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**Occupational incorporation of immigrants in Western European countries**

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# WORKING PAPERS

OCCUPATIONAL INCORPORATION OF IMMIGRANTS  
IN WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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## **Abstract**

*The paper examines patterns of occupational attainment of immigrants in 10 European 'old immigration' countries. Data from the European Social Survey reveal that occupational status of all first generation immigrants is lower than that of native born, net of socio-demographic attributes and regardless of gender. Nevertheless, significant differences among sub-groups of immigrants are observed, especially among second generation immigrants. While immigrant men of non-European origin and of Muslim conviction remain occupationally disadvantaged in the second generation, the occupational attainment of second generation immigrants of European origin whether men or women, converges with that of native born. By contrast to others, second generation immigrant women of non-European origin and of the Muslim conviction are advantaged in terms of occupational status as compared to native women. The findings are discussed in the light of theories of immigrant integration and ethnic inequality.*

## INTRODUCTION

The flow of migrants to Western European countries during the post-WWII era has been traditionally explained by an increase in demand for workers in Western Europe, on the one hand, and by a large supply of labor force outside Western Europe, on the other hand. The increased demand for workers in Western Europe is attributed to rapid economic growth, rising educational levels, and declining fertility coupled with reluctance of the local population to take low-status and low-paying menial jobs in the domestic labor market. The demand for workers in Western Europe was met by the large supply of immigrants and labor migrants in poor and less developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well by immigrants from East European countries. The immigrants arrive from countries where economic conditions and employment opportunities are depressed and where wages are low to host countries where employment opportunities are abundant and wages are higher (Krane, 1979; Stalker, 1994; Castles, 1986).

The influx of migrants to Europe has dramatically changed the ethnic fabric of most European countries. Currently, immigrants comprise 5.5 percent of the population of Western Europe and the relative size of the foreign-born population in many Western European countries ranges between 7 and 15 percent (Salt, 2005). In fact, the ethnic origin of the foreign population varies across European countries reflecting, to a large extent, the sources from which workers have been recruited over the years and the particular historical links and bilateral relations of specific countries with former colonies, as well as the openness of specific countries to political refugees and asylum seekers (Castles and Miller 1993; Salt, 2005). On this issue, Hooghe et al. (2008) suggested that migration flows to Western European countries can be understood, first and foremost, as a reaction to economic incentives with regards to labor market outcomes. More specifically, according to Hooghe et al. (2008) immigrants have not systematically selected themselves to the richest countries or to countries with the most generous social security or welfare

systems. They have been attracted by shortages in the labor market of specific host countries (as well as by post-colonial linkages).

The rise in the size of immigrant populations and the presence of immigrants in society has become one of the most frequently discussed and debated social issues in most West European countries and social scientists have begun devoting increasing attention to the study of immigration and immigrant's position in European societies. Consequently the body of research on attitudes toward immigrants, immigrants' status and the incorporation of immigrants into European labor markets has grown and became substantial (e.g. Pettigrew, 1998; Semyonov et al, 2006; Scheepers et al, 2002; Heath and Cheung, 2007; Van Turbergen, 2005). Surprisingly, however, no-one has yet provided a systematic cross-national study on incorporation of immigrants in the labor market of the host societies focusing on both the impact of immigrants' ethnic origin and generational differences on economic success and on economic assimilation.

In fact, most studies on immigrant's incorporation into the labor market of European societies, to-date, have focused on one single national labor market (see Bevelander 1999 for Sweden; Model 1999 for England; Neels 2000 for Belgium; Kogan 2004 for Germany; Kogan and Kalter, 2006 for Austria; Halkos and Salamouris, 2003 for Greece). The few studies that employed a cross-national comparative perspective relied on a small number of countries – usually comprising of two or three countries (for example, Kogan, 2003 for Austria and Sweden; Algan et al. 2009 for Germany, UK and France; Kesler, 2006 for Britain, Germany and Sweden). The few notable exceptions that examined a relatively large number of countries (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Kogan 2006; Van Turbergen et al. 2004, Van Turbergen 2005), despite their important contributions to knowledge, did not simultaneously analyze the impact of ethnicity and generation.

More specifically, Heath and Cheung (2007) include in their study seven Western 'old immigration' European countries as

well as traditional immigration countries such as the USA, Australia, Canada, South Africa and Israel concentrating exclusively on second generation immigrants. Kogan (2006) focuses on fourteen Western 'old' and 'new immigration' countries to examine variations in labor force participation among recent immigrants to Europe (up to five years in the host country). Van Tubergen et al. (2004, 2005) examine labor force participation and occupational status of first generation immigrants across 15 European countries plus Australia, Canada and the United States. Despite the apparent contribution of these comparative studies to understanding of the integration process of immigrants into the European labor market, the dynamic aspects associated with the generational differences among different ethnic groups are still missing from the European cross-national comparative literature.

The main reason for the lack of systematic large-scale comparative research on the topic in Europe and for the omission of both 'ethnicity' and 'generation' from this body of research cannot be attributed to researchers' shortsightedness. It should be attributed, however, to the unavailability of comparable cross-national data on the characteristics and position of immigrants and their descendants in the labor market of host societies in Europe. The aim of the present paper is to draw on recent data released by the European Social Survey to bridge the gap in the literature. Our goal is to provide a systematic large scale research on immigrants' incorporation into the labor market, in terms of occupational attainment within the Western European context - while simultaneously examining the impact of ethnic origin (as well as religious conviction) and generation on the occupational incorporation of immigrants. That is, in what follows we take advantage of the four waves of the European Social Survey to compile a data set for first and second generation immigrants in 10 European countries, in order to compare their occupational attainment with that of native born Europeans. More specifically, by examining the relative occupational attainment (in comparison to natives) of first and second generation immigrants

from different ethnic backgrounds and religious convictions, the study attempts to investigate the inter-generational patterns of immigrant's labor market incorporation for various ethnic and religious groups in 10 Western European 'old immigration' countries.

In what follows, we first, draw hypothesis from theoretical considerations and previous research on the topic; second, we describe the data and variables to be used in the analysis; third, we present a descriptive overview of the findings and estimate a series of multivariate regressions to examine the relative position of different groups of migrants in the labor market, in terms of occupational attainment; and fourth, we discuss the findings in the light of sociological literature and the recent context of European society.

## **THEORETICAL EXPECTATIONS AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH**

Students of immigration have long observed that immigrants experience hardship in finding suitable employment and rewarding jobs upon arrival in the host country. The difficulties that immigrants face in the labor market of the host society after arrival are attributed, according to **the classical assimilation model**, to their limited access to information and to social networks, restricted knowledge of the new society, inadequate professional skills, lack of language proficiency, low possession of host country educational credentials and little or no host labor market experience. Consequently, immigrants often settle for lower status and lower-paid jobs than the ones they had in their country of origin. In sum, research has demonstrated that upon arrival immigrants are economically disadvantaged when compared to the native-born. Their earning returns on education and labor market experience are significantly lower than that of natives (e.g. See Borjas, 1994; Chiswick, 1978 for the US; Bloom and Gunderson, 1991; Chiswick and Miller, 1988 for Canada; Rajjman and Semyonov 1995 for Israel; Kogan and Kalter, 2006 for Austria; Kesler, 2006 for Britain, Germany and Sweden). While first generation immigrants experience substantial disadvantages in the labor

market, partially because of the process of migration being disruptive by itself, second generation immigrants do not suffer from this disruptive process in their life. They, presumably, have acquired the codes of the local culture, fluency of the host country's language, domestic educational credentials and work experience in the host country and, thus, should not be at disadvantageous position in the labor market relative to the natives (Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008).

Following the logic embodied in the classical assimilation model *we expect occupational disadvantages of immigrants (as compared to native born) to be most evident among first generation immigrants (Hypothesis 1a). We expect second generation immigrants to achieve occupational parity with the native born population or at least to experience substantially lower disadvantages (when compared to native-born) than first generation immigrants (Hypothesis 1b).*

Although the classical assimilation model has received considerable support from a large number of studies and across a variety of immigrant societies, proponents of the '**segmented assimilation**' model suggest that widespread changes in host societies and the growing diversity of immigrants in terms of social class and ethnicity, have made the common linear model of integration less likely to fit the reality of contemporary societies (e.g. Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Raumbaut; 2005). According to the segmented assimilation model, the host society offers to different immigrant ethnic groups, uneven possibilities and opportunities. While some groups have an abundance of opportunities, others face multiple disadvantages including discrimination and insufficient social and economic resources. As a result, while some groups may experience traditional inter-generational economic upward mobility (either by assimilating into the mainstream of society or through ethnic cohesion), other groups (or at least a sizeable part of them) may experience downward assimilation (integration into the bottom segment of society) (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Raumbaut; 2005, Portes et al., 2005). The logic embodied in the segmented assimilation model implies

that immigrant groups of different ethnic and cultural origin would experience differential patterns of occupational mobility and hence, differential modes of occupational integration.

Although the 'segmented assimilation' theoretical perspective has emerged in the US context (mostly with regards to the children of immigrants who arrived to the States in the second decade of the 20th century) it was also applied to recent studies on ethnic groups in Europe (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Thomson and Crul, 2007; de Graaf and van Zenderen, 2009 ). Studies in Europe underscore differential patterns of integration and divergent patterns of intergenerational mobility across ethnic groups. They also reveal varying levels of socioeconomic outcomes and differential adaptation processes across second generation immigrant groups (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Thomson and Crul, 2007; Simon, 2003; Worbs, 2003). The growing body of research on immigrants in Europe repeatedly demonstrates that in most European countries ethnic minorities, especially immigrants from non-European countries and those of the Muslim conviction, are not only geographically concentrated, often in areas of relatively high social deprivation and scarce labor market opportunities (Mustered, 2005; Semyonov et al. 2007, Peach, 2005) but they also experience difficulties in integrating into main stream European society and its economy (Model 1999; Algan et al., 2009; Heath, Rethon and Kilpi, 2008). On basis of these studies, it would be reasonable to expect that second generation non-European, especially immigrants of the Muslim conviction, would be disadvantaged in attainment of labor market outcomes.

In line with the segmented assimilation theory and previous research on immigrants' labor market incorporation in Europe *we expect different occupational integration patterns for European and non European immigrants, especially among second generation immigrants. More specifically, we expect second generation European immigrants to achieve parity with the native born population but we do not expect similar occupational attainment among second generation non-European*

and Muslim immigrants. We expect non-European and Muslim second generation immigrants to experience greater disadvantage than other immigrants in converting educational achievement to occupational status (Hypotheses 2a).

We also expect different patterns of occupational integration for men and women. The literature on immigration and gender underscores different modes of labor market incorporation for **men and women**, especially with regard to the ways that ethnic origin affects labor market participation and the performance of immigrant men and women (see, for example, Rajman and Semyonov, 1997). The literature suggests that ethnicity interacts with gender to produce divergent patterns of labor force activity among immigrants. Women who belong to traditional ethnic groups (mostly of non-European and Muslim origin) are more restricted in participation in the public sphere and therefore they are less likely to participate in the economically active labor force. Furthermore, when participating in the economically active labor force they are more likely to be concentrated in (mostly professional and semi-professional) jobs that minimize interactions with the opposite gender (see, for example, Semyonov, Lewin-Epstein and Braham, 1999). It has been also suggested that (relatively few) non European and Muslim women who enter the labor market are positively self selected and therefore hardly represent their population, as most have to overcome cultural barriers and traditional gender roles in their ethnic community in order to join the labor market and become economically active (see, for example, Crul and Doornik 2003; de Vries 1990). This small positively self selected group of women may achieve, therefore, relatively higher occupational positions than either other women or men. It was previously demonstrated (for example, in the case of Arab and Muslim women in Israel) that the lower the rate of women labor force participation the higher is the occupational status attained by women when compared to either men or other groups of women (Semyonov, 1980; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1992). Taking these factors into account *we expect second generation non*

*European or Muslim women to achieve occupational positions of higher status than either men or European women (Hypotheses 2b).*

## DATA AND VARIABLES

The data for the present analysis were obtained from the four rounds (2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008) of the European Social Survey [ESS]. The analysis was restricted to the 10 Western European 'old-immigration' countries. The countries included in the analysis are: Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, France, UK, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. In each of these countries information was gathered from a random probability national sample of the eligible resident populations aged 15 and over.<sup>1</sup> The analysis reported here was also restricted to the employed currently working population in the age group 25-64.<sup>2</sup> In order to increase the number of cases, mostly the number of immigrants,<sup>3</sup> and in order to achieve more reliable statistical estimates we pooled all four rounds into one sample, controlling for year of survey in the analysis (see list of

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<sup>1</sup> The ESS was initiated and seed-funded by the European Science Foundation, the body representing almost all of Europe's main national academic funding agencies. The ESS Central Coordinating Team takes measures to ensure the comparability and validity of the ESS data. For more detailed information, see the ESS website: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>

<sup>2</sup> We excluded from the analyses very small group of immigrants who have stayed in a country less than 1 year.

<sup>3</sup> The survey data sample may under-represent illegal immigrants or those who do not speak the host country language and, in the particular case of the ESS, do not belong to a minority that constitutes at least 5% of the population (the ESS questionnaires were translated into the languages of minorities that constitute at least 5% of the population in a country). We are aware of problems that relatively small number of cases, especially second generation Muslim immigrants, may create. At the same time, several robustness checks we have done, resemblance of our results to the results of previous studies and lack of the better dataset at this moment, lead us to believe that the attempt to carry out our research on the base of the dataset at hand is worthwhile.



countries and sample size in Appendix Table A1).

The ESS data provide us with the necessary information to construct a series of key variables that represent immigration status (i.e. first, second generation immigrants, and native-born European). Specifically, first generation immigrants are those born outside the specific country and who do not hold the country's citizenship, as well as having both their parents born outside the country. Second generation immigrants are those born in the specific European country but whose parents were born outside the country (whether or not they hold the country's citizenship). Natives are those who hold the specific European country's citizenship and were born in the country as well as having at least one of their parents born in the country. It is important to note, that the data allow us to provide only cross-sectional analysis where time is represented by synthetic generational comparisons.

We further divided the immigrant population by ethnic origin by distinguishing between European and non-European origin (father of the respondent was born in Europe, Australia or Northern America versus non-European)<sup>4</sup> and by religious conviction. Religious conviction of respondents is defined by distinguishing between two major groups: Muslim and non Muslim. In addition, a series of socio-demographic variables that are traditionally used as predictors of socioeconomic status were included in the analysis (mainly for control purposes). They are: gender, age (in years), marital status (married = 1), urban versus rural residence (rural residence=1) and education (in years of formal schooling).

The main dependent variable - occupational status - is constructed by assigning each person the respective score (on a 100 point scale) on the International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational

Status (ISEI) according to his three digit ISCO-1988 occupational code. The ISEI scale is designed to capture the hierarchical position of one's occupation and is linked to education and income of incumbents in the occupation. ISEI has been also viewed as a measure of 'the attributes of occupations that convert a person's main resource (education) into a person's main reward (income)' (Ganzenboom et al., 1992, p.9). This variable, thus, will serve us as an indicator of the relative position of an individual in the labor market, and hence, as a proxy of social and economic outcomes and reward.

## ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

### Descriptive Overview

In Appendix Table A2 we detail the mean characteristics of the respondents by gender and migration status. The data provide information on the age distribution and educational attainment of different groups of migrants in comparison with natives in Europe. In general, the average age and educational level of male migrants (either first or second generation) from European origin and those who are non Muslims are quite similar to those of natives. By contrast, the second generation of non European male migrants, and especially Muslims, are substantively younger than natives. While first generation of Muslim immigrants are characterized by a lower level of education (12.5 years of schooling on average) than either natives or than other groups of immigrants, second generation of Muslim men immigrants have reached parity in average years of schooling with native-born and some other immigrants groups (13.8 years of schooling on average). The same patterns of ethnic differences in age and in education that were observed among men are found for women. However, the educational level attained by economically active second generation immigrant women of non European and Muslim background (14.5 and 14.9 average years of schooling, respectively) is even higher than the educational levels attained by men. It is important to note, however, that only a small proportion of Muslim and non European women participate in the

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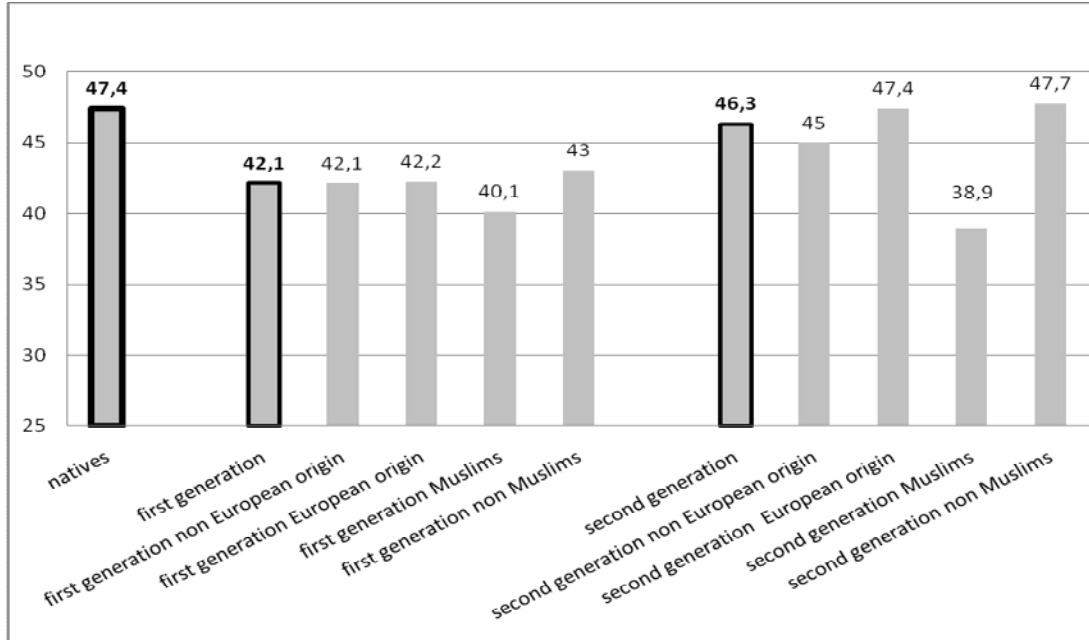
<sup>4</sup> The first round of the ESS provides us with information on father's continent of birth but does not specify father's country of birth. Consequently, we are not able to construct more precise category of origin that could be based on country of birth rather than on continent of birth.

economically active labor force. For example, the data show that only 33 per cent of Muslim women (in comparison to 61 per cent of non Muslim women) in our

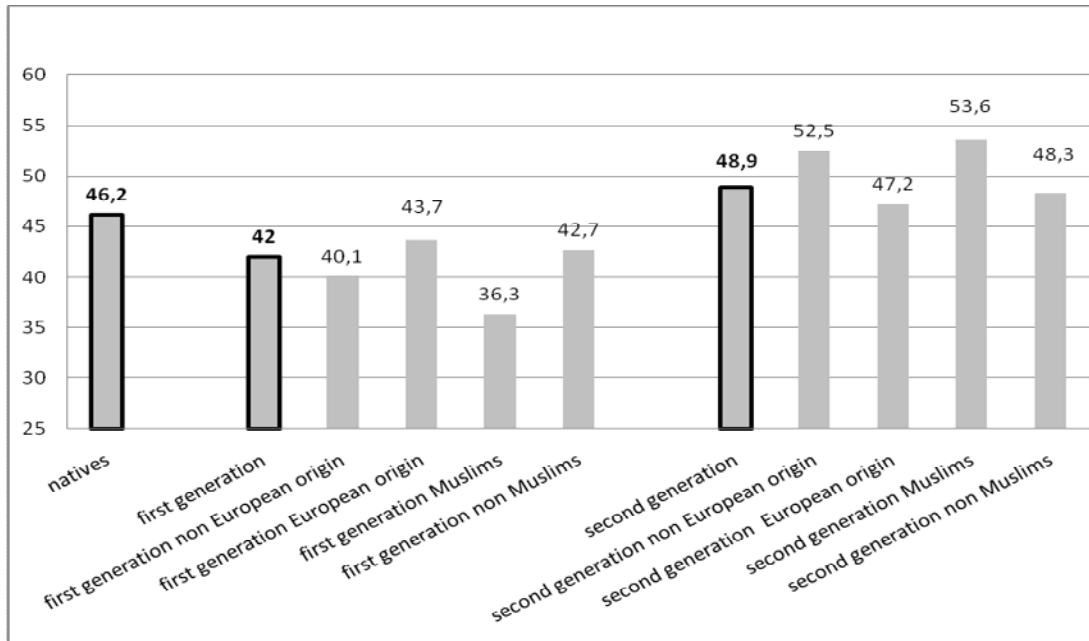
other characteristics) of non European and especially of Muslim women.

In Figure 1 and 2 we display the average occupational status of natives and of the

**FIGURE 1. ISEI Mean Scores for Men by Migration Status, Ethnic Origin and Generation, for 10 Western European Countries**



**FIGURE 2. ISEI Mean Scores for Women by Migration Status, Ethnic Origin and Generation, for 10 Western European Countries**



sample belong to active labor force. Therefore, these groups of women are highly selective and their educational level may not represent the educational level (or

different group of immigrants for men and women, respectively. The data in column suggest that first generation immigrants whether men and women are at the bottom

of the occupational ladder of the host society. The average occupational status of first generation immigrants is lower than that of any other group in the country. That is, the occupational status of first generation immigrants is considerably lower than that of the respective native population and than that of the respective second generation immigrant group. In fact, the average occupational status attained by second generation immigrant men is almost similar to the average occupational status held by native men and in the case of women the occupational gap between second generation immigrants and natives has totally disappeared. Furthermore, the average occupational status attained by second generation immigrant women is higher, in fact, than that of native women.

However, some meaningful differences among sub-groups of immigrants are observed. Specifically, among men, immigrants of non-European origin and in particular those of Muslim conviction hold the lowest occupational status even in the second generation (with average occupational status score of 45.0 and 38.9 points respectively). Among women, while first generation immigrants of non European origin and of Muslim conviction have on average occupations of lower status than native women, second generation non European and Muslim women have attained the highest occupational status. More specifically, the average occupational status of second generation immigrant women of non European origin reaches 52.5 points in comparison to 47.4 points among native women. Likewise, the average occupational status of second generation Muslim women is 53.6 status points. As already noted, these results should be interpreted within the context of the low rate of labor force participation and positive selectivity into economic activity among women from groups with traditional orientation and cultures.

### **Methodology and Estimation of the Models**

Although the data presented in the Appendix Tables and in the Figures are interesting, they do not provide accurate estimates of the relative advantages and

disadvantages in attainment of occupational status. Since the sub-groups of immigrants are characterized by different socio-demographic characteristics (and since differences in occupational status may reflect differences in human capital attributes such as education), we estimate in the analysis that follows the effects of group origin, religion affiliation and generation on the attainment of occupational status net of variations in attributes of individuals. By so doing we will be in a position to evaluate immigrants' occupational net advantage (or net disadvantage) that can be attributed to tenure in the host country (i.e. generation) and to examine the net occupational disadvantage (or advantage) due to ethnic origin and religious conviction in the ten Western European countries.

To examine the relative net disadvantage (or advantage) of different groups of immigrants in the labor market as compared to natives, we estimated a series of linear regression equations predicting ISEI. In each equation we let occupational ISEI be a function of age, marital status, rural residence, education, and a series of dummy variables representing different sub-groups of immigrants (natives are the comparison category). The values of the estimated coefficients for sub-group membership serve as indicators of the size of the net advantage (positive value) or net disadvantage (negative value) a group had in the attainment of occupational status in comparison to natives. All models include a series of dummy variables for each country and a series of dummy variables for the ESS rounds as control variables.

By so doing we treat the labor markets in the 10 'old immigration' Western European countries as one European labor market and test a fixed effect model with a series of dummy variables representing countries. To some extent, we find support to this approach in the results of previous study that did not detect a clear link between the labor market outcome for immigrants and the very different approaches to assimilation taken in France, Germany and UK (Algan et al. 2009). The limitation of the data (in terms of relatively small number of second generation non European immigrants, especially Muslim

second generation immigrants) do not allow us to estimate separate models for each country. In order to test robustness of our results and to insure that they are not driven by a specific outlier country, we estimate 10 additional set of regressions, in each one of those we exclude a different country. We did not find any substantial differences between the results of the 10 additional sets of regressions.

### Multivariate Analysis

The results of multivariate analysis are presented in Table 1 and 2 for men and women respectively. In each table column 1-3 refer to OLS regression equations predicting International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (hereafter occupational status). The data reveal that

regardless of gender, occupational status tends to increase with age and education, and to be higher among residents of urban areas versus rural areas. Occupational status tends to be higher among married men, but not among married women. The data presented in column 1 reveal that, other things being equal, first generation immigrants are at a disadvantage in the attainment of occupational status relative to natives; their relative net occupational disadvantage amounts to 4.25 and 4.00 status points, for men and women respectively. By contrast, second generation immigrant men have not experienced any relative net occupational disadvantage (as insignificant coefficient for the group membership implies), while second generation immigrant women have even experienced occupational advantage in

**TABLE 1. Coefficients from OLS Regressions Predicting ISEI in Europe, Men, 10 Countries**

	1	2	3
Intercept	8.1*	8.1*	8.2*
Age	0.13* (0.01)	0.13* (0.01)	0.13* (0.01)
Married	1.76* (0.22)	1.73* (0.22)	1.77* (0.22)
Rural residence	-3.05* (0.22)	-3.03* (0.22)	-3.06* (0.22)
Years of Education	2.41* (0.03)	2.41* (0.03)	2.41* (0.03)
First generation immigrants	-4.25* (0.38)	---	---
Second generation immigrants	-0.68 (0.63)	---	---
First generation <b>non</b> European origin	---	-3.76* (0.52)	---
First generation European origin	---	-4.43* (0.53)	---
Second generation <b>non</b> European origin	---	-2.84* (1.00)	---
Second generation European origin	---	0.90 (0.83)	---
First generation Muslims	---	---	-4.08* (0.73)
First generation <b>non</b> Muslims	---	---	-4.32* (0.43)
Second generation Muslims	---	---	-7.40* (1.48)
Second generation <b>non</b> Muslims	---	---	0.73 (0.69)
R square	0.285	0.285	0.286

Models also include a series of dummy variable for each country and a series of dummy variable for ESS rounds (coefficients are not presented) \*p<0.05.

comparison to natives, although very small (b=1.58).

The data presented in columns 2 and 3 reveal some significant differences in the attainment of relative occupational status among different ethnic and religion affiliation sub-groups of immigrants, especially among second generation immigrants. Thus, while first generation immigrant men from European and non European origin have experienced almost similar occupational disadvantages relative to natives, second generation immigrants of European origin have reached parity with

small but statistically significant) net occupational disadvantage even in the second generation. By way of comparison, the occupational disadvantage of second generation Muslim immigrant men is relatively large and particularly noticeable. Net of their socio-demographic attributes the occupational disadvantage of second generation Muslim men amounts to more than 7 status points.

The results for immigrant women are substantially different from those observed for men, especially in the case of Muslim and non-European second generation

**TABLE 2. Coefficients from OLS Regressions Predicting ISEI in Europe, Women, 15 Countries**

	1	2	3
Intercept	13.3*	13.2*	13.2*
Age	0.06* (0.01)	0.06* (0.01)	0.06* (0.01)
Married	0.15 (0.23)	0.15 (0.23)	0.14 (0.23)
Rural residence	-2.01* (0.24)	-2.01* (0.24)	-2.01* (0.24)
Years of Education	2.36* (0.03)	2.36* (0.03)	2.36* (0.03)
First generation immigrants	-4.00* (0.43)	---	---
Second generation immigrants	1.58* (0.68)	---	---
First generation <b>non</b> European origin	---	-5.51* (0.62)	---
First generation European origin	---	-2.53* (0.57)	---
Second generation <b>non</b> European origin	---	4.83* (1.16)	---
Second generation European origin	---	-0.23 (0.86)	---
First generation Muslims	---	---	-5.12* (1.23)
First generation <b>non</b> Muslims	---	---	-3.86* (0.45)
Second generation Muslims	---	---	6.60* (2.04)
Second generation <b>non</b> Muslims	---	---	0.98 (0.72)
R square	0.252	0.253	0.253

Models also include a series of dummy variable for each country and a series of dummy variable for ESS rounds (coefficients are not presented) \*p<0.05.

natives in their occupational status, but non European immigrants experience (relatively

women immigrants. The coefficients displayed in columns 2 and 3 (Table 2)

reveal that the relative net occupational disadvantages among first generation non European and Muslim women, respectively, amounts to 5.51 and 5.12 status points and the occupational disadvantage among first generation European and non Muslim women amounts to 2.53 and 3.86 status points, respectively. In the second generation, however, European and non-Muslim women achieve occupational parity with native-born European women. That is, they are not disadvantaged in the attainment of occupational status as evidenced by the insignificant coefficients of the variables representing these two sub-groups. By contrast, second generation immigrant women of non-European origin and of Muslim conviction are actually advantaged in the attainment of occupational status in comparison to native born women, as evidenced in the positive and significant coefficients representing these two sub-groups. For example, the net occupational advantage of Muslim women, second generation immigrant, amounts to 6.60 occupational status points relative to natives, and the net occupational advantage of non-European second generation women amounts to 4.83 status points. As mentioned at the outset of the theoretical part, these results can be understood in the context of low labor force participation rates and selectivity bias among Muslim and non-European women.

## CONCLUSIONS

This article has attempted for the first time to investigate the inter-generational patterns of immigrants' labor market incorporation, in terms of occupational attainment of different ethnic groups in 10 Western European countries in the framework of a systematic large-scale research. In line with previous studies, the present analysis demonstrates that, in general, first generation immigrants in Western Europe experience substantial disadvantage in attainment of occupational status in comparison to natives, while second generation immigrants achieve parity in terms of occupational attainment with native population.

However, further analysis reveals significant differences between ethnic and

religious groups in patterns of labor market incorporation. The ethnic differences become especially pronounced among second generation immigrants. Moreover, these patterns vary by gender. Second generation European immigrants (both men and women) have reached occupational parity with natives. By way of contrast, second generation non European immigrant men experience occupational disadvantage in the European labor markets, although the size of the occupational disadvantage is quite small. At the same time, second generation non European immigrant women experience relative advantage in the attainment of occupational status in comparison to native women. These highly selective groups of women are more successful than other women in converting their educational credentials into occupational status.

The results further reveal that second generation immigrant men of Muslim religious conviction are occupationally disadvantaged in the European labor markets. Despite meaningful progress in educational attainment, the average occupational status of second generation Muslim men is considerably lower than that of comparable natives. Apparently, Muslim men are not able to convert educational attainment into occupational success. Moreover, the gap in the occupational status between Muslim immigrant men and natives is larger in the second generation than in the first generation. One may see these results as evidence of a downward mobility pattern, as was described in the segmented assimilation model. This disadvantage of Muslim immigrant men in the labor market may have led to the social unrest (e.g. the riots and the social protest of - mostly second generation - youth immigrants) in Parisian suburbs in 2005-2006. The underlying issues in these events predominantly related to the social and economic exclusion of immigrants (Alan *et al.*, 2009).

The story of second generation Muslim women is totally different from that of their male compatriots. Second generation Muslim women have not only reached parity in the attainment of occupational status with native women, but actually overtook them and all other groups. In fact,

their occupational attainment is significantly higher than that expected on the basis of their social and demographic attributes. However, we may interpret these findings in the context of the low rate of female labor force participation among Muslim immigrants. This advantageous occupational position was achieved by a positively self-selected group of Muslim women who acted against their traditional gender role in a conservative community. This is a highly selective group that completes educational training and joins the labor market by moving into mostly professional and semi-professional occupations (mostly gender secluded jobs in the service sector, health and educational institutions in the ethnic enclaves) that are tolerated by their traditional communities.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1. List of Countries and Sample Size

Country	Natives	Immigrants
Austria	2885	236
Belgium	2800	328
Switzerland	3010	902
Germany	4412	444
Denmark	3040	138
France	3042	345
United Kingdom	3488	396
Netherlands	3244	313
Norway	3745	256
Sweden	3655	498
Total	33321	3856

TABLE A2. Descriptive Statistics: Mean (Standard Deviation), 10 Countries, by Gender, Status of Migration and Ethnic Origin for Active Labor Force Population, 25-64 Age Group

	Natives	First generation non European origin	First generation European origin	First generation Muslims	First generation non Muslims	Second generation non European origin	Second generation European origin	Second generation Muslims	Second generation non Muslims
<b>MEN</b>									
Age	43.5 (9.9)	40.8 (9.0)	42.4 (9.6)	40.3 (9.0)	42.0 (9.5)	35.2 (7.6)	42.3 (9.9)	31.9 (6.4)	40.9 (9.6)
Education	13.9 (3.6)	<b>13.3</b> <b>(4.8)</b>	13.4 (4.1)	<b>12.5</b> <b>(5.2)</b>	13.7 (4.2)	<b>14.3</b> <b>(4.1)</b>	13.4 (3.6)	<b>13.8</b> <b>(4.0)</b>	13.7 (3.8)
<b>WOMEN</b>									
Age	43.0 (9.6)	41.4 (9.5)	44.0 (9.5)	39.2 (8.8)	43.2 (9.6)	33.8 (8.1)	43.1 (8.5)	30.2 (5.7)	41.4 (9.1)
Education	13.7 (3.4)	<b>13.5</b> <b>(4.6)</b>	13.6 (4.2)	<b>11.9</b> <b>(4.7)</b>	13.8 (4.4)	<b>14.5</b> <b>(3.3)</b>	14.1 (4.0)	<b>14.9</b> <b>(3.3)</b>	14.1 (3.8)



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