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Residential mobility and housing changes among immigrants and their descendants in the United Kingdom

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Abstract

We investigate residential and housing changes among immigrants and their descendants in the UK. Whilst there are many longitudinal studies on individuals' residential and housing changes among majority populations, most studies on immigrants and their descendants are cross-sectional. We apply event history analysis to data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study to investigate residential changes by housing tenure type among immigrants and their descendants. Our analysis shows that immigrants' residential mobility levels are similar to those of the native population, whereas their descendants, particularly those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin, exhibit relatively low residential mobility. Immigrants from Europe and India are most likely to move to homeownership or private renting. In contrast, individuals from Bangladesh, Caribbean, and African countries are most likely to move to private and social renting. The likelihood of moving to homeownership increases among descendants, but group-differences persist. Individuals of Caribbean, African, and Bangladeshi origin are less likely to move to homeownership and more likely to move to social housing than other groups. While low homeownership levels among immigrants are expected, similar patterns among some descendant groups signal either persistent disadvantage or intergenerational transmission of values and resources.

Keywords: immigrants, second generation, residential mobility, housing, longitudinal analysis, UK

Introduction

A large body of literature has focused on the residential mobility and housing transitions of individuals across their life course in Europe. Studies tend to focus on majority populations and much less is known about the residential mobility and housing experiences of immigrants and their descendants in Europe even though housing is one of the key dimensions of immigrant integration and ethnic minority inclusion. We focus on the UK, a country with a long immigration history. The UK has experienced migration from different parts of the world including South Asia, the Caribbean region, Africa, and Europe and as a result now has a large ethnic minority population. The UK's immigration policy has changed considerably over time with different implications for immigrants' housing and residential mobility. This makes the UK an interesting and relevant context for analysing immigrants' and their descendants' residential mobility and housing transitions.

This study contributes to the literature in three ways. First, we study immigrants' and their descendants' residential mobility and housing, two key indicators of immigrant and ethnic minority integration. If immigrants and ethnic minorities are well integrated, we would expect that, on average, they have residential mobility levels and housing patterns similar to those of the native population. Any observed differences would require a detailed investigation. For example, high levels of residential mobility could be interpreted as a sign of residential instability. Elevated mobility may be expected for immigrants after arrival, but over time their residential mobility should decline. In contrast, low residential mobility could be seen as an indicator of a lack of opportunities. This could be the case for the descendants of immigrants who may lack education and/or employment prospects. As only a handful of studies are available on immigrants' and their descendants' residential mobility, we know very little about the residential mobility levels of immigrants and their descendants overall as well as about patterns that characterise different origin groups.

Second, we investigate the destination of their residential moves in terms of housing tenure (i.e., homeownership, private renting, and social renting). Studies in the UK focus on the housing situation of ethnic groups and do not distinguish between immigrants and their descendants. However, it is critical to understand: 1) whether the experiences of immigrants and their descendants from the same origin countries are different; and 2) whether residential and housing experiences of immigrants change across migrant generations. We fill this gap by distinguishing between native individuals (i.e., individuals born in the UK with two UK-born parents), immigrants (i.e., those who were born outside the UK), and their descendants (i.e., the second generation, who were born in the UK to at least one immigrant parent).

Third, most existing evidence on immigrants' and/or their descendants' residential mobility and housing in the UK comes from cross-sectional (mainly based on Census data) rather than longitudinal analyses. However, a snapshot in time showing housing or residential disadvantage among certain ethnic groups may not accurately represent individuals' experiences across their life course. Over time, immigrants and their descendants' position on

the housing market may improve or decline and these processes may be different across migrant generations as well as among different origin groups.

Theoretical background

In the spatial mobility, geography, and residential segregation literature, three theories have been put forward to explain why ethnic minorities (sometimes applied to immigrants only) may move between different types of neighbourhoods and, more broadly, may have different residential mobility and/or housing experiences than majority populations (or the native populations): spatial assimilation, place stratification, and the ethnic enclave model. At the same time, several overlapping and complementary hypotheses exist in the demographic literature, which were primarily formulated to understand whether and why immigrants and their descendants' fertility (e.g., Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2014; Kulu et al., 2019), partnership experiences (Pailhé, 2015), or employment trajectories (Mikolai & Kulu, 2022a, 2022b) might differ from those of native populations. These theories can also be applied to understand potential differences in the residential mobility and housing experiences of immigrants and their descendants. We combine, synthesise, and discuss these different but often overlapping disciplinary perspectives below.

Spatial assimilation

The assimilation theory (also referred to as adaptation or integration) argues that over time, immigrants' behaviours and experiences will become more similar to, and even indistinguishable, from those of the native population. Assimilation is also assumed to take place across migrant generations (Cheung & Heath, 2007; Dubuc, 2012; Pailhé, 2015; Kulu et al., 2019) and hence influence the residential and housing patterns of the second generation, who are born, educated, and socialised in the host countries. Thus, over time, immigrants' as well as their descendants' residential mobility and housing experiences are expected to converge towards those of the native population. This idea is similar to the spatial assimilation model (Park, 1925; Gordon, 1964; Bolt & van Kempen, 2010; Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2020) from the geography literature, which argues that the residential mobility behaviour of ethnic minorities (sometimes only focusing on immigrants) will converge towards that of majority (or native) populations over time. Here, the focus is specifically on how the broader process of cultural and socio-economic assimilation into majority populations may lead to a change in individual's preferences to move 'up' the spatial and housing ladder and move to more desirable (often synonymous with majority and higher SES) neighbourhoods. Eventually, this process is assumed to lead to spatial assimilation as a consequence of the preferences, resources, and opportunities of ethnic minority individuals (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010).

Empirical studies found some support for the assimilation theory both in the demographic and spatial literature. However, studies have also shown that this theory has limited relevance for the experiences of certain minority ethnic groups (e.g., Blacks in the US), who experience spatial segregation and discrimination on the housing market. Similarly,

demographic studies have highlighted that certain origin groups of immigrants and their descendants have persistently different demographic outcomes compared to the native population in the host countries. As a result, competing explanations have emerged in the literature to explain the experiences of different groups.

Place stratification and minority status

The place stratification theory (in geography) argues that spatial assimilation cannot take place (especially for some groups) due to constraints and discrimination that minority groups face on the housing market (Alba & Logan, 1991). This means that these groups are unable to match their socio-economic status with that of their neighbourhood (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010). Similarly, in the demographic literature, the minority-group status hypothesis (Milewski, 2010) was developed to highlight that some groups of descendants may face discrimination, which would influence their social relations including their partnership, fertility, and employment experiences. For example, discrimination may reduce women's labour market opportunities leading to these women choosing the 'motherhood track' (Kulu et al., 2019).

Ethnic enclave and minority subculture

These theories assume that ethnic minorities want to assimilate into the majority culture. In other words, it is assumed that high-SES ethnic minority individuals would like to move to more affluent or White-dominated areas. However, this may not at all be the case as has been shown for affluent African Americans in the US (Freeman, 2000) as well as Turkish and Moroccan populations in the Netherlands (van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Residence in segregated neighbourhoods may be a voluntary choice (Clark, 2002) driven by the availability of social networks and ethnic institutions (Vogiazides & Chihaya, 2020). Thus, it is possible that assimilation does not take place because of discrimination but because of individuals' connection to their ethnic group and its culture (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010). This is the main idea of the ethnic enclave or ethnic preference model (in geography). In the demographic literature, the equivalent of this idea is the socialisation hypothesis among immigrants and the minority subculture hypothesis among their descendants. The socialisation hypothesis postulates that immigrant's experiences will remain distinct from those of native populations because their values and preferences align with those in their home countries. These differences in values and preferences are expected to translate into distinct patterns of residential mobility and housing among immigrants compared to the native population. Additionally, the minority subculture hypothesis emphasises that as the second generation grow up within a family of immigrants, some groups are mainly socialised into the norms and behaviours of the majority population, others may primarily grow up in a minority subculture and thus have similar norms, preferences, and behaviours to those that are prevalent in their parents' country of origin (Adsera & Ferrer, 2015; Kulu et al., 2019).

In the demographic literature, several additional alternative explanations have been put forward to understand the behaviours and experiences of immigrants only. The selection hypothesis argues that similarities in the experiences of natives and immigrants may be

explained by the selective nature of the migration process. Immigrants are argued to select their destination countries such that it is in line with their own life goals and aspirations. This would lead to the expectation that immigrants' residential mobility and housing outcomes would be similar to those of the native population. The disruption hypothesis emphasises the disruptive nature of international migration and its impact on individuals' demographic behaviour (Adsera & Ferrer, 2015). For example, following migration, couples may postpone marriage and childbearing both due to the costs (economic and psychological) associated with the move and until they have established themselves in their destination country socially and economically. Disruption may also occur if one of the partners migrates first and the other partner follows later. Although this hypothesis has not yet been applied to understand the residential mobility and housing experiences of immigrants, it could explain differences between the residential and housing experiences of immigrants and natives. For example, men may migrate before women and children join them. They may first live in suboptimal neighbourhoods or dwellings but may improve their housing situation before their family arrives. Finally, the interrelation of life events hypothesis (Andersson, 2004; Milewski, 2007) highlights that migration and other life events are interrelated. Again, this hypothesis has not yet been used to study residential mobility and housing changes among immigrants, but it is clear that international migration, residential mobility, and housing are interrelated in the lives of immigrants.

Empirical evidence

Residential mobility

Limited empirical evidence is available on the residential mobility of ethnic groups in the UK. Using 2001 Census data, Finney (2011) showed that different ethnic groups have varying levels of residential mobility. Among young adults (16–29-year-olds), White British and White Irish individuals were the most likely to migrate within Britain during the year prior to census date after adjusting for key social and economic factors. They were followed by other White and Mixed ethnic groups, Asians (including those from India, Pakistan, and other Asian groups), and Chinese individuals. Bangladeshi and Black ethnic groups (Black African, Black Caribbean, and Black other) had the lowest propensity of moving. They adjusted the analysis for whether individuals were immigrants or not showing that immigrants had higher levels of residential mobility than those who were not immigrants (this includes both the native population and the second generation).

Ethnic differences in residential mobility patterns were also found in many other European countries. Overall, these studies show that even after adjusting for differences in age structure, and demographic and socio-economic characteristics between the majority and minority groups, individuals from ethnic minorities are more residentially mobile than the native population in the host countries. For example, in Germany, ethnic minorities from Mediterranean countries and the rest of the World had especially high mobility rates, whereas these were somewhat lower among Eastern and Western European minorities but still

considerably higher than the mobility levels of the German native population (Vidal & Windzio, 2012).

These studies have treated immigrants and their descendants from different origin countries or regions as a homogeneous group even though it is expected, based on the theoretical arguments, that residential mobility experiences may change across migrant generations. The handful of studies that have distinguished ethnic groups by migrant generation show that, indeed, residential mobility levels vary across immigrants and their descendants from a certain origin country or region. For example, in Germany, in age-only adjusted descriptive analyses, the descendants of immigrants generally have higher residential mobility rates than immigrants except among Eastern Europeans, where the second generation is less likely to experience a move than their first-generation counterparts (Vidal & Windzio, 2012). More recently, longitudinal analysis of French register data revealed that most immigrant men had similar probabilities of a residential move as native French men, except those from Turkey and Western Europe, who had significantly lower moving propensities (Delaporte et al., 2023b). Among women, all groups of immigrants were less likely to move than native women except those from Southern Europe and Southeast Asia. The lowest moving propensities belonged to women from Turkey. Among the second generation, both women and men from North African, Sub-Saharan African, and Turkish descent were less likely to move than their native counterparts.

Instead of focusing on ethnic groups, some studies have analysed solely the residential mobility of immigrants. However, many of these studies have not distinguished immigrants by their country or region of origin. For example, a longitudinal study in the Paris region highlighted that immigrants were more likely to move after arrival to the Paris region than French-born individuals. Those who were born outside France but acquired French nationality sometime after arrival had residential mobility levels in-between these two groups (Bonvalet et al., 1995). Similarly, in Sweden, most immigrants (from Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq, and Iran) were more likely to move both within and between labour market areas than the native population after adjusting for other important variables. However, immigrants from Chile were less likely to move within and more likely to move between labour market areas than the native population (Andersson, 2012). Also, in Germany, foreign-born individuals had slightly higher residential mobility rates than Germans (Clark & Drever, 2000; Schündeln, 2014). Somewhat different patterns were found in Switzerland. After adjusting for time since migration and other important social and demographic factors, Swiss natives were the most residentially mobile, followed by immigrants from the EU. Those from non-EU countries were the least residentially mobile (Lacroix et al., 2020).

Housing transitions

Previous studies have also shown ethnic differences in individuals' housing tenure. For example, in the UK, ethnic minorities have lower homeownership rates than the majority population (Hamnett & Butler, 2010; Finney & Harries, 2015; Darlington-Pollock & Norman,

2017; Shankley & Finney, 2020; Fernández-Reino & Vargas-Silva, 2022). Additionally, there are wide disparities between the White British and minority groups. For instance, based on 2011 Census data, South Asians, especially Indians, display high levels of homeownership, whereas households of African (or Black) Caribbean origin are more likely to be found in social housing. Private renting is most common among the Other White, Arab, and Other Asian groups, whereas it is least common among Black Caribbeans, White British, and White Irish individuals. Social renting was the least common among Indian, Chinese, and Other White individuals (Finney & Harries, 2015). Focusing on London only, Hamnett and Butler (2010) showed that ethnic minority homeownership has increased in suburban areas but at the same time, ethnic minorities became more concentrated in social and private renting between 1991 and 2001 using Census data. Additionally, Bowes et al. (2002) focused on the housing experiences of Pakistani individuals in the UK using in-depth qualitative methods. Previous studies show that Pakistanis have a higher level of homeownership than other ethnic groups, but Pakistanis and Bangladeshis experience the worst housing conditions.

Only a handful of studies have examined housing tenure differences across migrant (rather than ethnic) groups in the UK. Fernández-Reino and Vargas-Silva (2022) showed that immigrants have lower home-ownership rates than UK-born individuals (47% vs 70%) and are more likely to live in privately rented accommodation (29% vs 14%). A similar proportion (~16%) of UK-born individuals and immigrants live in social renting. Immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are most likely to live in social housing (30%), followed by South Asians (19%) and EU immigrants (14%). Immigrants from India are least likely (6%) to live in social housing. As time since migration increases, immigrants are more likely to be homeowners and less likely to be private renters. Among those who have been in the UK for 20 years or longer the proportion of homeowners is the same as among UK-born individuals.

A few recent studies have focused on the housing tenure experiences of immigrants and their descendants in other European countries. For example, Delaporte et al. (2023b) showed that in France, immigrants from North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa were less likely to move to homeownership and more likely to move to social renting than French natives. By contrast, immigrants from South East Asia, Turkey, and Europe had a similar likelihood of moving to homeownership when compared to French natives. They found few changes between the experiences of the first and second generation. In Sweden, sub-Saharan African immigrants were the least likely to become homeowners, whereas immigrants from Nordic, Western European, and North American countries were the most likely to do so (Abed Al Ahad et al., 2023). There were clear signs of assimilation across migrant generations in Sweden regarding homeownership levels (Abed Al Ahad et al., 2023). In Finland, compared to Western immigrants, all other immigrant groups were less likely to enter homeownership. The lowest propensity of entering homeownership was observed among immigrants from Africa and Estonia (Torpan et al., 2022). Finally, a comparative study across five European countries (UK, France, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland) has shown that in all countries, non-European

immigrants were especially less likely to be homeowners and more likely to be social or private renters (Delaporte et al., 2023a). Although they observed some changes across migrant generations, certain groups have persistently low levels of homeownership and high levels of social renting.

To sum up, previous research has shown significant differences in residential mobility and housing tenure among immigrants and ethnic minority groups in Europe. Most past research has investigated either housing of immigrants or ethnic groups. Only recent studies have distinguished between immigrants and their descendants; most of these studies are on continental Europe, none of them on the UK.

Data

We use data from 9 waves (2009-2019) of the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) also referred to as Understanding Society (University of Essex, 2020). The UKHLS is an ongoing nationally representative household panel, which interviews around 51,000 individuals in 30,000 households each year. A particular advantage of the UKHLS for studying migrant and minority populations is that it includes two boost samples (in waves 1 and 6), which ensure a large enough sample size for the detailed analysis of the five main largest ethnic groups in the UK (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Caribbean, and African) (McFall et al., 2019).

Information on individuals' residential mobility and tenure change is available from the panel waves. Individuals report the year and month of moving to their current home when they first participate in the UKHLS. After this, if their address changed between two waves, they are asked to report the year and month of this change. Corresponding changes in the type of housing tenure are recorded in the household questionnaire.

We observe individuals from the age at which they first enter the UKHLS until age 50 or last observation, whichever comes first. We analyse original and permanent sample members and exclude individuals who were born before 1940 as well as those who have only participated in one wave. We also exclude those who were not yet 16 at the time of the first interview, who do not have information on their time of birth or conception, who had a child or a union before age 16, or who have missing information on the sex variable. The analytical sample consists of 16,036 women and 12,592 men.

Methods and analytical strategy

We conduct the analyses in two steps. First, we estimate piecewise constant hazard models to study the risk of residential changes among women and men from different migrant generations and origin countries. Individuals can experience more than one residential change during the observation period. The model is specified as:

$$\ln \mu_{im}(t) = \ln \mu_0(t) + \sum_j \alpha_j x_{ijm} + \sum_l \beta_l w_{ilm}(t) \qquad (1)$$

where $\mu_{im}(t)$ is the hazard of a residential change of order *m* (first order or higher) for individual *i*, $\ln \mu_0(t)$ is the baseline log-hazard, which is specified as piecewise constant. For first residential moves, the baseline is individuals' age using a categorical age variable. For higher order moves, it is time since previous move. We also adjust the analysis for the order of moves. One could model repeated transitions by estimating separate order-specific models. However, this would lead to inefficient estimates for higher order transitions due to a small number of events and an increasingly selective risk population. Instead, we analyse the risk of repeated residential changes within the same model, and we correct the standard errors of the parameter estimates for clustering (i.e., transitions are nested within individuals). Time-constant variables are denoted by x_{ijm} whereas time-varying variables are represented by w_{ilm}.

Second, we disaggregate the risk of moving by the destination tenure type using a competing risks model. We estimate the risk of moving to five competing tenure types: 1) homeownership, 2) sharing, 3) private renting, 4) social renting, and 5) other[1]. The model has the specification:

$$\ln \mu_{im}^{k}(t) = \ln \mu_0(t) + \sum_j \alpha_j x_{ijm} + \sum_l \beta_l w_{ilm}(t) + \gamma_k z_i \quad (1)$$

where μ_{im}^{k} denotes the risk of experiencing a housing tenure transition of type k of order *m* for individual i. We used an extended dataset, where each individual has *k* records, to model these competing outcomes simultaneously (Cleves et al. 2016). To estimate the risk of moving to different housing tenure types among individuals from different migrant generations and origin countries, we include an interaction term $\gamma_k z_i$ where z_i denotes a combination of migrant generation and origin and γ_k is a transition-specific parameter to measure its effect. The model assumes a common baseline (or age pattern) for all housing tenure transitions, but the risk of each transition can vary by migrant generation and origin. As in the previous analytical step, individuals can experience repeated changes in housing tenure. To account for repeated transitions being nested within individuals, we correct the standard errors of the parameter estimates for this clustering.

We estimate separate models for women and men as we are interested in gender differences in residential mobility and housing patterns. Additionally, women and men may be part of the same couple, and it is not obvious how pooled analyses could take account of such clustering given that we already cluster at the individual-level.

Variables

In the first part of the analysis, we study the timing and occurrence of residential changes. Following Mikolai and Kulu (2018), we define residential change as a change in residence (i.e.,

[1] Although we estimate the risks of moving to 'other' tenure types and show the results in Appendix Tables A3 and A4, we do not depict nor discuss these results in the Results section as this is a residual and potentially heterogeneous category. These results contribute little to our understanding of immigrants' and their descendants residential and housing experiences but would further increase the complexity and reduce the readability of the Figures.

a move) or a change in tenure type (without a residential move; e.g., purchasing a rented property). Ignoring changes in tenure type without a move would lead to the exclusion of a substantial share (around 20%) of residential and tenure changes. We have information on the year and month of residential moves, but no information is available on the year and month of a change in housing tenure. If there is a move and a tenure change between two waves, we assumed that the tenure change took place in the same year and month as the move. If there is no move but a tenure change, we assumed that the tenure change took place 6 months before the interview. If there is a move but no tenure change, individuals are coded as moving to a new dwelling that has the same tenure type as the previous dwelling at the time of the move (e.g., a move from a privately rented dwelling to another privately rented dwelling). We use the terms residential change, residential mobility, and moving interchangeably throughout the paper.

In the second part of the analysis, we focus on the destination tenure type, which can be homeownership (owned outright or with a mortgage), private renting (furnished or unfurnished), social renting (renting from local authority, housing association, or employer), or other. Information on housing tenure comes from the household questionnaire. This implies that all individuals residing in the same household will be assigned the same housing tenure. For example, if only one member of a couple owns the home, the other partner will also be recorded as having homeownership as their housing tenure even though they themselves are not homeowners. Similarly, if young adults co-reside with homeowner parents, their tenure type will be recorded as homeowner. To avoid this imprecision in the analysis, we define a separate housing tenure category for such cases, which we refer to as 'sharing'. We identify individuals who live in a dwelling that is owned by someone else in the household using information on the personal ID numbers of household members who are homeowners. If an individual lives in a property that is owned but they themselves are not listed as owners of this property, they are coded as 'sharing'.

The baseline for first residential changes is individuals' age, measured as a categorical variable (15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, and 45-49). For higher order moves, the baseline is time since previous move (0-1 year, 1-3 years, 3-5 years, or 5+ years), and we also control for the order of moves (whether it was a third or higher order residential change). These variables are time-varying.

Our key independent variable of interest is migrant generation and origin. We construct a time-constant variable, which combines information on migrant generation (first or second generation) and individuals' country of origin. Immigrants are those individuals, who were born outside the UK regardless of whether they arrived in the UK as adults or children (i.e., the 1.5 generation). Individuals in the second generation (also called the descendants of immigrants) are those, who were born in the UK to at least one immigrant parent. We compare immigrants' and their descendants' experiences to each other as well as to those of the native population, i.e., individuals who were born in the UK to two UK-born parents. Individuals'

migration background is established using information on the mothers' and individuals' country of birth. If an individuals' country of birth is missing, we impute it using self-reported ethnicity. If the mother is UK-born, or no information is available on her country of birth, we use information on the father's country of birth. If the respondent is UK-born and information on the country of birth of both parents is missing or it is only available for one UK-born parent, we use information on individuals' own ethnicity. Immigrants' and their descendants' migration background is grouped as being from European and other Western countries, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Caribbean countries, African countries, and other countries (see Appendix Table A5 for more information on origin countries included in each category). We also define a category for the native population. The resulting variable has 15 categories.

Additionally, we adjust the analysis for a range of variables that have been shown to influence individuals' residential mobility and housing transitions. We control for the tenure type of the origin dwelling (homeownership, sharing, private renting, and social renting), individuals' partnership status (single, cohabiting, married, and separated or widowed), number of children (no children, 1 child, 2 children, and 3+ children), level of education (coded as low (below completed A-levels), medium (A-levels), and high (university degree or other higher degrees)), and employment status (employed (full- or part-time), self-employed, in full-time education, unemployed (unemployed or looking for work), other (retired, maternity/paternity leave, looking after family, long-term sick/disabled, on a government training scheme, or something else)). All control variables are time-varying.

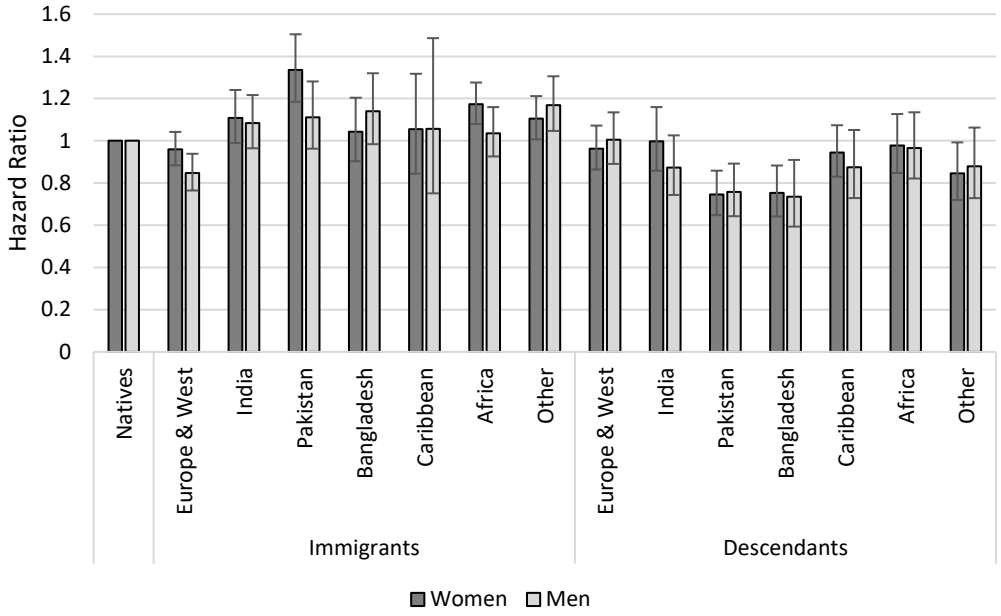
Results

Risk of a residential move

Table A1 in the Appendix shows the number of events and risk time by covariate categories among women and men. Native women and men contributed the largest share of person-months and number of events, but we have enough events among all migrant and descendant groups to conduct detailed analyses on their residential experiences. Figure 1 shows the results of the event history model as hazard ratios. We show results for women and men on the same figure, but these models were estimated separately. The reference category are native men and native women; the risk of all other groups to experience a residential change are compared to the risks of native men and women, respectively.

Overall, immigrants are as likely to experience a residential change as natives and this pattern holds across both genders. The only exception are women from Pakistan and African countries, who are significantly more likely to move than native women. However, immigrant men from European and Western counties have lower residential mobility levels than native men. Among the descendants of immigrants, again, most groups have residential mobility levels similar to those of the native population. However, two groups have significantly lower residential mobility levels: women and men of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin.

Figure 1. Relative risk of a residential move among women and men by migrant generation and origin



Notes: Separate models for women and men. The reference category are native women and native men. The analysis is adjusted for age, time since previous move, order of move, housing tenure, partnership status, parity, level of education, and employment status. Full model results are shown in Appendix Table A2.
Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Risk of moving to different tenure types

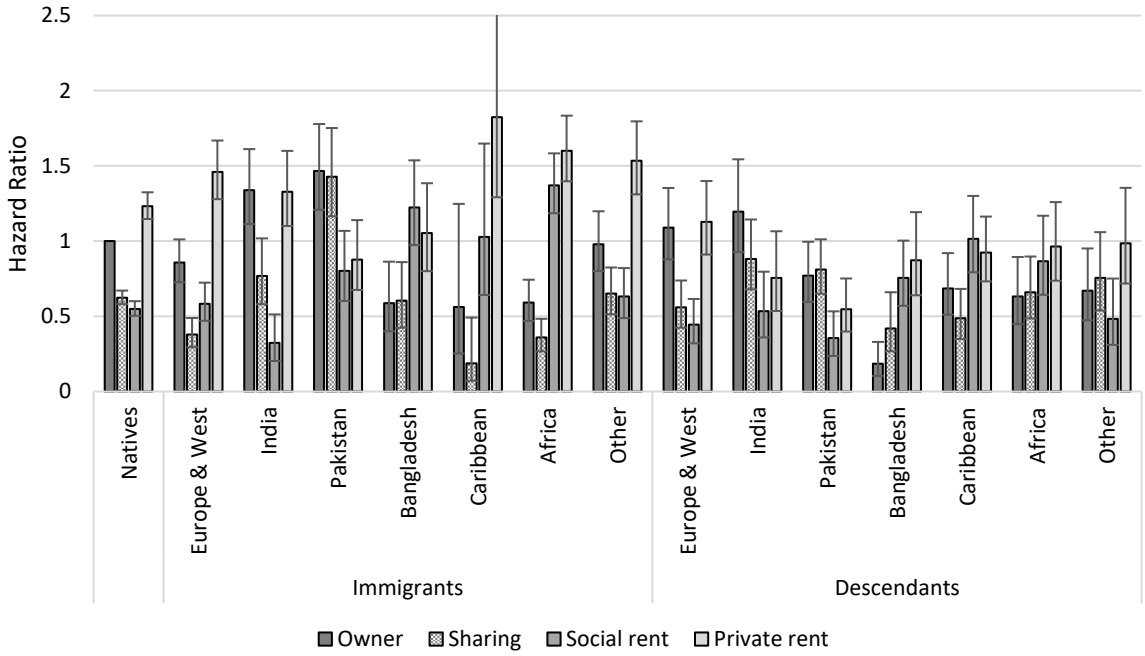
Next, we disaggregate the risks of experiencing a residential change by the tenure type of the destination dwelling. Table A3 shows the number of moves to different tenure types among female and male immigrants and descendants from different origin countries. Again, we have a sufficient number of events among each origin group and gender to conduct these analyses. Figures 2 and 3 show the relative risks of women and men to move to different housing tenure types, respectively, by migrant generation and origin.

Native women are most likely to move to private renting, followed by homeownership; they are the least likely to move to sharing with others or social renting (Figure 2). Compared to native women, overall, immigrant women are less likely to move to homeownership and more likely to move to renting. This is especially the case among women from Bangladesh, Caribbean, and African countries. Notable exceptions are immigrant women from India and Pakistan, who have higher risks of moving to homeownership than native women. Pakistani immigrant women also stand out as having a high risk of moving to shared accommodation that is owned by someone else as well as having a lower risk of moving to private renting, but higher risks of moving to social renting than native women. Additionally, among immigrant women from Bangladesh, Caribbean, and African countries, the risk of moving to social renting is the highest among all groups.

The likelihood of moving to private and social renting is lower, and moving to homeownership higher, among the descendants of immigrants when compared to immigrants. However, the group differences still persist. Women of Bangladeshi, Caribbean, and African descent are less likely to move to homeownership and more likely to move to social housing than other groups.

The patterns among immigrant men are similar to those of immigrant women from the same origin countries (Figure 3). However, there are a few notable exceptions. For example, immigrant men tend to exhibit a relatively high risk of moving to private renting, which is likely related to their migration patterns, i.e. compared to women many arrive in the UK as singles. Further, fewer of them are in shared accommodation. We find fewer gender differences among the descendants of different origin regarding their risks of moving to different housing tenure types.

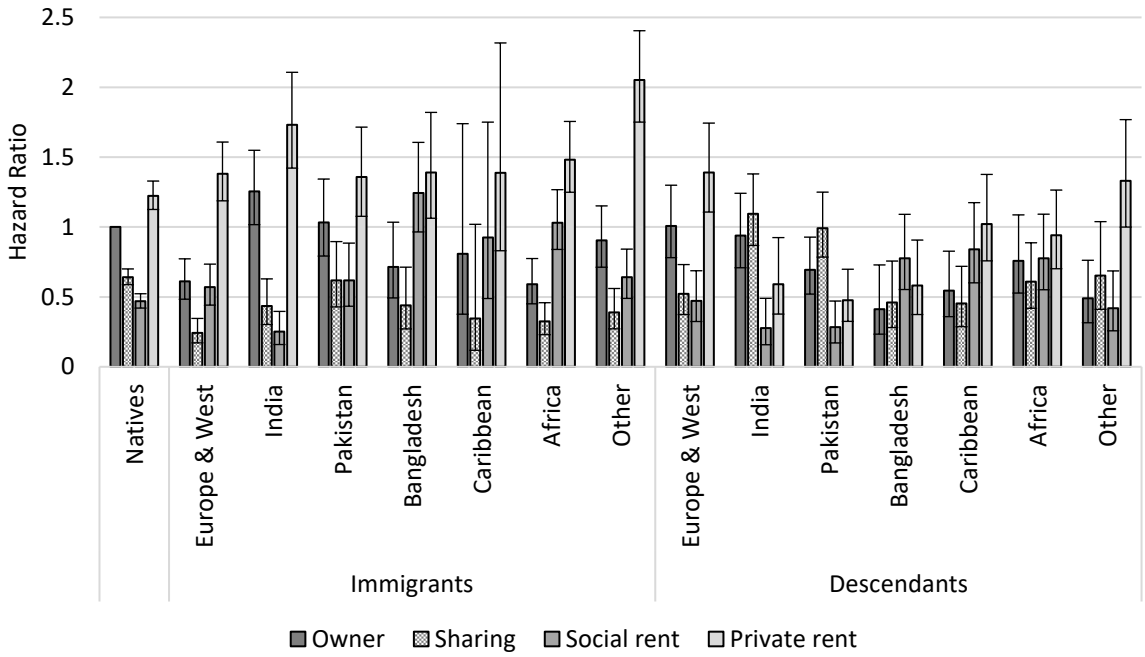
Figure 2. Relative risk of moving to different housing tenure types by migrant generation and origin, women



Notes: The reference category is the risk of native women to move to homeownership. The analysis is adjusted for age, time since previous move, order of move, housing tenure, partnership status, parity, level of education, and employment status. Full model results are shown in Appendix Table A4.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Figure 3. Relative risk of moving to different housing tenure types by migrant generation and origin, men



Notes: The reference category is the risk of native men to move to homeownership. The analysis is adjusted for age, time since previous move, order of move, housing tenure, partnership status, parity, level of education, and employment status. Full model results are shown in Appendix Table A4.
Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

The effects of covariates are largely expected. Residential mobility is the highest in ages 20-24 and declines by an age (see Table A2). Residential mobility levels by duration of residence follow an inverted U shape: they increase first, reach their maximum at 1 to 3 years since last move and then decline. Regarding family status separated individuals have higher mobility than partnered and single individuals. Highly educated individuals are more mobile than low or medium educated people. Finally, private renters have the highest, and homeowners the lowest, residential mobility levels, as expected.

Conclusion and discussion

In this study, we investigated residential and housing changes among immigrants and their descendants in the UK. We adopted a longitudinal approach and examined patterns both among immigrants and their descendants. The analysis showed, first, that most immigrants and their descendants have residential mobility levels similar to those of the native UK population (UK-born individuals with two UK-born parents). Only the descendants of immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh have relatively low residential mobility. Second, we observed heterogeneity in housing tenure patterns among immigrants. Immigrants from continental Europe and India are most likely to move to private renting or homeownership; their patterns are relatively similar to those of the native population. In contrast, immigrants from

Bangladesh, Caribbean, and African countries are most likely to move to social and private renting. Third, the likelihood of moving to private or social renting declines among the descendants of immigrants and that of moving to homeownership increases, but the group differences still persist.

We expected to observe some residential instability among immigrants, but this was not the case. Is the lack of residential instability an indicator of their successful integration? It is important to note that we did not distinguish immigrants by their duration in the UK. Given the nature of the survey the group is dominated by those who arrived in the pre-2009 period, and we followed them between 2009 and 2019. Briefly, we can conclude from the results that residential mobility levels for immigrants at medium and longer durations are very similar to those of the native population. How to interpret low residential mobility among some descendant groups, especially those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin? First, low residential mobility may be an indicator of the lack of opportunities. Even if they have educational levels similar to those of the native population they may have poorer employment prospects, e.g. because of discrimination. However, the finding that low mobility levels are not characteristic to other minority groups, such as people of Caribbean descent, challenges the previous argument. Second, it is likely that ethnic communities may play a role. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi population in the UK live in a few cities (e.g. Bradford, Birmingham, Glasgow, Luton) and have relatively high levels of residential segregation. Previous research on Pakistanis show that they prefer to stay together with their families until space constraints do not allow this anymore (Bowes et al., 2002).

Higher mobility to private and social housing among immigrants is not surprising. Overall, immigrants have lower homeownership levels. First, they have had less time to accumulate resources than the native population, especially if they have arrived in older ages. They are also less likely to inherit any property. Second, some of them may be uncertain about whether they are staying in their country of residence or not; at least in the beginning many may intend to return to their homeland.

The finding that homeownership levels are higher among the descendants than the immigrants is very much consistent with the discussion above. However, some groups still have relatively low homeownership levels. This may be an indicator of their disadvantage due to wider economic and structural factors. Equally, it is possible that intergenerational factors are important. Their parents are tenants and thus have less resources to pass over than owners. Second, intergenerational transmission of values may play a role. Previous research shows that children of homeowners have a desire to become homeowners also themselves (Mulder et al. 2015).

Overall, the study shows gradual residential and housing assimilation of immigrants and their descendants in the UK, but there are still significant group differences. It is less clear to what extent the group differences are driven by economic-structural factors and to what extent by cultural factors. Our models control for individuals' education, but we have no

information on income. Partnership patterns may also play a role: most immigrants from Europe are married to someone who is part of the native population so we can also expect their residential mobility and housing patterns to resemble those of the native population.

The limitations of our study are as follows. First of all, it would be important to use weights because the UKHLS has a complex sampling design and the minority boost samples come from high ethnic minority concentration areas (McFall et al., 2019). However, we present unweighted results for two reasons. First, it is not straightforward how to incorporate weights in event history analysis where retrospective and prospective information is combined. Second, it is not currently possible to incorporate clustered standard errors at both the individual level and the level of the primary sampling unit (i.e., area).

Second, residential mobility and housing changes are inherently spatial processes. The challenge is that individual-level survey data, which have detailed longitudinal information on residential mobility and housing, do not contain enough individuals per spatial unit to conduct detailed analysis involving both the individual and spatial levels. Other data sources (e.g., Census) which do have information and enough individuals to analyse a finer spatial scale are not longitudinal or would only measure residential change superficially (e.g., every 10 years in the ONS LS). It remains for future data collections to fulfil both of these requirements to allow for detailed longitudinal spatial analysis of residential mobility and housing patterns.

This is the first study to investigate residential and housing changes among immigrants and their descendants in the UK using longitudinal data and distinguishing between immigrants and their descendants. While immigrants and most descendants have residential mobility levels similar to those of the native population, they are more likely to move to renting and less likely to homeownership. For the descendants, this pattern signals either persistent economic disadvantage or intergenerational transmission of resources and values.

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Appendix

Table A1. Number of events and person-months, and rates of residential mobility by categories of variables and gender

	Women			Men		
	Events	Person-months	Rate	Events	Person-months	Rate
Age						
15-19	1,012	85,341	0.012	825	76,298	0.011
20-24	2,069	102,191	0.020	1,560	85,947	0.018
25-29	1,843	101,172	0.018	1,264	72,405	0.017
30-34	1,826	132,038	0.014	1,304	88,395	0.015
35-39	1,694	148,280	0.011	1,190	104,208	0.011
40-44	1,465	161,186	0.009	1,149	120,547	0.010
45-49	1,283	161,425	0.008	939	121,824	0.008
Time since previous move						
No move	6,221	116,207	0.054	4,595	455,354	0.010
0-1 year	1,813	106,982	0.017	1,333	84,436	0.016
1-3 years	2,382	40,328	0.059	1,720	77,658	0.022
3-5 years	563	21,059	0.027	399	29,050	0.014
5+ years	213	607,057	0.000	184	23,126	0.008
Order of move						
First or second move	9,263	787,068	0.012	6,841	593,208	0.012
Third+ move	1,929	104,565	0.018	1,390	76,416	0.018
Migration background						
Natives	6,711	564,294	0.012	5,034	427,749	0.012
1G Europe & West	683	48,460	0.014	427	31,625	0.014
1G India	317	19,972	0.016	287	17,587	0.016
1G Pakistan	378	22,105	0.017	226	16,618	0.014
1G Bangladesh	239	17,950	0.013	218	15,747	0.014
1G Caribbean	80	5,971	0.013	32	2,319	0.014
1G Africa	684	41,708	0.016	436	27,698	0.016
1G Other	452	27,757	0.016	357	20,777	0.017
2G Europe & West	354	31,347	0.011	276	23,932	0.012
2G India	225	19,308	0.012	176	17,053	0.010
2G Pakistan	261	24,671	0.011	206	20,680	0.010
2G Bangladesh	159	13,631	0.012	106	10,526	0.010
2G Caribbean	254	23,592	0.011	135	12,427	0.011
2G Africa	252	18,461	0.014	183	14,236	0.013
2G Other	143	12,406	0.012	132	10,650	0.012
Housing tenure						
Homeowner	2,286	364,317	0.006	1,670	280,909	0.006
Sharing	2,664	178,595	0.015	1,836	148,555	0.012
Social rent	2,022	189,557	0.011	1,297	113,887	0.011
Private rent	3,770	151,909	0.025	3,051	119,393	0.026
Other and missing	450	7,254	0.062	377	6,880	0.055
Partnership status						

Single	3,489	233,285	0.015	3,028	222,117	0.014
Cohabiting	1,307	99,877	0.013	1,049	75,190	0.014
Married	4,384	416,571	0.011	2,979	305,077	0.010
Separated	2,012	141,899	0.014	1,175	67,241	0.017
Parity						
No child	4,985	324,977	0.015	4,619	328,864	0.014
One child	1,906	143,770	0.013	1,250	98,060	0.013
Two children	2,395	244,736	0.010	1,411	146,681	0.010
Three+ children	1,906	178,150	0.011	951	96,020	0.010
Level of education						
Low	4,722	381,447	0.012	3,418	290,439	0.012
Medium	2,558	185,517	0.014	2,062	151,952	0.014
High	3,912	324,670	0.012	2,751	227,234	0.012
Employment status						
Employed	6,026	517,019	0.012	5,079	425,853	0.012
Self-employed	489	43,650	0.011	854	76,546	0.011
In full-time education	1,379	96,996	0.014	1,157	79,362	0.015
Unemployed	777	49,813	0.016	703	52,940	0.013
Other	2,521	184,156	0.014	438	34,924	0.013
Total	11,192	891,633	0.013	8,231	669,624	0.012

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Table A2. Relative risks of a residential change by covariate categories and gender

	Women			Men		
	HR	Std. Err.	Sig	HR	Std. Err.	Sig
Age						
15-19 (ref)	1			1		
20-24	1.443	0.061	***	1.502	0.071	***
25-29	1.282	0.065	***	1.360	0.078	***
30-34	1.109	0.060		1.266	0.078	***
35-39	1.041	0.059		1.089	0.071	
40-44	0.917	0.053		1.028	0.068	
45-49	0.873	0.052	*	0.878	0.060	
Time since previous move						
No move (ref)	1			1		
0-1 year	0.965	0.030		0.975	0.035	
1-3 years	1.638	0.046	***	1.653	0.054	***
3-5 years	1.207	0.054	***	1.236	0.066	***
5+ years	0.961	0.069		0.832	0.066	*
Order of move						
First or second move (ref)	1			1		
Third+ move	1.035	0.030		0.981	0.033	
Migration background						
Natives (ref)	1			1		
1G Europe & West	0.960	0.040		0.847	0.044	**
1G India	1.108	0.064		1.083	0.064	
1G Pakistan	1.335	0.081	***	1.110	0.081	
1G Bangladesh	1.043	0.077		1.140	0.085	
1G Caribbean	1.054	0.120		1.057	0.184	
1G Africa	1.174	0.050	***	1.036	0.060	
1G Other	1.104	0.052	*	1.169	0.066	**
2G Europe & West	0.962	0.053		1.005	0.062	
2G India	0.998	0.077		0.873	0.072	
2G Pakistan	0.746	0.054	***	0.757	0.063	**
2G Bangladesh	0.753	0.061	***	0.735	0.080	**
2G Caribbean	0.944	0.062		0.875	0.082	
2G Africa	0.977	0.071		0.965	0.080	
2G Other	0.845	0.069	*	0.880	0.085	
Housing tenure						
Homeowner	0.308	0.009	***	0.270	0.009	***
Sharing	0.674	0.019	***	0.569	0.020	***
Social rent	0.482	0.014	***	0.511	0.018	***
Private rent (ref)	1			1		
Other and missing	2.769	0.130	***	2.473	0.129	***
Partnership status						
Single (ref)	1			1		
Cohabiting	1.016	0.039		1.156	0.051	**

Married	1.115	0.039	**	1.107	0.048	*
Separated	1.246	0.045	***	1.472	0.064	***
Parity						
No child (ref)	1			1		
One child	0.944	0.029		1.094	0.042	*
Two children	0.861	0.028	***	1.009	0.040	
Three+ children	0.902	0.034	**	1.030	0.048	
Level of education						
Low (ref)	1			1		
Medium	1.061	0.027	*	1.124	0.034	***
High	1.134	0.030	***	1.213	0.037	***
Employment status						
Employed (ref)	1					
Self-employed	1.029	0.050		0.976	0.037	
In full-time education	0.976	0.037		1.189	0.051	***
Unemployed	1.127	0.044	**	0.964	0.041	
Other	1.115	0.030	***	1.013	0.053	
Constant	0.017	0.001	***	0.015	0.001	***

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.

Notes: HR = Hazard ratio; Std. Err. = Standard error; Sig. = significance level.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Table A3. Number of moves to different housing tenure types by migrant generation and origin, and gender

	Women						**Men**					
	Homeowner	Sharing	Social rent	Private rent	Other	Total	Homeowner	Sharing	Social rent	Private rent	Other	Total
Natives	1,438	922	674	1,759	241	5,034	1,891	1,181	1,040	2,331	268	6,711
1G Europe & West	88	35	82	199	23	427	172	76	117	293	25	683
1G India	95	33	19	131	9	287	108	62	26	107	14	317
1G Pakistan	60	36	36	79	15	226	117	114	64	70	13	378
1G Bangladesh	39	24	68	76	11	218	38	39	79	68	15	239
1G Caribbean	7	<5	8	12	<5	32	12	<5	22	39	<5	80
1G Africa	71	39	124	178	24	436	97	59	225	263	40	684
1G Other	79	34	56	179	9	357	113	75	73	177	14	452
2G Europe & West	79	41	37	109	10	276	113	58	46	117	20	354
2G India	54	63	16	34	9	176	76	56	34	48	11	225
2G Pakistan	54	77	22	37	16	206	76	80	35	54	16	261
2G Bangladesh	17	19	32	24	14	106	11	25	45	52	26	159
2G Caribbean	24	20	37	45	9	135	52	37	77	70	18	254
2G Africa	41	33	42	51	16	183	46	48	63	70	25	252
2G Other	21	28	18	57	8	132	32	36	23	47	5	143
Total	2,167	1,407	1,271	2,970	416	8,231	2,954	1,950	1,969	3,806	513	11,192

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Table A4. Relative risks of a move to different types of housing tenure by migrant generation and origin, and gender

	Women			Men		
	HR	Std. Err.	Sig	HR	Std. Err.	Sig
Migration background x event type						
Natives x homeowner (ref)	1			1		
1G Europe & West x homeowner	0.858	0.072		0.611	0.073	***
1G India x homeowner	1.340	0.127	**	1.255	0.135	*
1G Pakistan x homeowner	1.466	0.144	***	1.032	0.139	
1G Bangladesh x homeowner	0.588	0.115	**	0.714	0.135	
1G Caribbean x homeowner	0.561	0.229		0.809	0.316	
1G Africa x homeowner	0.591	0.069	***	0.591	0.082	***
1G Other x homeowner	0.980	0.101		0.906	0.111	
2G Europe & West x homeowner	1.090	0.120		1.007	0.131	
2G India x homeowner	1.196	0.156		0.938	0.134	
2G Pakistan x homeowner	0.771	0.101	*	0.695	0.102	*
2G Bangladesh x homeowner	0.185	0.055	***	0.413	0.120	**
2G Caribbean x homeowner	0.686	0.103	*	0.545	0.116	**
2G Africa x homeowner	0.633	0.112	*	0.757	0.140	
2G Other x homeowner	0.671	0.119	*	0.490	0.110	**
Natives x sharing	0.625	0.023	***	0.641	0.029	***
1G Europe & West x sharing	0.379	0.049	***	0.243	0.044	***
1G India x sharing	0.769	0.110		0.436	0.081	***
1G Pakistan x sharing	1.429	0.149	**	0.619	0.117	*
1G Bangladesh x sharing	0.604	0.109	**	0.439	0.109	**
1G Caribbean x sharing	0.187	0.092	**	0.347	0.191	
1G Africa x sharing	0.359	0.055	***	0.324	0.057	***
1G Other x sharing	0.650	0.079	***	0.390	0.072	***
2G Europe & West x sharing	0.560	0.079	***	0.523	0.090	***
2G India x sharing	0.881	0.117		1.094	0.129	
2G Pakistan x sharing	0.811	0.092		0.991	0.117	
2G Bangladesh x sharing	0.420	0.097	***	0.461	0.117	**
2G Caribbean x sharing	0.488	0.083	***	0.454	0.106	**
2G Africa x sharing	0.661	0.103	**	0.609	0.117	*
2G Other x sharing	0.755	0.130		0.653	0.155	
Natives x private rent	0.550	0.025	***	0.469	0.026	***
1G Europe & West x private rent	0.583	0.064	***	0.569	0.074	***
1G India x private rent	0.323	0.076	***	0.251	0.058	***
1G Pakistan x private rent	0.802	0.117		0.619	0.113	**
1G Bangladesh x private rent	1.223	0.143		1.244	0.162	
1G Caribbean x private rent	1.029	0.248		0.925	0.301	
1G Africa x private rent	1.370	0.101	***	1.032	0.108	
1G Other x private rent	0.633	0.084	**	0.642	0.089	**
2G Europe & West x private rent	0.444	0.074	***	0.472	0.091	***
2G India x private rent	0.535	0.109	**	0.278	0.080	***
2G Pakistan x private rent	0.355	0.074	***	0.283	0.073	***
2G Bangladesh x private rent	0.756	0.109		0.777	0.135	

2G Caribbean x private rent	1.015	0.128		0.840	0.144	
2G Africa x private rent	0.867	0.132		0.776	0.135	
2G Other x private rent	0.483	0.109	**	0.420	0.105	**
Natives x social rent	1.233	0.045	***	1.223	0.052	***
1G Europe & West x social rent	1.461	0.099	***	1.382	0.107	***
1G India x social rent	1.327	0.127	**	1.731	0.174	***
1G Pakistan x social rent	0.877	0.117		1.359	0.161	*
1G Bangladesh x social rent	1.053	0.147		1.391	0.191	*
1G Caribbean x social rent	1.824	0.322	**	1.387	0.363	
1G Africa x social rent	1.601	0.111	***	1.481	0.129	***
1G Other x social rent	1.535	0.123	***	2.052	0.166	***
2G Europe & West x social rent	1.129	0.124		1.390	0.161	**
2G India x social rent	0.755	0.133		0.590	0.135	*
2G Pakistan x social rent	0.548	0.088	***	0.476	0.093	***
2G Bangladesh x social rent	0.874	0.139		0.582	0.132	*
2G Caribbean x social rent	0.923	0.109		1.021	0.156	
2G Africa x social rent	0.963	0.132		0.942	0.142	
2G Other x social rent	0.986	0.160		1.330	0.193	
Natives x other	0.142	0.009	***	0.168	0.012	***
1G Europe & West x other	0.125	0.024	***	0.160	0.033	***
1G India x other	0.174	0.051	***	0.119	0.039	***
1G Pakistan x other	0.163	0.044	***	0.258	0.064	***
1G Bangladesh x other	0.232	0.057	***	0.201	0.058	***
1G Caribbean x other	0.140	0.077	***	0.231	0.155	*
1G Africa x other	0.244	0.037	***	0.200	0.041	***
1G Other x other	0.121	0.032	***	0.103	0.034	***
2G Europe & West x other	0.193	0.041	***	0.127	0.039	***
2G India x other	0.173	0.062	***	0.156	0.050	***
2G Pakistan x other	0.162	0.038	***	0.206	0.048	***
2G Bangladesh x other	0.437	0.078	***	0.340	0.085	***
2G Caribbean x other	0.237	0.060	***	0.204	0.070	***
2G Africa x other	0.344	0.067	***	0.295	0.069	***
2G Other x other	0.105	0.046	***	0.187	0.062	***
Constant	0.005	0.000	***	0.004	0.000	***

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.

Notes: HR = Hazard ratio; Std. Err. = Standard error; Sig. = significance level.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), 2009-2019.

Table A5. List of origin countries used to create categories of the migrant origin variable

Region of origin	**Origin countries**
Europe & Western countries	France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Spain, Poland, Cyprus, Turkey, Portugal, Albania, Armenia, Austria, Belarus, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Channel Islands, Australia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Gibraltar, Greece, Hungary, Jersey, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldova, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Canada, USA
India	India
Pakistan	Pakistan
Bangladesh	Bangladesh
Caribbean countries	Jamaica, Anguilla, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Guadeloupe, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Montserrat, Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago
African countries	Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Zaire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Zambia, Zimbabwe
Other countries	Afghanistan, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bermuda, Brazil, Brunei, Cambodia, Chile, China/Hong Kong, Colombia, Dubai, Ecuador, El Salvador, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Japan, Jordan, Kashmir, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Malaysia, Martinique, Mexico, Myanmar, Nepal, Palestine, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, St Helena, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Tuvalu, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Venezuela, Vietnam, West Indies, Yemen