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Transregional spouses, parents and children: How gender and family shape return migration in the French overseas

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Abstract

This paper explores the role of migrants' family dynamics over the life cycle on their decisions to return focusing on three dimensions: relationship status, children and intergenerational solidarities. It brings a unique contribution to migration studies by investigating whether these mechanisms differ for male and female migrants. Combining two surveys (*Migration Family Ageing* and *Trajectories and Origins*) collected in the origin and destination regions, we study return behaviours of migrants born in the French Overseas departments (DOM) moving from metropolitan France back to their DOM of birth. Contrasting with traditional research which tends to restrict the analysis of family considerations to female migrants, our findings show that family experiences affect return migrations for both men and women, yet in different ways. While partnering, breaking-up and having children affect the returns of both men and women, only female migrants are more likely to return when their parent(s) live in the DOM. This could draw back to a gendered distribution of family roles and responsibilities, but also to gendered networks with stronger ties between female migrants and their parents.

KEYWORDS

family, French overseas departments, gender, intergenerational solidarity, kin ties, return migration

1 | INTRODUCTION

Return migration trajectories are of particular interest to rethink classical migration theories as they underline the dynamic nature of migration decisions and how they relate to biographic temporalities (Caron, 2019; Domenach et al., 1987; Lenoël et al., 2020).¹ Neglected for a long time, studies on temporary migration now flourish (Cerase, 1974; Dustmann & Görlach, 2016; Gmelch, 1980; Jeffery & Murison, 2011; King, 1978). However, gender remains overlooked

by the vast majority of the literature on return migration (Girma, 2017; King & Lulle, 2021). Symmetrically, research on gender and international migration—which has largely developed since the 1980s (Catarino & Morokvasic, 2005; Donato et al., 2006; Herrera, 2013; Morokvašic, 1984)—hardly pays attention to return migration patterns. In particular, little is known on the ways family ties and constraints may differently shape return strategies for male and female migrants.

Founding theories on migration primarily focused on economic determinants, explaining migration as a cost–benefit optimisation strategy (Massey et al., 1993; Todaro, 1969). It is now widely

¹We define return migration as migrants' return movements to their country (or region in this article) of birth, whether this return is permanent or temporary.

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accepted that migrations—including return patterns—are also driven by family motivations and incorporated in migrants' family life-cycle (Kley, 2011; Kulu & Milewski, 2007; Nivalainen, 2004; Tiemoko, 2004). Beyond the case of family reunification migration, family networks reduce migration costs (Boyd, 1989; Palloni et al., 2001), family calendars affect the decision and timing of migration, and at the same time the migration experience itself reconfigures family calendars (Eremenko & González-Ferrer, 2018; Olwig, 2007; Ryan et al., 2009). In parallel, female migrants had long been invisible in migration research (Eberhardt & Schwenken, 2010; Lutz, 2010), depicted as only 'following' the male breadwinner or 'behaving like men' (Carling, 2005). But the growth of the literature on gender and migration has shed essential light on the specificity of their migration experiences, stressing in particular the role of family norms and configurations (De Jong, 2000). In recent decades, progress has been made to integrate an economic perspective in the study of female migrations: women have proven that they could also be active decision-makers searching for new professional opportunities in another country (He & Gerber, 2020; Hofmann & Buckley, 2013), although the influence of patriarchal gender ideology on the decision to migrate remains strong (Hofmann, 2014). As for male migrants however, the normative and constraining role of family remains neglected, especially in the perspective of return migration.

Bearing in mind the above, this paper investigates the role of different dimensions of migrants' family configurations (marital status, children, intergenerational solidarities) on their return. More importantly, we study the gendered differentiation of these mechanisms. Our contribution to the literature is twofold. Firstly, we refine our understanding of return migration by measuring the influence of family structures while accounting for economic dimensions, both at the individual (migrants' employment status at destination) and contextual (the employment differential between origin and destination) levels. Secondly, we move away from a certain type of research on transnational families centred on women that has given more visibility to female migrants but reproduced the dichotomy assigning men to the sphere of economic strategy and women to the sphere of family, care work and emotion (Brown, 2016). By contrast, we investigate the role of economic situations and family compositions on return migration patterns for both men and women, as only such a comparison will allow a better understanding of returns' gendered mechanisms.

We focus on migrants born in four French overseas departments (DOM)—Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana and Reunion Island—moving from metropolitan France back to their DOM of birth. The high prevalence of return migrations among overseas natives (who face no legal barriers to migration within the French territory), together with the fact that the bulk of these flows are directed towards metropolitan France make this case-study a valuable framework to investigate return migration processes. We use a multi-sited bilateral approach combining individual data from two representative surveys conducted by the French Institute for Demographic Studies (INED), one in metropolitan France (*Trajectories and Origins* 2009) and one in the DOM (*Migration, Family, Ageing*

2010). This approach gives a unique opportunity to study determinants of return migration as it provides data on both returnees and migrants who stayed in metropolitan France. Thanks to the detailed retrospective information available in the surveys, we use duration models which allow to jointly consider the timing of individuals' life-cycle and migrations and assess the effect of migrants' family experiences on their chances to return to their DOM of origin.

Our findings demonstrate that family dynamics play a key role in return migration of both men and women, but still translate gendered mechanisms. Life events and family configurations over distant spaces articulate in shaping migrants and nonmigrants' need for support, encouraging migrants' return either to help their relatives or to benefit from their assistance. Having a parent living in the DOM drives women's returns and not men's, which could uncover that female migrants are the main providers of informal elderly care or at least that they maintain stronger relations with their parents left behind. By contrast, assistance-seeking mechanisms surrounding births or break-ups are at least as important for men as they are for women.

2 | THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Extensive research has underlined the variety of return determinants, from sociocultural integration and economic positions at destination to transnational practices with the country of origin (Constant & Massey, 2003; de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; de Haas et al., 2015). The profile of returnees varies depending on the duration of their stay abroad (Bijwaard & Wahba, 2014), and several studies document a bimodal trend of migrants' out-migration both in their first years since arrival and in retirement (Constant & Massey, 2003; Duleep, 1994). Among these diverse motives, migrants' families hold a central place (Dustmann, 2003; Haug, 2008). This goes beyond the case of international migration, as social and family reasons often prevail over economic drivers for residential return migration within the same country (Niedomysl & Amcoff, 2011; Pekkala, 2003). Building on existing work on internal and international migration, this section elicits evidence that returns are strongly linked to migrants' family situations over time, with expectations of gendered patterns, and highlights the lack of systematic research on such gendered mechanisms. We focus on two dimensions: unions—and their potential dissolution, on the one hand, and intergenerational relations tying grandparents, (migrant) parents and children, on the other hand.

2.1 | Couple formation and dissolution

Research on the relation between unions and returns has mostly focused on married migrants, showing that the origin and location of their partner play a key role in their decision to return. In Germany, the seminal work by Constant and Massey (2003) indicates that migrants whose spouse lives in the country of origin are more likely to return, while having one's partner residing in the country of

destination increases the chances to stay there. More recently, studies have shown that migrants from Morocco and Mexico who did not reunify with their family at destination are more prone to eventually return (De Haas & Fokkema, 2010; Li, 2016), while migrants from the Pacific return less when their spouse is a citizen of another country (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). These mechanisms are likely to be affected by migrants' duration of stay, as they develop social bonds that tie them to the destination region over the course of their stay. Following the straight-line theory, intermarriage plays a key role during the assimilation process and becomes more likely over time (Gordon, 1964). Research has also described how migration increases the risk of union dissolution for migrants (Frank & Wildsmith, 2005; Landale & Ogena, 1995), but less is known on the effect of being single or breaking-up on return patterns for international migration. A notable exception is Bijwaard et al's study in the Netherlands (2014), which underlines that divorce leads to an increase in the probability to return by 30% to 40% for migrants from less developed countries. Similar mechanisms exist for internal migration: separations—especially when they occur within coresidential unions—often trigger residential relocations (Clark, 2013; Feijten & van Ham, 2007; Flowerdew & Al-Hamad, 2004) and especially return to the original location and/or rural areas (Wall & Von Reichert, 2013). The likelihood to move back to the home region after a separation is additionally significantly larger if parents or relatives live there (Mulder et al., 2020; Spring et al., 2021; Zorlu & Kooiman, 2019), and when spouses share the same rural origins (von Reichert et al., 2014).

In terms of gender differences, research shows that family norms influencing the initial migration-decision making vary by gender (De Jong, 2000; Herrera, 2013). Women are generally less likely to migrate alone or when they are single, and more likely to follow their husband or other family members through family reunification (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001; Docquier et al., 2012; Heering et al., 2004). Given the prevalence of family motivations in their migration, women are sometimes referred to as 'tied migrants' (Mincer, 1978), having less bargaining power in the decision to migrate when they are married than their male counterparts (Hoang, 2011). As for returns, with a few exceptions (Constant & Massey, 2003; Reagan & Olsen, 2000), most studies find that female migrants are less likely than men to develop return intentions, whether looking at residential (Newbold & Bell, 2001) or international migrations (Carling & Pettersen, 2014; De Haas & Fokkema, 2010; Paparusso & Ambrosetti, 2017). When they do, returning seems more often associated with family motivations. In Sweden, female family migrants are more likely to return than those who came for economic aspirations (Monti, 2020). The ethnographic work by Olwig (2012) and Vlase (2013) shows that women present themselves first and foremost as good mothers or sisters, migrating abroad and returning home with the same purpose: to take care of their family. By contrast, male migrants describe themselves primarily as workers, and their migration in terms of economic success. Returns from Spain to Bolivia also display a stronger correlation to family life-cycle and care arrangements for women, mirroring 'the prevailing patriarchal

ideology underlying transnational life spaces and power relations between men and women within families' (Buján, 2015; 417).

The gendered effect of union dissolutions is less clear. On the one hand, separations usually result in greater long-term economic disadvantages for women, in particular for housing conditions (Feijten, 2005) and income (Leopold, 2018). In that context, separated female migrants, who are no longer 'tied' to the migration project of their husband, could be more prone to return to find support from family and friends at home: the positive effect of breakups on returns will therefore be larger for female than for male migrants. On the other hand, they could also decide to stay at destination where they may have experienced more freedom and a renegotiation of traditional gender roles and power relations within families (Itzigsohn & Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). Constable (1999) shows for example that living abroad has been an opportunity to get empowerment and independence for some of his Filipina female migrants interviewees living in Hong Kong, as reflected in their ambivalent narratives upon return, torn between their familial responsibilities and feeling 'at home' at destination. Recently separated female migrants will therefore be less likely to return to their DOM of origin than their male counterparts.

The case of DOM migrations to metropolitan France is at the intersection of these streams of literature—between internal and international migrations—and we can anticipate similar mechanisms. Existing studies show that one in eight female migrants and one in 10 male migrants from the DOM has experienced a break-up before returning, with respectively 30% and 16% of them directly citing family issues as a reason for returning (Condon and Beaugendre, 2018). We expect that DOM migrants will be more likely to stay when they are in a relationship with a partner born in metropolitan France rather than a partner from the DOM, and that this effect will be stronger for women (H1). We also expect that experiencing a breakup will trigger their return to their DOM of birth, with mixed effects regarding gender (H2).

2.2 | Family solidarity

A number of studies have documented how children affect the remigration pattern of their parents (Djajić, 2008; Dustmann, 2008). Some studies elicit a negative relationship between having children and returning, although weaker for female migrants (Dustmann, 2003). Qualitative research has suggested that, as children of DOM migrants grow up, their attachment to metropolitan France makes it less likely for parents to return (Byron & Condon, 1996). However, having or expecting a child can also drive migrants to return to seek assistance in caring for their child(ren) from relatives stayed behind and/or raise their children closer to their home culture (Reynolds, 2010; Vlase, 2013). Grandparents are especially important providers of support and childcare for new parents (Hank & Buber, 2009; Vandell et al., 2003). In Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and Reunion Island, the burden of family remoteness is documented to be an important driver of return migration. As gender roles place female

migrants more than male in charge of the family wellbeing in addition to theirs (Hoang, 2011; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014), the association between having children and returning is often stronger for female migrants (Monti, 2020). In the case of migrations from the DOM to metropolitan France, we expect children to have a positive effect on returns in the years surrounding their birth and a negative effect as they grow up, with stronger intensity for female migrants in both cases (H3).

Last, while migrants may return to benefit from their relatives' support, they may also return to provide their relatives with support. As pointed out in the previous section, chances to return—either in international or residential moves—increase when migrants' relatives are living in the home region or country. This relation is stronger when migrants have ageing parents who need special care (Alberts & Hazen, 2005; Şenyürekli & Menjívar, 2012; Zimmer & Knodel, 2010). Many female migrants especially share a guilty feeling that being abroad prevents them from being good mothers or caregivers for their families left behind (Buján, 2015). In our case study, we expect that having parents living in the DOM of birth increases the chances of return, more so for female migrants (H4).

While these different dimensions of family configurations and intergenerational constraints have been studied in the literature on return migration, they have rarely, if ever, been systematically investigated from a gender perspective by testing whether the family life-cycle and its arrangements consistently affect women more than men, as this review of existing studies suggests. This article aims at examining these gendered mechanisms in the case of return migrations from metropolitan France of French overseas natives.

3 | RETURNING FROM METROPOLITAN FRANCE TO THE DOM: A VALUABLE CASE STUDY

In the process of decolonisation in France, some former colonies voted to assimilate and progressively integrated the French nation, forming what we still call the French overseas. This paper focuses on Guadeloupe, Martinique French Guiana and Reunion Island, which became DOM, with theoretically the same rights as any other French departments, as soon as 1946. With no legal barrier to migration, high migration prevalence to metropolitan France, high return rates and family structures still fulfilling key social roles in complement of the State, these four regions offer a heuristic framework to capture the gendered role of family in return migration.

Firstly, this case study allows to specifically investigate the role of family determinants without bias due to political restrictions, which are a determining factor in shaping migration opportunities (Constant, 2020). These internal migrations display reduced costs in comparison to international migrants: no residence or work permits is required; French overseas migrants have grown up speaking French and face little language barrier except for their accent; the less well-off even benefit from financial aid to help them migrate. But they still share much in common with international movements, especially

from the 'South' to the 'North'. Travelling to metropolitan France from any DOM is a long and costly journey (between 8 and 11 h by plane). Moreover, there are many more employment opportunities in metropolitan France than in the DOM: far above the 10% observed in metropolitan France, unemployment rates in the French overseas have stagnated around 25% for the past 10 years (Treyens and Catherine, 2015). Last, migrants from the French overseas face racism and discrimination in metropolitan France due to their skin colour, their accent or representations rooted in the French colonial past (Haddad, 2018; Safi & Simon, 2013).

Second, the DOM display high emigration and return rates, with a long history of State-supported mobility (Domenach et al., 1992). According to the census, 1 in 4 French Caribbean, 1 in 6 Guyanese and 1 in 7 of Reunionese lived in metropolitan France in 2014. The MFV survey (INED, 2010) additionally shows that 30% of DOM natives living in the DOM had lived at least 6 months outside their DOM of birth. The majority (86%) of migrations from the DOM target metropolitan France (Temporal et al., 2011), and most DOM migrants' remigration from metropolitan France targets the DOM (Caron, 2019). This configuration limits the risks of selection bias since determinants of return and onward migration to another destination differ (Caron, 2020; Nekby, 2006; Toma & Castagnone, 2015).

Last, these return migrations prove relevant for our research questions because of the specific family settings that frame them. With scarce childcare or eldercare infrastructures, French overseas families still widely depend on family solidarity, which is challenged when family members migrate (Crouzet, 2018; Observatoire national de la petite enfance, 2020). Break-ups occurring in the year leading to the return are more frequent among female migrants than male migrants (Condon & Beaugendre, 2018). Recent empirical findings suggest that male DOM migrants often find a spouse and have children upon their return, while female DOM migrants face increased chances of breakups and lower chances of getting married or having children when they return (Haddad, 2020).

4 | DATA AND METHOD

4.1 | Building a multi-sited longitudinal data set

Studying return migration ideally requires to have information on both returnees and migrants who stayed at destination. Yet, multi-sited surveys tracking individuals along their migration trajectories are costly and rare. In that context, merging data sets ex-post is one of the best existing strategies (Beauchemin, 2014). We use this approach by combining two different data sets, which provide detailed retrospective information on respondents' migration, family and employment history: the *Migration, Family and Ageing* (MFV, INED) and *Trajectories and Origins* (TeO, INED-INSEE) surveys. The matching of preexisting databases can create problems of comparability in terms of timeframe or for the sampling of respondents. Such issues are virtually nonexistent with these two data sets, as the same

institutions collected and designed them at similar periods, with the idea of making them comparable (many questions are identical in the two surveys).

MFV is a representative survey conducted in the DOM by the INED between 2009 and 2010. The survey collects data on 15,770 respondents living in the DOM and aged between 18 and 79 at the time of the survey. It includes 4729 return migrants and provides detailed biographic information on their timing of migration from and back to the DOM, as well as various dimensions of their life-cycle. *Trajectories and Origins* (TeO) is a nationally representative survey conducted by INED and the French Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) between 2008 and 2009 on a sample of 21,761 individuals between 18 and 60-year old living in metropolitan France. It includes 712 DOM migrants, and covers a variety of topics, in particular migration experience, family background and situation and professional career with precise data on the timing of these events in individual's life-course.

Using this retrospective information, we construct an annual panel that begins in 2001 and ends in 2009. The combination of these two data sets enables us to have comparable information on both DOM migrants who returned to their DOM of origin (included in

the MFV survey) and those who still live in metropolitan France at the time of the survey (included in the TeO survey), and on both female and male migrants. We exclude individuals older than 60 to ensure homogeneity between the surveys. Individuals enter the panel either in 2001 if they emigrated from the DOM in 2001 or before, or the year they emigrated if they emigrated after 2001. They leave the panel when they return to the DOM, or in 2009 if they have not returned over the period. Figure 1 illustrates this transformation of biographical data from the surveys into longitudinal data for our panel with three hypothetical examples including variables on migration histories, relationship status and children.

The aim of this paper is to study the determinants of return migration from metropolitan France. To do this, we estimate discrete-time duration models on the probability for migrants to return to their DOM of origin. The dependent variable is a dummy variable on the timing of return migration: it is coded 1 for year t when individuals return, and 0 otherwise. The duration variable measured in this model is then the number of years spent in metropolitan France since the first arrival. As pointed out earlier, duration of stay at destination plays a key role for understanding return mechanisms. This type of model is therefore the most adapted, as it examines the effect of

ID	Date migrated	Date returned	Date cohabited with partner	Date separated with partner	Date first child	Date second child
001	1987	2007	.	.	2003	.
002	1990	2005	1987	.	1988	1990
003	1983	.	1985	2001	1986	1987



ID	Year	Time spent in migration	Return	Relationship	Expecting	Age of the children
001	2002	15	0	Single	1	No child
001	2003	16	0	Single	0	All under 6
001	2004	17	0	Single	0	All under 6
001	2005	18	0	Single	0	All under 6
001	2006	19	0	Single	0	All under 6
001	2007	20	1	Single	0	All under 6
002	2002	12	0	Older relation	0	Youngest 6 to 18
002	2003	13	0	Older relation	0	Youngest 6 to 18
002	2004	14	0	Older relation	0	Youngest 6 to 18
002	2005	15	1	Older relation	0	Youngest 6 to 18
003	2002	19	0	Recent separation	0	Youngest 6 to 18
003	2003	20	0	Single	0	Youngest 6 to 18
003	2004	21	0	Single	0	Youngest 6 to 18
003	2005	22	0	Single	0	All above 18
003	2006	23	0	Single	0	All above 18
003	2007	24	0	Single	0	All above 18
003	2008	25	0	Single	0	All above 18
003	2009	26	0	Single	0	All above 18

FIGURE 1 From biographical data to longitudinal data for discrete duration analysis

independent variables *over time*, estimating whether they accelerate or slow down the decision to return. In addition, using a dummy variable for each year t allows to take into account the potentially nonlinear effect that migrants' length of stay has on their return. We cluster standard errors by individuals and estimate all regressions applying survey weights.

4.2 | Independent variables and sample description

We use several variables on family configurations to test our hypotheses. Firstly, to examine union trajectories (H2), we control for migrants' union status over time coded into four categories: 'new relationship' when it started between $t-1$ and t , 'recently separated'—between t and $t-1$, 'other couple' for older unions and 'single.' Our data only provide information on the partner's origin (born in the DOM or not) for the most recent union if the union is still going on in 2009. Therefore, we conduct another series of analyses on a restricted sample excluding individuals who had more than one relationship and/or whose unions ended between 2001 and 2009 to differentiate the effect of the relationships based on the origin of the partner (H1). Secondly, to study the effect of children on return patterns (H3), we include three variables: one to capture the prevalence of traditional family values, one to capture the effect of children while they grow up and one to capture anticipations related to the arrival of a newborn. For the first dimension, we use a dummy variable indicating if the migrant has three children or more. For the second dimension, we use a categorical variable measuring the age of migrants' children (no child; all children are under 6; at least one child is under 18; all children are more than 18-year old). For the third dimension, we use a dummy variable indicating if the migrant is expecting child (1 if a child is born in $t+1$; 0 otherwise). All these variables are time variant. Third, to examine the role of (potentially dependent) parents (H4), we control for the number of migrant's siblings and the number of siblings living in the DOM (to account for scenarios when siblings take care of the parent, thus mitigating the family duties of the migrant), as well as a dummy indicating if at least one parent is living in the DOM. Those variables are time-variant as well.

To capture effective links maintained with the DOM, we add two dummy variables indicating if the migrant sends or receives money in or from the DOM. Indeed, financial support received from migrants is an important manifestation of bonding social capital (Ortensi & Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2022). Besides, remittances can ensure informal social protection to relatives at origin, and, the other way around, migrants overseas can also be the receivers of 'reverse remittances' (Mazzucato, 2011) and financial and social support from those left behind (Palash & Baby-Collin, 2019; Serra Mingot & Mazzucato, 2017). In the MFV survey, transfers are measured by asking respondents if they regularly sent (respectively received) money to (from) the DOM over the course of their stay in metropolitan France. In the TeO survey, transfers are measured by asking respondents if they regularly sent (respectively received) money from the DOM during the 12 months before the interviews.

Our two dummy variables measuring transfers are therefore time-invariant. The relative lack of details of these variables (in particular, no retrospective data on the timing and frequency of these money transfers, or more information on the persons involved in the DOM and their relation to the migrants) prevents us from digging further into the complexity of the mechanisms underlying these origin-destination money transfers. In this paper, we rather use these variables only to control for the intensity of the transnational links between migrants and their relatives living in the DOM, which are likely to shape potential support and care they would need to provide or they can receive, and therefore intentions to return.

We also control for migrants' DOM of origin, birth cohort, age group,² and educational attainment. For each year t in our reconstructed panel data, this last variable indicates the highest level of degree obtained when migrants have completed their studies, and 'student' for the years when they are still studying. We distinguish individuals unemployed which is a strong predictor of return migration (Bijwaard & Schluter, 2014; Caron & Ichou, 2020; Constant & Massey, 2003). For migrants who did several stays in metropolitan France, these variables are constructed considering only the last stay for which we have the most detailed information. The models then control for multiple migrations: they can affect socioeconomic trajectories (Aradhya et al., 2017) and back-and-forth movements between metropolitan France and the region of origin are likely to be driven by distinct logics than a permanent return (Bolzman et al., 2006).

We additionally use data from the French Labour Force Surveys (INSEE) from 2001 to 2009 to create contextual indicators of unemployment rates comparing metropolitan France and migrant's DOM of origin for each year of our period of observation. Research shows that push-pull mechanisms, such as differential in job opportunities, affect return migrations (Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996) and that migrants sometimes postpone their return when the economic situation at origin deteriorates (Flahaux, 2015). All models control for the difference in unemployment rate between the DOM of birth and metropolitan France calculated in year $t-1$, as return migrations happening in t are likely to be based on previous labour market conditions. The unemployment rate remains higher in each of the four DOM over the period (see Table A1 in Appendix). Despite a slight downward trend, this gap does not systematically decrease from 1 year to the next, preventing from collinearity with time. With this set of control variables, we account for micro (whether migrants are unemployed in metropolitan France) and macro (the evolution of the unemployment gap over the period) economic situations, ensuring that we focus on the role of family configurations on return patterns.

Table 1 describes the main characteristics of the two samples used in the analyses. Returns to the DOM are slightly more frequent

²Age is often positively associated with return migration as a significant number of immigrants plan to spend their retirement in their country of origin (Cobb-Clark & Stillman, 2013), especially in the DOM (Bessy & Riche, 1993). These specific pattern of return migrations are yet not observed in our analysis, as the construction of the panel mechanically imposes an age threshold of 51.

TABLE 1 Sample description (person-years)

	Full sample		Restriction to individuals with stable union history over the period	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Returns	5.8	6.3	5.2	5.7
Cohort				
1948–1957	22.0	24.4	22.7	25.4
1958–1969	35.3	34.8	34.3	35.9
1970–1979	25.7	24.1	27.1	22.6
1980–1992	17.0	16.7	16.0	16.0
Age				
15–25	17.3	19.4	15.9	18.5
26–35	24.2	22.1	25.2	20.9
36–45	27.5	26.3	26.8	27.0
46 or more	31.0	32.3	32.1	33.6
DOM of birth				
Guadeloupe	39.0	29.9	38.4	30.7
Martinique	4.4	7.2	4.6	7.4
French Guiana	26.2	27.7	27.7	26.5
Reunion Island	30.4	35.2	29.3	35.4
Number of siblings	5.3	5.5	5.4	5.6
Number of siblings living in the DOM	4.6	4.6	4.9	4.8
Education				
Junior high or lower	33.6	38.7	34.4	38.0
Vocational training	32.3	18.2	30.4	19.3
High school diploma	10.4	14.7	10.4	16.2
Higher education	15.7	19.5	17.0	18.1
Student	8.0	8.9	7.8	8.5
Unemployed	2.0	3.0	1.7	3.2
3 children or more	24.4	25.7	23.8	24.4
Age of the children				
All above 18	16.0	22.6	17.1	24.5
All under 6	17.2	14.5	17.7	14.8
No child	6.3	8.6	5.8	8.0
Youngest 6–18	60.5	54.3	59.4	52.8
Expecting	4.0	3.4	3.9	3.5
Relationship status				
Single	36.9	48.5	36.3	48.1
Recent separation	54.9	42.8	58.3	45.8
New relation	2.5	2.7	0.3	0.4
Older relation	5.7	6.0	5.1	5.7

TABLE 1 (Continued)

	Full sample		Restriction to individuals with stable union history over the period	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
At least one parent in the DOM	74.3	72.8	72.8	72.2
Not 1st migration	11.7	6.8	10.2	7.1
Sends money	6.9	8.4	6.8	8.1
Receives money	6.3	13.3	5.6	10.1

Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Weighted statistics.

for women than for men (6.3% vs. 5.8% in the full sample). The distribution of the number of children is similar for men and women, but the time spent single is higher for women (49% of observations for women against 37% for men). The age and cohort distributions of male and female migrants are also similar, confirming that DOM migration is gender-balanced. However, men experience more circular migrations than women. The restriction on migrants with stable union status over the period leads to a decrease of around 22% individuals (mostly women), but the sociodemographic composition of the sample remains overall similar.

5 | RESULTS

5.1 | Giving and receiving: returns as support systems

Results from the baseline regression (Table 2) point at a prevalence of family determinants over economic determinants in return behaviours. While the unemployment rate differential and being unemployed have a negative coefficient, neither of these effects is significant when controlling for variables pertaining to unions, children or trans-regional ties. Aside from ties variables, only region of birth and education have a significant impact. Compared to migrants from Guadeloupe, migrants from Martinique and Reunion Island are more likely to return, while those from French Guiana stay more in metropolitan France. We observe a U-shaped pattern for education: compared to migrants with a high school diploma, both migrants with vocational training and with higher education are more likely to return. Such result could reflect the copresence of two types of returns: those subsequent to a 'failed migration', when migrants have not managed to secure a satisfying position in metropolitan France, and those subsequent to a 'successful migration' when migrants have accumulated capital that they will get returns on once back in the DOM (Temporal et al., 2011). In this light, family motives do not fully override economic considerations, but rather channel them.

The main mechanism emerging from our analyses is indeed the determinant role of family ties in relation with giving or receiving support over generations. Firstly, in line with the literature on transnationalism (Vertovec, 2004), the positive effects associated

TABLE 2 Estimated effects of the covariates on return migration, in odds-ratios (Model 1)

Gender		
Male	Ref.	
Women	1.04	[0.86–1.27]
Cohort		
1948–1957	Ref.	
1958–1969	0.92	[0.47–1.82]
1970–1979	0.89	[0.34–2.35]
1980–1992	0.70	[0.24–2.03]
Age		
15–25	1.12	[0.71–1.77]
25–35	1.00	[1.00–1.00]
36–45	0.75	[0.38–1.48]
46–55	1.04	[0.46–2.31]
56 or more	2.38	[0.75–7.58]
DOM of birth		
Guadeloupe	Ref.	[1.00–1.00]
Martinique	1.64***	[1.16–2.32]
French Guiana	0.76*	[0.57–1.02]
Reunion Island	1.64**	[1.11–2.43]
Number of siblings	1.38***	[1.25–1.52]
Number of siblings living in the DOM	0.69***	[0.62–0.76]
Unemployment gap	0.97	[0.91–1.03]
Education		
Student	1.16	[0.70–1.93]
Junior high or lower	1.27	[0.80–1.99]
Vocational training	1.76**	[1.14–2.71]
High school diploma	Ref.	
Higher education	1.49*	[0.96–2.31]
Unemployed	1.02	[0.62–1.68]
3 children or more	1.20	[0.83–1.72]
Age of the children		
All under 6	1.17	[0.79–1.72]
Youngest 6–18	Ref.	
All above 18	0.92	[0.53–1.61]
No child	1.02	[0.69–1.51]
Expecting	1.81**	[1.09–3.01]
Relationship status		
Single	1.26	[0.95–1.67]
Recent separation	4.09***	[2.23–7.52]
New relation	1.28	[0.81–2.03]
Older relation	Ref.	

TABLE 2 (Continued)

At least one parent in the DOM	1.53***	[1.16–2.00]
Not 1st migration	0.88	[0.67–1.14]
Sends money	1.72***	[1.29–2.31]
Receives money	1.80***	[1.37–2.37]
Observations	6011	

Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Coefficients for each year spent in metropolitan France omitted.

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

with receiving and sending money highlight the weight of continued relations with the DOM of birth and especially relatives living there. Secondly, controlling for the total number of siblings, the more siblings migrants have in the DOM, the less likely they are to move back. This may indicate that migrants' return is less needed when other members of the family can already take care of the sick or the elderly at home. Finally, and most importantly perhaps, migrants who have at least one parent living in the DOM are more likely to return.

Findings additionally indicate that breaking-up increases the chances to return to the DOM, providing empirical support to our hypothesis H2. Combined with the positive effect associated with expecting a child, these results suggest that migrants reunite with their relatives left-behind when those relatives need support or when migrants need support from their relatives, in line with H3 and H4. Indeed, returning when expecting a child may reflect a desire to raise them in one's home culture, but also to access informal childcare as discussed earlier and as suggested by the positive effect on return of having at least one parent living in the DOM. Similarly, migrants may both lose a strong connection to metropolitan France and find themselves in need of emotional and/or material support when they separate from their partner. For married migrants, this support system is constrained by the origin of their partner, confirming H1. Our regression on the restricted sample (Model A from Table A2 in Appendix)³ highlights the negative and significant impact of having a partner from metropolitan France on return, while being married to a DOM natives or being unmarried are associated with similar level of return chances (Figure 2).

5.2 | Gendered care-giving, gender-neutral care-receiving

Model 1 underlines the prominent role of family configurations in return mechanisms from metropolitan France to the DOM. As

³To check for robustness, Table A3 applies the baseline specification to the restricted samples: results are overall very similar when they are estimated on the whole sample or the restricted one. The only exception is the dummy variable on a large family (having three children or more), which becomes positive and significant only in the analysis on migrants with stable union status over the period. This seems to indicate that the channel of 'family values' that we can capture through the variable measuring large families is more significant when children stem from the same stable union than for different partners over time.

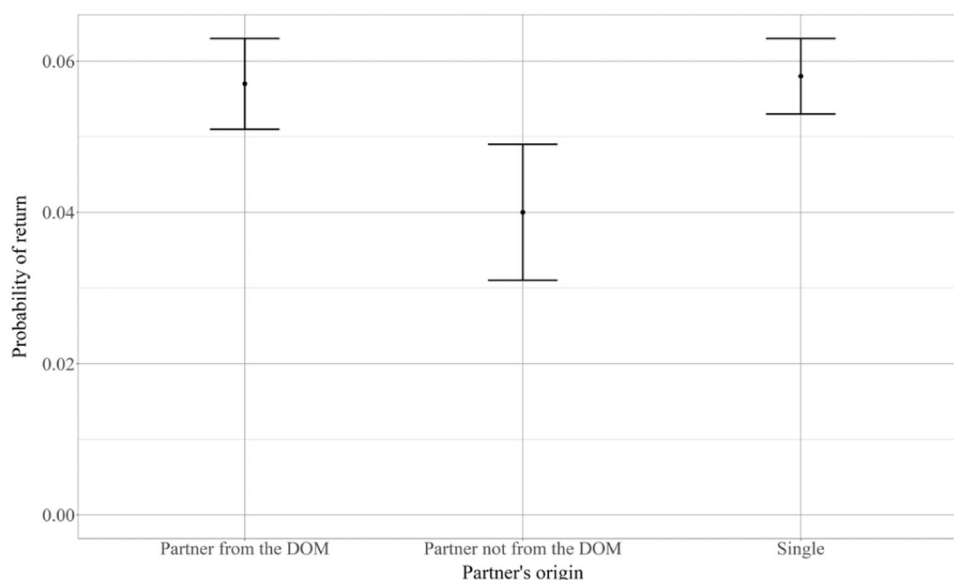


FIGURE 2 Marginal probability of return by partner's origin (restricted sample). Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Confidence interval at the 95% level.

research questions at core of this paper relate more specifically on the way these patterns differ for male and female migrants, we introduce interaction effects between gender and these key indicators which are reported in Table 3.

While Table 2 showed an overall positive effect of having at least one parent in the DOM on the likelihood to return, breaking down the analysis by gender shows that this effect is significant only for female migrants (Model 4). By contrast, the effects of both union situation (and namely the positive effect of a recent separation on return identified earlier) and of expecting a child—respectively tested in Models 2 and 3—do not significantly differ by gender. Estimations on the sample restricted to individuals with stable union trajectories also display no clear differences by gender on the way partner's origin affects return migrations for those who are in a stable union over the period (Model B in Table A2). These results contradict our hypotheses positing that having children, getting married or breaking-up have a larger effect on female migrants than on male migrants. The absence of significant differences by gender rather gives credit to the idea that family configurations do influence the returns of both women and men.

Yet, findings do point to a gendered pattern depending on the type of family component at stake. Confirming H4, return migrations for women are more triggered by the presence of one or several parents in the DOM, whom they will likely have to take care of. This result is in line with an abundant literature that highlights how women are more likely to take care of their elderly parents than men are (Gerstel & Gallagher, 2001; Walker et al., 1995), including in France (Bonnet et al., 2011) and regardless of the distance (Janta et al., 2015). More generally, our results show differences between configurations that are likely to implicate care-giving (returning to one's parents) and those likely to implicate care-receiving (returning after a break-up or in prevision of one's child birth).⁴ This is also

consistent with research showing that women are more often remitters (Blue, 2004). However, the lesser effect of parents living in the DOM for men may translate matters of maintaining ties rather than matters of care giving. The female-specific positive effect of parents living in the DOM might also mean that these women search for help from their mother or father, for example in taking care of their children. Combined with the absence of gender differences in the effect of expecting a child, this result would then suggest that men and women both seek support when expecting a child, but not from the same ties.

A prerequisite for taking care or receiving care from one's relatives is continued relations with them during migration: if men from the DOM display looser ties with their family left behind during migration, taking care of family members (or receiving their support) is less likely to trigger their return. Research does show that migrant daughters are more likely to be in harmonious relationships with their parents left behind than migrant sons are (Karpinska & Dykstra, 2019), that female migrants from selected countries invest more in their social capital in the home region compared to male migrants (Babou, 2008), and that male migrants more often break transnational ties when their family situation changes at destination (Menjívar & Abrego, 2009). As such, gender differences in the relation between family configurations and returns might be less a question of giving or receiving and more a reflection of the type of ties that migrants maintain while away.

⁴These hypotheses tend to be confirmed when looking at what happens upon return. In the MFV survey, among return migrants, 52% of women and 43% of men had given regular nonfinancial support to friends or relatives (childcare, administrative tasks, domestic labour and/or personal care) over the last 12 months. 28% of men and 29% of women had received regular nonfinancial support from friends or relatives over the last 12 months.

TABLE 3 Estimated effects of the covariates on return migration with gender interactions, in odds-ratios

	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Gender						
Male	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Women	1.08	[0.87–1.33]	1.16	[0.81–1.67]	0.65*	[0.41–1.05]
Cohort						
1948–1957	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
1958–1969	0.92	[0.47–1.81]	0.92	[0.47–1.79]	0.89	[0.45–1.75]
1970–1979	0.89	[0.34–2.34]	0.86	[0.33–2.26]	0.84	[0.32–2.21]
1980–1992	0.69	[0.24–2.00]	0.67	[0.23–1.93]	0.67	[0.23–1.94]
Age						
15–25	1.14	[0.72–1.79]	1.12	[0.71–1.78]	1.14	[0.73–1.79]
25–35	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
36–45	0.75	[0.38–1.47]	0.73	[0.37–1.46]	0.73	[0.37–1.44]
46–55	1.03	[0.46–2.31]	1.00	[0.45–2.26]	1.01	[0.45–2.26]
56 or more	2.36	[0.74–7.53]	2.31	[0.72–7.39]	2.38	[0.74–7.64]
DOM of birth						
Guadeloupe	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Martinique	1.65***	[1.17–2.34]	1.63***	[1.16–2.30]	1.67***	[1.18–2.37]
French Guiana	0.76*	[0.57–1.03]	0.76*	[0.57–1.02]	0.76*	[0.57–1.02]
Reunion Island	1.67**	[1.13–2.48]	1.62**	[1.08–2.43]	1.66**	[1.12–2.47]
Number of siblings	1.38***	[1.25–1.52]	1.38***	[1.25–1.52]	1.38***	[1.25–1.52]
Number of siblings living in the DOM	0.69***	[0.62–0.76]	0.69***	[0.62–0.76]	0.69***	[0.62–0.76]
Unemployment gap	0.96	[0.91–1.02]	0.97	[0.91–1.03]	0.97	[0.91–1.03]
Education						
Student	1.16	[0.70–1.93]	1.16	[0.70–1.93]	1.16	[0.70–1.92]
Junior high or lower	1.26	[0.80–1.98]	1.30	[0.83–2.04]	1.25	[0.80–1.95]
Vocational training	1.74**	[1.13–2.69]	1.81***	[1.17–2.80]	1.73**	[1.122.67]
High school diploma	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
Higher education	1.50*	[0.97–2.32]	1.53*	[0.99–2.36]	1.49*	[0.97–2.31]
Unemployed	1.03	[0.62–1.70]	0.99	[0.62–1.58]	1.03	[0.62–1.71]
3 children or more	1.19	[0.82–1.71]	1.19	[0.83–1.70]	1.20	[0.84–1.73]
Age of the children						
All under 6	1.16	[0.79–1.70]	1.17	[0.80–1.70]	1.15	[0.79–1.69]
Youngest 6–18	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
All above 18	0.92	[0.53–1.60]	0.93	[0.54–1.62]	0.96	[0.55–1.68]
No child	1.02	[0.69–1.51]	1.02	[0.70–1.50]	0.99	[0.67–1.46]
Expecting	2.32**	[1.12–4.77]	1.80**	[1.08–3.01]	1.83**	[1.10–3.05]
Relationship status						
Single	1.26	[0.95–1.67]	1.40*	[0.94–2.08]	1.26	[0.95–1.68]
Recent separation	4.11***	[2.25–7.51]	5.61***	[2.19–14.35]	4.19***	[2.27–7.73]

TABLE 3 (Continued)

	Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
New relation	1.30	[0.82–2.05]	1.03	[0.51–2.08]	1.27	[0.80–2.02]
Older relation	Ref.		Ref.		Ref.	
At least one parent in the DOM	1.52***	[1.16–2.00]	1.51***	[1.16–1.98]	1.13	[0.79–1.62]
Not 1st migration	0.87	[0.66–1.14]	0.87	[0.67–1.12]	0.87	[0.67–1.12]
Sends money	1.74***	[1.30–2.34]	1.73***	[1.29–2.31]	1.72***	[1.28–2.31]
Receives money	1.80***	[1.36–2.37]	1.80***	[1.37–2.37]	1.80***	[1.36–2.37]
Female × expecting	0.60	[0.22–1.62]				
Female × relationship status						
Female × single			0.82	[0.52–1.31]		
Female × recent separation			0.55	[0.16–1.88]		
Female × new relation			1.37	[0.58–3.24]		
Female × parent in the DOM					1.71**	[1.03–2.83]
Observations	6011		6011		6011	

Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Coefficients for each year spent in metropolitan France omitted.

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

6 | CONCLUSION

This research questions the effect of changing family configurations on return migrations for both male and female migrants. We focus on natives from the DOM who migrated to metropolitan France, which constitutes a valuable case-study to examine return behaviours beyond economic determinants. We take advantage of the ex-post combination of two comparable surveys representative respectively of metropolitan France and the DOM, allowing us to observe both returnees and migrants who stayed at destination—at least until the time of the survey. The findings illustrate the importance of migrants' family experiences in these return mechanisms, even after controlling for sociodemographic characteristics and individual and contextual economic situations.

This paper first contributes to the literature by confirming and enriching previous research linking both transnational practices and life course events to returns. On the one hand, the number and type of ties with relatives back in the DOM proved to be significantly associated with return migration behaviours. Results show that migrants are more likely to return when they send or receive money to or from the DOM and when they have at least one parent still living in the DOM. The opposite pattern emerges for siblings, suggesting different arrangements of family care support depending on the geographical structure of family members. On the other hand, findings highlight the importance of couple formation in migration decisions, as the likelihood to return decreases when overseas migrants are married to native from metropolitan France and increases when they separate. Expecting a child is also associated

to larger chances of return. These results stress the prevalent influence of family motivations on migration now well recognised in the literature, but they go beyond, as the foremost contribution of our study is to show that these family configurations matter for both male and female migrants, while they had been predominantly investigated for women specifically so far.

By systematically comparing the weight of family determinants on male and female migrants' returns, this paper takes a new step in understanding return migration. Contrasting with a traditional perspective that still tends to restrict the weight of family norms and constraints to female migrants only, our analyses indicate that men also articulate their return migrations to their family situations, yet in different ways. Effects that appear to associate returning with benefiting from family support systems in the DOM display no difference based on gender. We found no significant differences in the impact of union and children configurations on men and women's returns. However, when it comes to returns that might be rooted in care-giving logics—taking care of one or several parents living in the DOM, female migrants remain interestingly more likely to choose to return in comparison to their male counterparts. This research therefore highlights how family motives shape male migrants' returns as well as female migrants' and, at the same time, the gendered mechanisms through which family affects female migrants' returns in distinctive ways. It calls for exploring further the specificity of family dynamics at stake in male migrations. Similar to the study conducted in this article, such a project needs a more systematic comparison of male and female migrants thanks to more inclusive data.

Some limitations of our data leave open possible extensions of this study for future research. Firstly, our results point to the role of bilateral money transfers between migrants and the DOM of origin on return migrations, but the mechanisms behind would need further study. This requires more refined data to better tackle the timing of these exchanges, and the relationship linking receivers and senders, would they live either at origin or destination. Secondly, it would be interesting to replicate our findings on international migrations. While studying migrations from the DOM to metropolitan France is useful to identify the contribution of individuals' family histories in their migration trajectories, net from legal and linguistic barriers, migrations rarely occur in such setting. To further our understanding of these mechanisms, it would be useful to replicate our analysis on cases with other parameters varying. For example, intra-European Union migrations would constitute a case where legal and ethno-racial boundaries are low but language and distance might still be an issue, while migrations from former French colonies in Africa to France face higher legal and ethno-racial boundaries but less language barriers. Finally, further analyses could distinguish more precisely migration depending on reasons for the first departure, as remigration is strongly related to these initial motivations and aspirations (Ortensi & Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2018). Metropolitan France might be a typical 'escalator region' for DOM natives as described by Fielding (1992): attracting young adults with prospects of upward mobility and job opportunities more suited to their degree than at origin. These migrants eventually return once they have achieved their career goals. For them especially, more detailed information on occupational positions over time would allow us to better identify the labour dimension of returns and its potential interaction with family determinants.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available from INED. Restrictions apply to the availability of these data, which were used under license for this study. Data are available from <https://data.progedo.fr/> with the permission of INED.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE A1 Unemployment rate and gap between metropolitan France and each overseas department by year

	Metropolitan France	Guadeloupe		Martinique		French Guiana		Reunion Island	
	Unemployment rate	Rate	Gap	Rate	Gap	Rate	Gap	Rate	Gap
2001	8.7	27.3	18.6	24.5	15.8	26.9	18.2	33.6	24.9
2002	8.9	25.9	17.0	23.1	14.2	24.8	15.9	31.0	22.1
2003	11.5	26.0	14.5	23.2	11.7	25.7	14.2	32.7	21.2
2004	11.6	23.6	12.0	22.8	11.2	28.3	16.7	32.7	21.1
2005	11.4	25.4	14.0	21.9	10.5	28.0	16.6	30.9	19.5
2006	11.1	26.5	15.4	24.2	13.1	30.5	19.4	28.8	17.7
2007	9.9	24.9	15.0	23.3	13.4	24.3	14.4	26.3	16.4
2008	10.0	24.8	14.8	23.7	13.7	24.9	14.9	26.2	16.2
2009	12.2	25.9	13.7	24.7	12.5	22.7	10.5	29.6	17.4

Source: LFS (Insee, 2001–2009).

TABLE A2 Results of the models including partner's origin, in odds-ratios (restricted sample)

	Model A		Model B	
Gender				
Male	1.00	[1.00–1.00]	1.00	[1.00–1.00]
Women	1.06	[0.86–1.31]	1.26	[0.87–1.83]
Cohort				
1948–1957	1.00	[1.00–1.00]	1.00	[1.00–1.00]
1958–1969	0.91	[0.39–2.09]	0.89	[0.39–2.03]
1970–1979	0.92	[0.29–2.91]	0.87	[0.28–2.72]
1980–1992	0.73	[0.21–2.53]	0.67	[0.19–2.30]
Age				
15–25	1.10	[0.65–1.84]	1.10	[0.65–1.87]
25–35	1.00	[1.00–1.00]	1.00	[1.00–1.00]
36–45	0.79	[0.39–1.59]	0.78	[0.38–1.59]
46–55	1.01	[0.43–2.38]	0.97	[0.41–2.32]
56 or more	2.45	[0.69–8.66]	2.32	[0.66–8.19]
DOM of birth				
Guadeloupe	Ref.		Ref.	
Martinique	1.52**	[1.00–2.29]	1.50*	[1.00–2.27]
French Guiana	0.78	[0.57–1.06]	0.77*	[0.56–1.05]
Reunion Island	1.53*	[1.00–2.35]	1.48*	[0.96–2.31]
Number of siblings	1.38***	[1.23–1.55]	1.37***	[1.22–1.54]
Number of siblings living in the DOM	0.69***	[0.61–0.77]	0.69***	[0.61–0.77]
Unemployment gap	0.97	[0.91–1.04]	0.97	[0.91–1.04]

TABLE A2 (Continued)

	Model A		Model B	
Education				
Student	0.86	[0.57–1.31]	0.86	[0.56–1.31]
Junior high or lower	0.85	[0.54–1.33]	0.84	[0.54–1.33]
Vocational training	1.28	[0.89–1.84]	1.29	[0.89–1.87]
High school diploma	0.51***	[0.32–0.83]	0.51***	[0.31–0.84]
Higher education	Ref.		Ref.	
Unemployed	1.00	[0.69–1.46]	0.97	[0.68–1.40]
3 children or more	1.47*	[0.96–2.27]	1.48*	[0.96–2.29]
Age of the children				
All under 6	1.17	[0.76–1.80]	1.19	[0.77–1.84]
All above 18	0.91	[0.47–1.76]	0.92	[0.47–1.78]
Youngest 6 to 18	Ref.		Ref.	
No child	1.00	[0.64–1.56]	0.98	[0.63–1.51]
Expecting	1.43	[0.80–2.53]	1.45	[0.81–2.58]
Partner's origin				
Single	1.01	[0.76–1.34]	1.24	[0.82–1.86]
Partner from the DOM	Ref.		Ref.	
Partner not from the DOM	0.55***	[0.37–0.81]	0.47**	[0.24–0.89]
At least one parent in the DOM	1.52***	[1.13–2.04]	1.54***	[1.14–2.07]
Not 1st migration	0.88	[0.64–1.22]	0.89	[0.65–1.22]
Sends money	1.44**	[1.02–2.04]	1.47**	[1.04–2.08]
Receives money	2.05***	[1.51–2.78]	2.04***	[1.50–2.76]
Partner's origin × female				
Single × female			0.71	[0.44–1.16]
Partner not from the DOM × female			1.28	[0.58–2.86]
Observations	4878		4878	

Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Coefficients for each year spent in metropolitan France omitted.

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A3 Results of the base model on the restricted sample, in odds-ratios

Gender		
Male	Ref.	
Women	1.04	[0.84–1.28]
Cohort		
1948–1957	1.00	[1.00–1.00]
1958–1969	0.94	[0.41–2.17]
1970–1979	0.83	[0.26–2.59]
1980–1992	0.64	[0.19–2.21]
Age		
15–25	1.12	[0.67–1.88]
25–35	Ref.	
36–45	0.74	[0.36–1.54]
46–55	0.96	[0.40–2.34]
56 or more	2.39	[0.65–8.85]
DOM of birth		
Guadeloupe	Ref.	
Martinique	1.42*	[0.94–2.15]
French Guiana	0.75*	[0.55–1.01]
Reunion Island	1.47*	[0.96–2.25]
Number of siblings	1.39***	[1.24–1.56]
Number of siblings living in the DOM	0.68***	[0.60–0.76]
Unemployment gap	0.97	[0.91–1.03]
Education		
Student	0.90	[0.60–1.35]

TABLE A3 (Continued)

Junior high or lower	0.90	[0.59–1.39]
Vocational training	1.32	[0.93,1.89]
High school diploma	0.54**	[0.33–0.87]
Higher education	Ref.	
Unemployed	0.97	[0.68–1.39]
3 children or more	1.49*	[0.96–2.30]
Age of the children		
All under 6	1.18	[0.78–1.79]
Youngest 6 to 18	Ref.	
All above 18	0.86	[0.44–1.68]
No child	0.97	[0.63–1.49]
Expecting	1.44	[0.81–2.53]
Relationship status		
Single	1.31*	[0.95–1.81]
Recent separation	0.33	[0.06–1.73]
New relation	1.15	[0.69–1.92]
Older relation	Ref.	
At least one parent in the DOM	1.53***	[1.13–2.06]
Not 1st migration	0.91	[0.68–1.24]
Sends money	1.50**	[1.06–2.12]
Receives money	2.08***	[1.53–2.83]
Observations	4,878	

Source: TeO (Ined-Insee, 2009) & MFV (Ined, 2010). Coefficients for each year spent in metropolitan France omitted.

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.