

Expert Group Meeting on "Megatrends and Families: Focus on Digital Technologies, Migration and Urbanization" The Division for Inclusive Social Development (DISD) of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), UN Headquarters, New York, 7-8 September 2022

The State of Urbanisation, Migration and the Family in the MENA Region

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Introduction

This paper provides a systemic literature review to map the evidence on the interlinkages between migration, urbanization, and family dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, from multidisciplinary perspectives. The purpose here is to provide a widened insight towards these interlinkages in efforts to kickstart dialogue and provide a more holistic understanding.

The paper first explores, in brief, the declining trend of 'extended-families' upon the rising prominence of urbanization, and unravels the beneficial traits associated with extensive family structures, elucidating how its sustainable framework addresses and compensates for the challenges faced with contemporary urban living modes (nuclear families). Then, the paper attempts to answer two big research questions within the MENA context. The first demarcates the impact of urbanisation on family structures, with a focus on extended families within urbanised contexts, and the dilemma of household size and family size. The second focuses on the consequences of migration on family dynamics at a local and transnational scale, addressing multifarious challenges by the different social structures in the region.

The Downhill Trend of the Extended Family

The unwavering expansion of urbanisation and modernisation in the middle east, catalysed by the phenomenon of globalisation, has been accompanied with a trend in decreasing extended families and rising nuclear families. Upon initial analyses to this phenomenon, early critics such as Al-Kaser (1972) and Patai (1952) have elucidated that Arab families remain unhindered to these effects, and that the traditional extended families still prevail.



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Furthermore, at the time Nahas (1956) proclaimed that extended families are predominantly found in rural areas, while nuclear families in cities and suburbs, where El-Daghestani asserted that only "urban educated classes" formed nuclear families (Al-Thakeb, 1985 p.575). From villages to sprouting industrial cities, in the following decades developing Arab countries have experienced rapid advances in urbanisation, more prominently observed with oil wealthy states such as the GCC countries (Abu-Lughod, 1983). Contemporarily, critics such as Al-Ghanim (2012) portrayed that "modernisation of the past few decades have accelerated the pace of change from the extended family to the nuclear family ... a gradual disappearance of the former". Setting foot into a predominantly urbanised and nuclear family intensive future, Zhang (2016) identifies numerous contemporary challenges associated with this, derived from well-developed urbanised societies; This includes: poverty, high unemployment rates, higher city costs, weak financial capacities (housing affordability & inadequate housing investment), social inequality, poor urban governance/infrastructure, and others.

The Beneficial Traits Arising from the Cohesive Structure of an Extended Family

The extended family concocts of one family (the nuclear family) in addition to a family member(s) – grandfather, grandmother, cousin, aunt, etc. (Kamo, 2000). The benefits attained from living in an extended family entail multi-spatial support structures that alleviate the burden of social challenges, which account for the contemporary issues faced in nuclear family intensive and/or individualistic societies. Primarily this is devised of financial stability – shared financial responsibilities, Childcare support and Aged-care support (Reyes, 2019).

Aref (2014) highlighted the nexus between family capital and intergenerational solidarity, as "investing in new generations is a principal base of sustainable development. Family is the root environment to invest in new generations and at the same time to take care of the old generations. Solidarity between generations enriches the well-functioning of the family and accordingly it contributes to the community development. The variable of intergenerational solidarity affects sustainable development, as follows: (a) Culturally;



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enhancing intergenerational solidarity helps to protect cultural heritage, because the grandparents act as the repositories and transmitters of culture and values to the youth and children. (Callan, 2014). (b) Financially; the involvement of grandparents in family life as caregivers reduce the financial burden of childcare on the state level. For example, in the Unites States, 7.4 million children live in households headed by a grandparent or other relative, known as 'grand families'. These older caregivers provide an incredible service for their families and their government by reducing the burden on both. It is estimated that grand families save United States taxpayers more than US \$ 6.5 billion a year by keeping children and youth out of the government-funded foster care system (Butts, 2014). Furthermore, caring for elderly within extended family reduces the governmental expenditure on elderly care systems. (c) Physically and emotionally; intergenerational solidarity provides mutual beneficial exchanges between generations, as studies showed that extended families have better physical health especially for members with disabilities than nuclear families. Emotionally, intergenerational ties provide emotional fulfillment for elderly by reducing their isolation, providing them the opportunity to learn new skills, as well as providing the new generations with a caring and loving environment which enhances the sense of carefulness and commitment (Pashollari, 2014)".

In hindsight, Keene and Batson (2010) emphasize that financial struggles facilitate and encourage the establishment of extended family structures, where Bianchi et al. (2008) accentuates the combination of households as an effectual financial strategy. Moreover, Klocker et.al (2012) & Reyes (2018) depicted financial support and family care (Childcare, Aged care) as the prominent benefits acquired from living with the extended family. Klocker et.al further denotes: "larger than average households have an innate potential to foster economic savings" (2012, p.2242), where Kamo (2000, p.213) claims, "an extended family household is often a strategy for adapting to practical concerns such as health problems and economic insufficiency". In succour, Jarvis (2011) and Williams (2008) illustrate similar sustainable living advantages from a symmetrical lens under the notion of 'cohousing' - a form of collective housing made up of communal facilities to build more 'cohesive' and 'sustainable' communities. William further quotes, "a better quality of life ... greater social interaction, support, ... opportunities to share resources... increased feeling of empowerment" (2008, p.276); similarly, Bianchi et al. (2008) denotes this mechanism as



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"co-residence". In essence, these are traits attributed from an extended family household where critics such as Kwasi (2022) and ACMC (2022) further elucidate advantages from the extended family such as, 'companionship', curbing loneliness – predominantly seen with the old-aged group, and the promotion of cooperation and socialization, aiding in the development of social teamwork and interacting skills. Additionally, Klocker et.al (2012) explicate unbeknownst environmentally sustainable benefits accompanied with the extended family structure in dichotomy with a smaller household – lower overall energy consumption, more sustainable behaviour (accounting of others). Consequently, living in an 'extended-family' mode is comprehensively 'sustainable'. In principle, a societal paradox loop can be illustrated where the challenges faced by the contemporary dominant family type (nuclear family) call for solutions attained from the advantages of collectivistic living frameworks, simulating that of the 'extended family'.

What are the contemporary trends of the extended family in the MENA region within urbanised contexts?

Urbanisation and the Extended Families' Survival

Despite urbanised lifestyles influencing the separate living of nuclear families, the extended family structure remains strong in the Arab region at large. In recent research on "The Arab Family Strength in Qatar, Jordan and Tunisia", according to the participants, the family concept often includes extended family members. One participant said: "We live next to some of our relatives." Another said: "We are all next to each other." Others talked about married and unmarried siblings and older family members that were living in the same household. Even when they don't live together under the same roof, there is a commitment to spending time together. One participant said: "Thursday is for the family of the mother and Friday is reserved for the family of the father" (DIFI, 2018).

Throughout the near past century, emerging oil wealthy states in the Gulf have summoned enormous wealth to the region at exponential rates. With rising living standards and new life facilities, El-Haddad (2003, p.4) reveals how families are re-evaluating their



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arrangements, acclaiming: "the desire of the new parents to enjoy life would overcome traditional values that considered large numbers of children as a source of support and pride". Reyes (2019, p.784) further elaborates this, asserting, "the decision to live in an extended-family household is often determined largely by necessity rather than choice...".

The literature identifies urbanisation, modernisation, and globalisation as one of the prominent factors in social transformations, of which include, the shrinkage of family roles in caring for the elderly, and the flight from extended family structures. This can be further portrayed with the exponential evolving nature of the internet interconnecting the world to such a degree allowing people to exist and connect with others in real-time regardless of physical location. Furthermore, with technological advancements making physical travel across vast differences easier, modernisation can arguably be portrayed as sustaining the cohesiveness of the extended family amidst the expanding urbanisation trend in the region. However, Parkin & Stone (2004) elucidate how the more families and communities are integrated into the multi-spatial globalised system, the further their "values", "traditions" and "relationships" become subject to change. Essentially, this introduces competition in terms of social influence with respect to traditional cultural methods, where El-Haddad further elucidates these effects, acclaiming "the mother or grandmother is no longer the main agent of raising children ... values and knowledge derived from television, ... and the Internet (2003, p.12).

Extended Families Supporting Nuclear Ones: Breaking Stereotypes

Furthermore, alongside the region's trend in urbanization, surfaces a negative stereotype regarding the relationship between extended families and nuclear ones. It arises from undesirable interferences by grandparents, that might affect marital relations within nuclear families. DIFI (2018), highlighted that interference from extended family members is one of the main challenges facing the Arab families in the selected case studies (Qatar, Jordan and Tunisia), which stems from the qualitative narrative.

However, the recent evidence from empirical research on assessing the marital relationships in the first five years of marriage across 19 Arab countries revealed prominent harmonious interactions between extended families and nuclear ones. 30% of a



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representative sample (1184 participants from Arab countries) from newly married couples confirmed that the fathers and mothers and in-laws contribute positively to solving any marital disputes. 18 % of participants confirmed that they still receive financial support from their families, where 22% and 23 % of participants respectively confirmed that extended families help to uprear the kids and take care of them during the sickness of mothers, while the negative interference remained limited to 21 % (DIFI, 2022).

Urbanisation and Fertility: Dilemma of Household Size and Family Size

Most of the literature on urbanisation and social dynamics proves that families tend to have fewer children in urban cities. This would affect fertility rates at the state level, especially in high-income countries. For instance, a study, that covered Near East/North Africa and Latin America, used data from household surveys in 43 developing countries to describe the main dimensions of household size and composition in the developing world. The 'household size' was found to be positively associated with the level of fertility and the mean age at marriage, and inversely associated with the level of marital disruption. An analysis of trends and differentials in household size suggests that convergence to smaller and predominantly nuclear households is proceeding slowly in contemporary developing countries (Bongaarts, 2001).

Despite this, there is not enough evidence examining the same argument in the Arab region. In a recent study by DIFI (2022) on social aspects of fertility in Qatar, around 55% of the sample mentioned a relationship between household size and a person's decision on the number of children - the smaller the household size the less tendency among partners to have more children. Moreover, it is evident that in some low to middle income countries with high fertility rates and family planning policies in the region, such as Egypt; subsidized housing units are very small (60 – 80 square meters), in a governmental attempt to reduce family size.

It is worth highlighting that in some Arab countries, especially in Mashreq, large families are the common structure. For instance, Jordanian households have an average of 4.7 to 7.7 members (DOS and ICF, 2019). Although 91.63 percent of Jordan's total population lives



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in urban areas and cities, tribalism remains the main source of continued large family' structure (Aref, 2022).

What are the interlinkages between migration and family structures and dynamics in the MENA region?

Refugees and Transnational Family Network

In a contemporary world plagued by increasing challenges of human security, political turmoil, conflicts and wars, the status of diaspora communities now occupies a place of critical importance in the global dialogue on refugees. According to the most recent data from the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 70.8 million people around the world have been forcibly displaced, amongst whom are approximately 22.9 million refugees. According to the World Bank data on refugee populations by country, the MENA is ranked as the top contributor to refugees worldwide. From 2011 onwards, statistics show a massive flood of refugees resulting from the wars and conflicts in the region, following the Arab spring. UNHCR documented 5.5 million refugees from Syria alone, representing 28.8 percent of refugees worldwide. Figures show that although there are different regions where Arab families seek refuge, MENA remains at the top for hosting the highest number of refugees, where Lebanon hosts 1.5 million Syrian refugees and Turkey hosts 3.7 million (UNHCR, 2022).

Narratives of pre-migration loss among Refugee Arab Families prior to resettlement have been well-documented. Such loss includes that of family members, material resources, social support and networks, amongst others. In addition to these types of hardship carried from their home countries, families face structural challenges related to their inclusion and integration in host countries, in terms of being acknowledged culturally, economically, socially or politically in the national social policies of the host countries (Baobaid et al, 2018).



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Aref (2021) discussed the paradox of "austerity for the poor and prosperity for the rich", and how with fragile social protection systems in the Arab world, people have constructed their own resilience mechanisms for survival to cope with poverty and exacerbated hardships, as recently illustrated with covid-19 circumstances. Various literature demarcates this as a "Transnational Family Network", where such mechanisms comprise the increase in remittances and financial support from migrant family members to their relatives at home countries. It is worth noting that the "Transnational Family Network" concept refers to the volume of emigration outflow and remittances inflow (Hourani, 2005).

The impact of Regional Gulf Migration on Families

Migration is a common phenomenon that dates well before the dawn of human history, where it is in our human intrinsic nature to migrate in search for opportunities and a better living. The wealth generated from Gulf states has attracted a massive, extraordinary influx of foreign migrants, known as 'expatriates' (Expats), who make up most of the region's population, where they account for 86%, 89% and 70% of Qatar's, UAE's and Kuwait's populations; respectively (Shayah & Sun, 2019). Despite the palpable social and ethnic differences between expats and locals, within the expat population there exists a prevalent ethnic disparity with respect to job classification, where middle-class jobs comprise mainly of Western and Arab nationals while lower-class jobs are predominantly occupied by workers of south Asian and sub-Saharan Africa (Gardner, 2009).

Despite the prevalent financial opportunities to establish a family, the regionally common sponsorship (Kafala) system, which still exists in many GCC countries, has found numerous foreign nuclear families making a life and a home in a country to which they can never attain naturalization entitlements.

This is portrayed with the establishment of facilities such as state representing international schools, (The 'Indian', 'Pakistani', 'Lebanese', etc. schools') and various foreign institutions, conveying a multicultural hub in the region. However, such diversity is accompanied by difficulties and challenges gulf expat families face. Due to the lack of intermarriages and naturalization, literature identifies this lack of symbiosis in the GCC as the growth of two independent populations (Aref, 2021). Although Expatriates are



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considered 'temporary workers', Naithani (2010, p.101) acclaims that in the "GCC a large number of expatriates have been living for a longer duration". Living in a different region, or similarly living outside of the 'home-land' for a significantly lengthy period results in a degree of detachment from the family's culture, or as Vora (2008, p.378) acclaims, the production of "a unique, hybrid form of cultural identity".

Furthermore, with the rising trend of 'localisation' and 'nationalisation' campaigns, one of the policies Baldwin-Edwards (2011) highlights, involves the termination of expatriate employments to vacate for the upcoming new local generation, where Gardner and Leonard (2008; 2003, p.139) elucidate an induced "direct anxiety" on foreign families due to the threat of Job-Security, what Naithani (2010, p.100) quotes as "a sense of uncertainty and job insecurity". Gardner (2008) classifies this stratum of expats as the "diasporic elite".

However, with respect to unskilled and semi-skilled labour (e.g. construction workers, drivers, house-maids) the narrative is dissimilar. Unlike the 'diasporic elite' who are drawn in through financially attractive amenities, the flow of demand for this class of migrants is contrary in nature. Most of them enter through a "transnational brokerage system" (manpower agencies) requiring them to pay substantial fee amounts, usually several thousands of dollars depending on the nationality (ILO, 2009), to acquire work contracts in the region. Gardner (2009, p.9) elucidates, "nearly all labours incur significant debts to pay these fees: productive land is mortgaged, savings are depleted, and high interest loans are taken". Although these work contracts provide migrants with the opportunity to save money, the wages range no more than several hundred dollars a month (ILO, 2018). However, with the collectivistic environmental backgrounds they come from, Gramburd (2000) emphasizes that most of these migrants are considered 'emissaries' to their extended families, who come from poor backgrounds. On the topic, Gardner (2011, p.14) asserts that the decision for these migrants to move to the Gulf was "produced at the familial level", as this region is portrayed as a "strategic component of an extended family's economic strategy".

Although the remittances from the gulf contribute significantly to the economies of the migrants' home country – e.g. 22% of Kerala's state income, Gardner also emphasizes that throughout "migrants risk the well-being of their extended family to simply arrive in Gulf states" (2011, p.15). Over the span of a 2-year contract, it might just be enough to cover the



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burden(loans) taken to cover the family mortgages taken in acquiring the contract, where optimally one may potentially save several hundred dollars. It is also worth noting that the low-skilled migrants usually get only one time leave every two years to visit their home countries, which affects family dynamics.

Nevertheless, over the past several decades the dilemma of South Asian migrants has gathered attention, generating dialogue on the need to abolish the Kafala system, towards more prominently, new labour law policies. This can be illustrated with Qatar, where they have recently implemented a new comprehensive minimum wage of 1800 QR (\$491), abolished the kafala system and reformed the labour regulations – now allowing workers to leave to other jobs without the constraint of seeking permission from their employers (Pattison, 2020). In fact, this amendment was part of a comprehensive labour policy transformation in Qatar towards social inclusion (Aref, 2021).

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

Conclusion

The 'extended family' structure was exposed to be a comprehensive mode of living, enhancing intergenerational solidarity and providing individuals and communities with robust support, culturally, financially, physically, and emotionally. However, the declining trend of the traditional 'extended family' can be exhibited alongside the rising prominence of 'urbanisation'. The challenges imposed by urbanisation on family structures in this region are catalysed by the larger portrait of 'globalisation' and 'modernisation'. To this effect, research associated 'household size' with 'fertility rates', where smaller households resulted in lower fertility rates. Regardless of the downhill trend of extended family, this structure is not only existing but also functioning very well in the region. Recent regional evidence at the Pan-Arab level highlighted the crucial role extended families play in support of establishing, sustaining and nurturing nuclear families.

Besides the impact of urbanization on family structures, the article also addressed the nexus between migration and family dynamics in the region. In fact, transnational family networks proved cohesiveness, especially during crises and emergencies. Another angle



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was mapped on the impact of migration on families in the gulf countries, which highlighted the induced 'direct anxiety' on middle-class expat families due to the job uncertainty, lack of naturalization and intermarriages, in addition to the absence of extended family structures in the host countries. On the other hand, the semi-skilled/unskilled workers illustrated other financial and familial pressures.

The mapped literature is opening the door for potential qualitative and quantitative research, such as highlighting the impact of urbanization on family dynamics and cohesion, examining the consequences of household size on fertility decisions, and exploring the impact of gulf migration on the nuclear families' wellbeing and their extended families back home, etc.

Policy Recommendations

- 1. Introduce housing policies that support the physical closeness of nuclear and extended families.
- 2. Rethink vertical urbanization by developing policies that utilize the deserts in the region for horizontal and sustainable urbanization.
- 3. Produce and publicize evidence on the crucial role of extended families in support of the establishment and sustaining the institution of marriage and nuclear families.
- 4. Further enhance social inclusion and social protection policies for migrant workers and expatriate families.
- 5. Bring back large families and extended families to the policymaking agenda and develop related multidisciplinary policies.



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