1.486
	(0.468)	(0.586)
25-35	baseline	
36-55	0.363**	0.286***
	(0.144)	(0.131)
55+	0.513	0.501
	(0.296)	(0.466)
Reason to move:		
Connection to the country		1.710
		(1.113)
Study		0.596
		(0.731)
Retirement		1.345
		(1.716)
Work	baseline	
Follow a dream		1.440
		(0.945)
Other		2.859
		(2.118)
Constant	0.563*	0.312*
	(0.190)	(0.220)
Pseudi R2	0.0572	0.0732
P-value	0.0043	0.0331
Observations	429	399

Robust seeform in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The experience of the stay abroad

	Model 1 Odds ratio	Model 2 Odds ratio	Model 3 Odds ratio	Model 4 Odds ratio
Migrants:				
Swedish-born parents		baseline		
Foreign-born parents	0.789*	0.800*	0.858	0.841
	(0.0971)	(0.0996)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Return migrants	0.438***	0.485***	0.554***	0.580**
	(0.0888)	(0.0982)	(0.113)	(0.129)
Male	0.967	1.016	0.945	0.902
	(0.0886)	(0.0967)	(0.0908)	(0.0942)
Age groups:				
18-34	0.928	0.896	0.965	0.918
	(0.116)	(0.114)	(0.127)	(0.133)
35-55		baseline		
35-55	1.042	1.111	1.102	1.119
	(0.112)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.130)
55+	1.859***	2.076***	2.082***	1.875***
	(0.307)	(0.361)	(0.362)	(0.387)
High school or more	1.061	1.021	0.967	0.962
	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.115)	(0.119)
Years since migration	1.008**	1.012***	1.010**	1.011**
	(0.00397)	(0.00417)	(0.00427)	(0.00460)
Self-reported health status				
Poor health		0.541	0.661	0.559
		(0.252)	(0.315)	(0.286)
Neither		baseline		
Good health		7.305***	6.029***	5.853***
		(1.885)	(1.483)	(1.410)
Regions:				
Nordic		0.965	0.874	0.846
		(0.122)	(0.112)	(0.113)
Western Europé, North America, Australia and New Zealand		baseline		
Africa and Middle East		1.187	1.148	1.091
		(0.235)	(0.223)	(0.219)
Asia		0.959	0.854	0.815
		(0.137)	(0.124)	(0.123)
East Europé and former Soviet states		0.717*	0.682**	0.684*
		(0.131)	(0.128)	(0.133)
Latin America		0.820	0.822	0.833
		(0.167)	(0.170)	(0.180)
How good is the household economy				
Very good			baseline	
Good			2.978***	3.284***
			(0.429)	(0.500)
Bad			0.692	0.660
			(0.201)	(0.209)
Reason to move:				
Connection to the country				0.845
				(0.125)
Study				0.908
				(0.264)
Retirement				1.202
				(0.311)
Work				baseline
Follow a dream				1.258
				(0.180)
Other				1.313
				(0.249)
Constant cut1	-5.4528	-3.8828	-3.4496	-3.4052
	(0.3807)	(0.4272)	(0.4245)	(0.4513)
Constant cut2	-3.2630	-1.5773	-1.0915	-1.0583
	(0.1871)	(0.3172)	(0.3135)	(0.3515)
P-value	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	0.0116	0.0806	0.0806	0.0891
Observations	2039	2039	2039	1903

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix B

Below follows tables on the construction of the variable used in this thesis. The variables are constructed using the dataset from the SOM-Institute at University of Gothenburg. Table C1 includes the variables of the multinomial logit model presented in section 4.2.1, table C2 includes the variables of the logit model in section 4.2.2 and C3 includes the variables of the ordered logit model in section 4.2.3.

Variables:	Construction:	Interpretation:
Parent's origin	Individuals with both parents from Sweden = Swedish-born parents = 1 Individuals with one or both parents not raised in Sweden and not from the individuals country of current residence = 2 Individuals with one or both parents from the country of the individuals current residence = Second generation returnee = 3	Swedish-born parents = 0 (baseline) Foreign-born parents = 1 Second generation return migrant = 2
Gender	As interpretation.	Female = 0 Male = 1
Education	Primary, Secondary or not finished high school = 0 Finished high school or higher levels of education =1	Less than high school = 0 High school or more = 1
Age	As interpretation.	18-24 = 1 (baseline) 25-35 = 2 36-55 = 3 55+ = 4
Reason to move	Divided after a priority list: 1. Connection to the country 2. Study 3. Relax after the work life/retirement	Connection to the country = 1 Study = 2 Retirement = 3 Work = 4 (baseline) Fulfill a dream = 5

	4. Work 5. To fulfill a dream 6. Other reasons *See section 4.2.1 for more detail.*	Other = 6
Marital status	As interpretation.	Single = 1 (baseline) Cohabitant = 2 Married = 3 Widow = 4
Economic situation of the household	As interpretation.	Very good = 1 (baseline) Good = 2 Not good nor bad = 3 Bad = 4 Very bad = 5
Citizenship in the country	As interpretation.	No = 0 Yes = 1
Feeling as a citizen of the country	As interpretation.	Yes, very much = 1 Yes = 2 (baseline) No = 3 Not at all = 4
Opinion of the Swedish "mentality"	"Mycket positive uppfattning" and "Ganska positive uppfattning" = "Positive" "Varken" = "Neither positive nor negative" "Mycket negativ uppfattning" and "Ganska negativ uppfattning" = "Negative" "Ingen uppfattning" = "No opinion"	Positive = 1 Neither positive nor negative = 2 (baseline) Negative = 3 No opinion = 4
Opinion of the country's "mentality"	"Mycket positive uppfattning" and "Ganska positive uppfattning" = "Positive" "Varken" = "Neither positive nor negative"	Positive = 1 Neither positive nor negative = 2 (baseline) Negative = 3 No opinion = 4

48	"Mycket negativ uppfattning" and "Ganska negativ uppfattning" = "Negative" "Ingen uppfattning" = "No opinion"	
Region	As interpretation.	The Nordics = 1 Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand = 2 (baseline) Africa and Middle East = 3 Asia = 4 Easter Europe and former Soviet states = 5 Latin America = 6

Table 11 Construction of the variables in the multinomial logit model

Variables:	Construction:	Interpretation:
Gender	As interpretation.	Female = 0 Male = 1
Education	Primary, Secondary or not finished high school = 0 Finished high school or higher levels of education =1	Less than high school = 0 High school or more = 1
Age at move (age groups)	As interpretation.	18-24 = 1 (baseline) 25-35 = 2 36-55 = 3 55+ = 4
Reason to move	Divided after a priority list: 1. Connection to the country 2. Study 3. Relax after the work life/retirement 4. Work 5. To fulfill a dream 6. Other reasons *See section 4.2.1 for more detail.*	Connection to the country = 1 Study = 2 Retirement = 3 Work = 4 (baseline) Fulfill a dream = 5 Other = 6

Table 12 Construction of variables in the logit model.

Variables:		Interpretation:
Gender	As interpretation.	Female = 0 Male = 1
Years since migration	As interpretation.	Continuous variable on the number of years since the individuals moved to their current country of residence.
Education	Primary, Secondary or not finished high school = 0 Finished high school or higher levels of education =1	Less than high school = 0 High school or more = 1
Self-reported health status	0 (Very poor) – 3 = Poor health 4-6 = Neither 7-10 (Very good) = Good health	Poor health = 1 Neither = 2 (baseline) Good health = 3
Reason to move	Divided after a priority list: 1. Connection to the country 2. Study 3. Relax after the work life/retirement 4. Work 5. To fulfill a dream 6. Other reasons *See section 4.2.1 for more detail.*	Connection to the country = 1 Study = 2 Retirement = 3 Work = 4 (baseline) Fulfill a dream = 5 Other = 6
Marital status	As interpretation.	Single = 1 (baseline) Cohabitant = 2 Married = 3 Widow = 4

Feel at home in the country	1 (Do not feel at home at all) – 3 = I do not feel at home	I do not feel at home = 1
		Neither = 2 (baseline)
	4 = Neither	I feel at home = 3
	5-7 (I feel very much as home) = 3	
Feel as a citizen of the country	As interpretation.	Yes, very much = 1 Yes = 2 (baseline) No = 3 Not at all = 4
Region	As interpretation.	The Nordics = 1 Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand = 2 (baseline) Africa and Middle East = 3 Asia = 4 Easter Europe and former Soviet states = 5 Latin America = 6

Table 13 Construction of the variables included in the ordered logit model.