

GEMM PROJECT

GROWTH,
EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES,
MIGRATION & MARKETS

GEMM PROJECT **i n F o c u s**

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GEMM Project in Focus



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PROJECT

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EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES,
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University of Essex
Coordinator



Utrecht University



**New Europe Centre
for Regional Studies**



University of Milano-Bicocca



**Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
für Sozialforschung**



University of Oslo



**Center for Urban
and Regional Sociology**



**Universidad Carlos III
de Madrid**



University of Oxford



University of Amsterdam



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01.

Overview

1.1 Overview

The GEMM project delivers an assessment of labour market inequalities of migrants and minorities in Europe. We especially focus on highly skilled migrants to Europe, who do not always find jobs in which their skills are used most effectively. By understanding the drivers of these inequalities and determining how institutional factors account for differences between countries, we provide recommendations of great practical and policy relevance. We achieve our goals through using different research methods - experiments, in-depth interviews and statistical analyses of existing data - and through considering different determinants - individual, contextual and institutional. We are thus able to compare integration processes and outcomes over different countries in Europe and can highlight the factors that help to successfully integrate migrants and minorities in the host country labour market - to the benefit of both minorities and the majority population.

The GEMM project strives to produce research that is highly usable for policy makers. In order to do so, we implemented an innovative methodological framework that considers different determinants of inequality as a barrier to the smooth functioning of local labour markets. We include multiple units of analysis - the (migrant) individual (WP2 and WP4), the receiving society employers (WP3) and the societal context (WP2 and WP5). Thus, we offer multidimensionality, the consideration of various explanatory mechanisms and causal paths. Moreover, we highlight that migrant and minority individuals are embedded in a social and institutional context, which affects ethnic inequality and thus the labour market opportunities in Europe. Our analyses can be used to visualize areas of labour market disadvantage experienced by groups and individuals that need targeted attention with policies from both national and local governments. The qualitative component emphasizes the lived experience of migration and will serve as a basis for specific recommendations of how mobility of skilled migrants can be managed. The reports that we deliver offer a comprehensive perspective on how migration can contribute to growth in Europe.

02.

WP2: Migrant and Minority Incorporation

Partners: UESSEX, WZB, UiO, UC3M, UNIMIB, UAmsterdam

2.1 Overview

Drivers of Growth

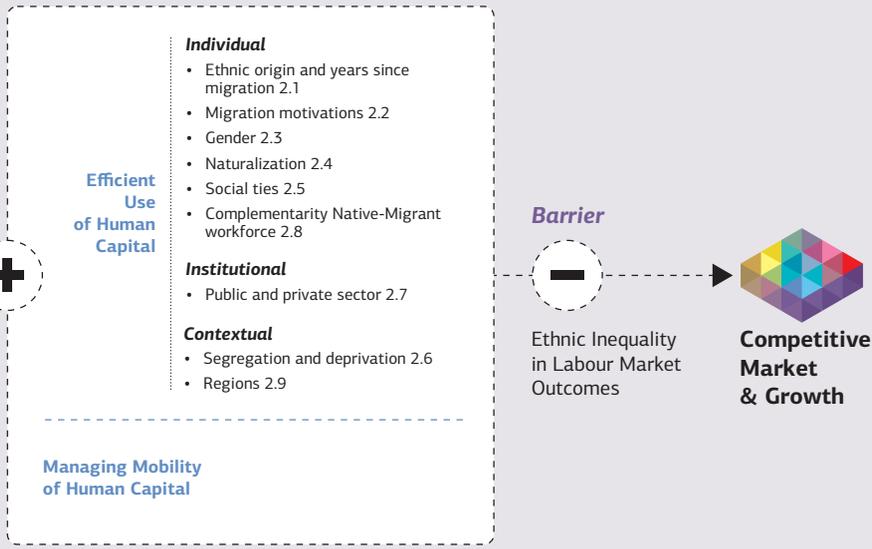


Figure 1: The research of WP2

The main objective in WP2 is to further our understanding of how migrants' human capital is utilized and of the barriers involved in sustaining disadvantage. We cover several dimensions (individual, contextual and institutional) that can hinder the migrant worker's full incorporation in the receiving country and his or her complementarity to the native workforce. Considering contextual and institutional factors is a crucial contribution, as most of the existing migration reports and studies focus on individual factors with no understanding of the role of community embeddedness and the general reception of the migrant in the receiving society.

In this work package we made use of a wealth of secondary data (country surveydata from the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Norway, Canada and the US as well as European cross-national data) to study individual, contextual and institutional factors affecting labour market integration of migrants across different European countries. We have had nine main research tasks which address leading problems in the field of the labour market incorporation of immigrants and the second generation, and that relate directly to work in the WPs collecting new information, WP3 and WP4. For example, our consideration of the feminization of different sectors and the presence of migrants in different sectors (in a cross-national perspective) was important for contextualizing the results in WP3; or the job search patterns of migrants have been informative for

the setting of interviews in WP4. Thus, the work carried out within this package further helped inform the work of the other work packages and was modified to adapt to their demands and the demands of the fieldwork to provide contextual data to inform the important pathways towards settlement and finding work in WP4; and to provide regional and national comparative data to help place the experimental data and findings on discrimination of WP3 which was also used to ascertain the existing ethnic gaps in Britain. WP2 has been modified as well to include also a focus on the labour market performance of majority members under conditions of greater competition from migrants, and growing diversity.

We produced three deliverables presenting available data (D2.1, D2.3, D2.5), three deliverables on individual (D2.2), contextual (D2.4) and institutional (D2.6) factors as well as a report on the regional differences within Europe (D2.7). These deliverables are available on the project website (www.gemm2020.eu), as well as several research briefings (Briefing 1-6).

This work package has also resulted in several peer-reviewed research articles, listed at the end of this report, as well as several conference presentations, and manuscripts delivered as part of the deliverables.

2.2 Findings and Policy implications

2.2.1 regarding Ethnic Origin/Country of Birth and Years since Migration: Individual-Level Determinants (WP2.1)

One of the main foci of this work package is the consideration of migrant's origin and the change in integration outcomes over generations and time. This topic has been addressed throughout the work package and specifically in deliverable 2.2, the briefings on the project website, as well as the papers collected in the Social Inclusion special issue. We investigated these issues both in single-country and comparative studies.

Overall, we find substantial penalties in finding employment and especially in the quality of jobs and the risk of over-education for migrants across Europe. There are some exceptions as migrants were for instance highly likely to be employed pre-crisis in Spain and Italy. We consistently find differences depending on the origin countries with especially migrants from Africa and the Middle East having worst outcomes, while those from Western Europe and other highly developed nations (US, Australia, Canada) generally do very well. Migrants from the post-2004 European countries were generally found to have much more trouble than their Western European counterparts in finding work appropriate to their high qualifications. While this overall ethnic hierarchies are found throughout Europe there are country-specific patterns with migrants from countries that share history generally doing better, such as Andean migrants in Spain.

As expected, labour market outcomes are worst for recent migrants and then improve with time – which we show is to a large extent due to the acquisition of host country human capital such as language skills or further qualifications. This improvement is less clear in highly segmented labour markets such as those in

Spain and Italy where migrants are likely to get stuck in low-quality jobs. We find generally lower differences between the majority and 2nd generation migrants with no clear gaps at all in some countries such as Spain or Norway when it comes to type of work, but gaps persist for some groups such as Pakistani, Bangladeshi or black African minorities in the UK; as well as non-Western minorities (Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean/Surinam) in the Netherlands.

2.2.2 regarding Migration Motivation: Individual-Level Determinant (WP2.2)

Migrants differ not only by their area of origin, but also by their reason for migration. We consider this aspect in detail in one published peer-reviewed paper and one manuscript, and detail our findings in deliverable 2.2 as well as briefings 1 and 2 on the project website.

We find that migrants who arrived seeking protection experience the largest gaps in terms of employment and activity compared to similar natives, followed by migrants arriving for family reasons, while economic migrants experience far lower gaps. In terms of occupational status there is less difference and economic migrants arriving without a contract do similarly poorly as non-economic migrants as well as not experiencing the same improvement over time. The gap of non-economic migrants does close with years of residence which is due to these migrants investing more in the host country by taking further courses, improving their language skills, or naturalising. We also show these investments have higher returns for non-economic migrants. This means further investments in more disadvantaged non-economic migrants can help improve their labour market integration substantially.

We further consider the selection of migrants on their motivation and find that migrants are generally indeed more ambitious and highly motivated than their counterparts in the country of origin, but that this positive selection is less the case for migrants from poorer countries than those from richer countries.

2.2.3 regarding Impact of Gender: Individual-Level Determinant (WP2.3)

Gender differences are considered throughout all the work carried out in this work package and the findings are detailed in deliverable 2.2. There is a clear difference between migrant women in their selection into working in the first place. Our work shows that their penalties are not as severe once in work. We also show that culture, in the form of religion and the associated traditional family values and forms, plays an important part in explaining these differences in labour market participation. Religion and values also differentiate between migrants from similar ethnic groups.

2.2.4 regarding Impact of Naturalization: Individual-Level Determinant (WP2.4)

Among other aspects of socio-cultural integration – including host country qualifications, language courses and further language skills – within the host

country we specifically consider the role of naturalisation on labour market outcomes throughout this work package. This individual factor is described in detail in deliverable 2.2. Naturalization can signal higher motivation and productivity as well as decreasing legal boundaries and thereby benefit migrants in terms of finding good jobs. On the other hand, it may decrease the necessity of accepting just any job resulting in a lower employment probability.

We find a generally positive association of naturalization with labour market outcomes, particularly the quality of work. More than other types of host country human capital, the impact of naturalization differs between countries as well as over types of migrants however – particularly affecting family and refugee migrants who are likely to benefit from the strong signals it sends – rather than economic migrants. Using the extension of EU citizenship to Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in 2007, our work shows a slight negative effect on employment in Southern Europe, but a strong positive effect in the more traditional receiving countries of continental Europe. This indicates that naturalization indeed opens access to some better jobs, but may also be negatively associated with employment as it offers more security and reduces the pressures to take up any job.

2.2.5 regarding Bridging and Bonding Social Capital: Individual-Level Determinant (WP2.5)

In this task we set out to study the role of bridging and bonding ties for more established migrant and minority groups as well as newer arrivals. While we considered this driver where possible our studies on social contacts have mainly relied on local area/neighbourhood characteristics rather than direct indicators of contact, which we describe in the results to task 6.

In a study on Italy we did include detailed data on how migrants found work and whether they relied on ethnic contacts. This indicated that finding work through the ethnic network indeed resulted in lower-quality jobs. Using UK-data we also show clearly that the share of co-ethnics in the locality indeed shapes the ties minorities make and that minorities living in an area with more co-ethnics are less likely to form bridging ties with the majority. This supports the idea that the locality mainly affects labour market outcomes through shaping ties.

2.2.6 regarding Segregation and Deprivation: Contextual Determinants (WP2.6)

In this task we consider the contextual role played by the share of migrants and minorities as well as overall deprivation and economic conditions within the local and regional area, affecting labour market outcomes. These findings are described in detail in deliverable 2.4. There is a strong conceptual link between this task and that of task 5, as one of the main ways in which the migrant and ethnic composition in the locality is thought to affect labour market outcomes is through affecting the social contacts and ties the inhabitants are likely to make, which are shaped by their opportunities.

We considered contextual factors at different geographical scales, using larger regions (NUTS 1 and NUTS 2) across Europe as well as very small neighbourhoods (lower super output areas) in the UK. We further made use of

cross-sectional European data to study the effect of living in an area with many/few minorities for the majority, 1st and 2nd generation migrants.

We consistently find that the share of migrants in the region is negatively associated with labour market outcomes of other migrants and minorities, particularly vulnerable groups which is also very relevant for WP3, but does not affect the majority in the same way. This is likely due to the higher competition for jobs migrants and minorities carry out, while there is no competition with the majority. Using local data we find, in both the UK and Europe as a whole, that living in a neighbourhood with more minorities mainly affects migrants and minorities negatively, while a negative association with the majority is due to their negative selection and the higher deprivation in those areas, but cannot be attributed to the share of minorities.

While the overall share of minorities and migrants is negatively associated with labour market outcomes for migrants and minorities – as it drives up competition for their types of work, but not for the jobs of the majority, and may increase conflict in the locality – the share of co-ethnics can provide some shelter from carrying out the worst types of jobs. This is especially important in the face of more disadvantage.

2.2.7 regarding Sectoral differences: Institutional Determinant (WP2.7)

Our findings on the effects of the public sector are detailed in deliverable 2.6. We consider this issue in the special issue of Social Inclusion, where migrant and ethnic penalties were considered in the private and the public sector where possible and relevant. Access to the public sector is generally limited in some way, and we find that in some European countries, especially in the South, there are almost no migrants in the public sector to start with. We find a similar closure of the public sector in the United States. We find that there is no sectoral difference in the gaps in overqualification in Norway, but find some support of ethnic gaps being smaller or even non-existent for migrants and some UK-born minority groups in the UK as well as for female minorities in the Netherlands. There may then indeed be some sheltering effect of the public sector – possibly due to the higher reliance on credentials and procedures when hiring, as well as possibly lower discrimination rates.

2.2.8 regarding Complementarity of Migrant to Native Workforce and Benefit Claiming (WP2.8).

In response to the task of complementarity we have on the one hand studied how local and regional inflows of migrants affect labour market outcomes of the majority; and on the other hand studied specifically the labour market integration of highly skilled migrants. We have not addressed benefit claiming. Our findings are covered in more detail in deliverable 2.6.

As detailed in the response to task 6 we find overall that a higher share of migrants at regional and local level does not affect the majority negatively, indicating they do not compete for the same jobs as migrant workers. Using detailed UK data we study the types of jobs carried out by migrants, UK-born

ethnic minorities and the majority. We show that migrants generally work on jobs with worse employment conditions and lower job security than the majority. We further show that a higher share of migrants in the occupation is associated with somewhat lower job quality of the majority, but mainly affects other migrants. Using detailed data on migrant occupational trajectories in Italy, Spain and France we find that migrants in Italy and France generally work on very low quality jobs, in which few majority members work.

This all strongly points to migrants generally being integrated into a secondary labour market within Europe where they are relatively separate from the majority and even 2nd generation migrants.

We further study complementarity in the frame of competition for highly skilled migrants. While most countries aim to attract highly-skilled migrants we find substantial over-qualification for migrants in all European countries we study, with foreign qualifications especially substantially discounted. This discounting seems to be most the case in Italy and Spain, while somewhat less so in the UK, Norway and the Netherlands. We find some evidence that qualifications are less discounted when migrants signal their motivation and productivity more, by for instance having better language skills, getting their qualifications recognised, or searching for work through official channels rather than through social networks.

2.2.9 regarding Regional differences (WP2.9)

This task is the topic of deliverable 2.7. We indeed find differences across regions. Our findings indicate these are mainly driven by the economic conditions within those countries, such as the segmentation of the labour market, the demand for low-skilled workers which drives differences between the majority and newcomers, and the existing migrant and minority communities; rather than by over-arching policies.

2.3 Publications

Demireva & Heath (2017). *Minority Embeddedness and Economic Integration: Is Diversity or Homogeneity Associated with Better Employment Outcomes?* *Social Inclusion* 5 (1).

Fellini & Guetto (2018): A “U-shaped” pattern of immigrants’ occupational careers? A comparative analysis of Italy, Spain and France. *International Migration Review*, published online doi: 10.1177/0197918318767931

Guetto & Fellini: Immigrant women’s employment patterns: disentangling the effects of ethnic origin, religious affiliation and religiosity. *RIS-Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, special issue on “Religious change and the shaping of solidarity and social participation in a troubled Europe”, edited by Biolcati-Rinaldi, Luijckx & Vezzoni.

Polavieja, Fernandez-Reino & Ramos (sd): Are migrants selected on motivational orientations? Selectivity patterns amongst international migrants in Europe. Accepted for publication at *European Sociological Review*.

Zwysen & Demireva (2018): Ethnic and migrant penalties in job quality in the UK: the role of residential concentration and occupational clustering. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Zwysen (2018): Different Patterns of labour market integration by migration motivation in Europe: the role of host country human capital. *International Migration Review*, published online doi: 10.1177/0197918318767929

Social Inclusion special issue 2018, vol 6 issue 3: the race for highly skilled workers

Demireva & Fellini: Returns to Human Capital and the Incorporation of Highly-Skilled Workers in the Public and Private Sector of Major Immigrant Societies: an Introduction

Fellini, Guetto & Reyneri: Poor returns to origin-country education for non-Western immigrants in Italy. An analysis of occupational status on arrival and mobility. *Social Inclusion*.

Fernandez-Reino, Radl & Ramos: Labour Market Participation and Quality of Employment among Immigrants in Spain. *Social Inclusion*.

Khoudja: The labor market performance of immigrants and their children in the Netherlands: Comparisons with the native majority group. *Social Inclusion*

Larsen, Rogne & Birkelund: Perfect for the job? Employment and overqualification of immigrants and their descendants in the Norwegian labor market. *Social Inclusion*

Zwysen & Demireva: Returns to Human Capital and Sectoral Differences: An Examination of Ethnic Hierarchies in the UK. *Social Inclusion*

Lo Iacono & Demireva: Returns to Foreign and Host Country Qualifications: Evidence from the US on the Labour Market Placement of Migrants and the Second Generation.

03.

WP3 Ethnic discrimination in the labour market

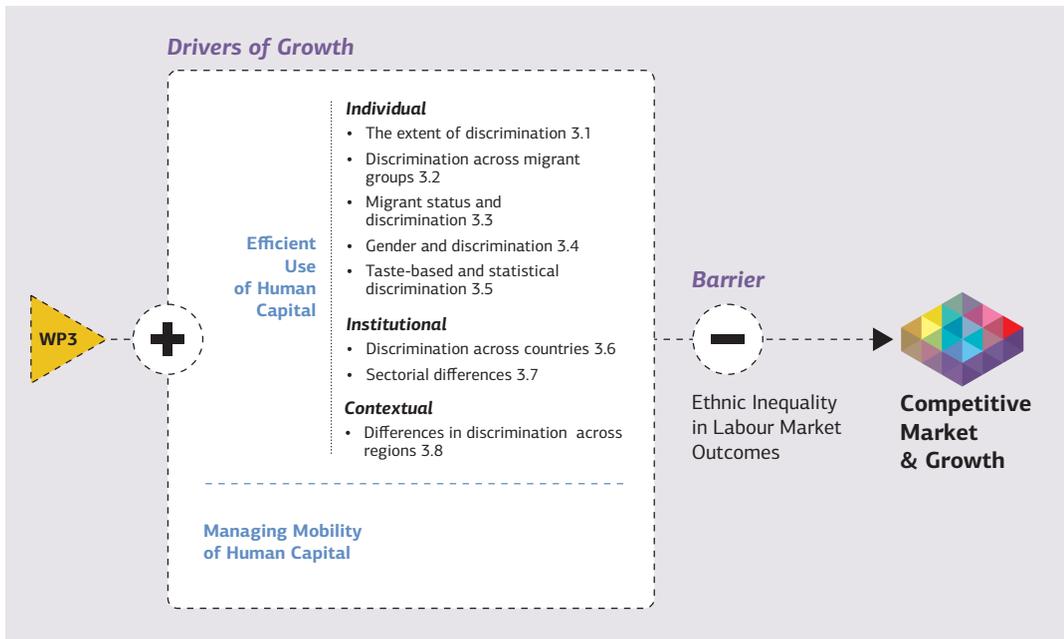
Partners: UvA, UU, WZB, UiO, UC3M, NUFF

3.1 Overview

Cross-national harmonized field experiment on ethnic discrimination on the labour market in Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and Norway has been conducted. In all five countries job applications from fictitious job candidates to real job openings has been sent. The fictitious job candidates were either natives or had an immigrant background in one out of 52 different countries of origin. In all countries, clear differences in the call-back rates of the majority population and minority applicants have been found, confirming that minority applicants are discriminated against in the hiring process.

Between November 2016 and April 2018, we applied to almost 18,000 job vacancies with cover letters and CV's of fictitious applicants. We sent one application per vacancy. To make applications comparable, all application materials were standardized with similar cover letters and CV's across countries. We included applications from male and female job candidates, and took into account 52 different countries of ethnic origin for our minority candidates, ranging from Albania to Vietnam. In total, 25% of our applications were sent by applicants from the majority group and 25% were sent from two country-specific minority groups that are especially meaningful in the respective labour market. Specifically, Pakistani and Nigerians in Britain, Turks and Lebanese in Germany, Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands, Pakistani and Somali in Norway, and Ecuadorians and Moroccans in Spain. The remaining half of the applications are from applicants with a different ethnic origin, ranging from Europe, Africa, Asia to North and South America. Candidates' ethnic background is foremost signalled by their name. In addition, the ethnic background is also signalled by their mother tongue in the resume and by a sentence about the origin of their family in the cover letter.

Next to ethnicity and gender, we randomly varied productivity-related information on the resumes, to test the effect of adding more personal information about applicants. We also included experimental manipulations to test discrimination based on religious affiliation and phenotype. In each country, we applied to vacancies in at least 6 occupations: cook, payroll clerk, software developer, receptionist, store assistant, and sales representative. We registered whether fictitious applicants received a positive call-back or invitation for a job interview from employers or not. Specifically, we coded personal requests for additional information, missed calls, and (pre-) invitations for a job interview as positive responses (call-back = 1), no positive responses or no responses at all were coded 0. Ethnic discrimination in the labour market is hence indicated by differences in call-back rates between minority and majority applicants



3.2 Results and Policy Implications

The mean call-back rate (for all applicants, irrespective of gender, ethnic origin, etc.) differs between the 5 countries. While it is relatively low in Spain (13 percent), the UK (17 percent) and Norway (24 percent), the call-back rate in the Netherlands is much larger with 46 percent and in Germany it even reaches 49 percent. This may be explained by the very high demand for labour in Germany and the Netherlands.

3.2.1 Discrimination of minority applicants

Clear evidence of ethnic discrimination

- ▶ We find clear differences in the call-back rates of majority and minority applicants, confirming that overall, minority applicants are discriminated against in the hiring process. Applicants from the majority group receive more call-backs from employers compared to (equally qualified) minority applicants. The difference in call-back rate is significant in all countries. The overall discrimination ratio is 1.31, indicating that minority applicants need to send about thirty percent more applications than majority applicants to have a similar likelihood of receiving a positive response from employers.
- ▶ The differences between countries partly reflect the distribution of the minority groups included in our study. In our comparative design we included a

wide range of groups with different ethnic origin, and in addition focused in each country on two specific minority groups that are especially meaningful in the respective labour market. As 25% of all applications within a country are from those two minority groups, this affects the overall rate of discrimination within each country.

3.2.2 Differences in discrimination between ethnic groups

Large differences in ethnic discrimination between applicants from different countries of origin

- ▶ There are considerable differences in the extent of discrimination between applicants from different origin regions. Overall, we find that compared to other minority applicants, applicants from Western Europe and the US have relatively more chance to get a positive response from an employer. In most countries this also holds for applicants from Eastern Europe and Russia, and South-East and East Asia. On the other hand, applicants with a Latin America, Middle East and North African (MENA region) or (other) African background receive overall relative less positive responses from employers.
- ▶ There are large differences in the extent of discrimination between minority applicants from different countries of origin. There are some systematic differences here. For example, in most destination countries applicants from South Korea, India, or the Netherlands have above-average call-back rates. Applicants from countries such as Uganda, Egypt, or Iraq, by contrast, are consistently on the lower end of the call-back hierarchy. However, there also are big differences across destination countries with regard to the ranking of specific origin groups.
- ▶ Although minority applicants are overall treated less favourable than majority applicants, there are some ethnic groups which even have a better chance to receive a call-back from employers. For instance, in the UK, applicants with an Irish or Indian background have a higher call-back rate than majority UK applicants.
- ▶ The overall differences in discrimination between minority groups indicate a pattern of cultural distance. That is, we find that larger differences in cultural values (with regard to secular and emancipative values or shares of Muslim population) between the population of the destination country and the country of origin, correspond with a lower likelihood that applicants from this country of origin will receive a positive response from an employer.

3.2.3 Gender discrimination

No evidence of discrimination of women

- ▶ Overall, we find no evidence of discrimination of women in the five European countries. Instead, as far as discrimination exists, it is men who are less likely to receive a call-back from employers. The differences are 10-12 percentage points.
- ▶ Men are discriminated in typically female dominated occupations, such as pay roll clerks, receptions and store assistants. Women are not discriminated

when they apply for jobs as software developers, a typical male dominated occupation.

No evidence of intersectionality between gender and ethnic discrimination

- ▶ Does ethnic discrimination vary by gender? Previous studies provided mixed conclusion regarding the question whether females from ethnic minority groups are relatively more discriminated than males from ethnic minority groups.
- ▶ Our results show that ethnic discrimination does not vary systematically with gender. While female candidates in general receive higher call-backs than male candidates, the ethnic penalties are not significantly different among the two. Hence, our findings do not support the idea of a “double burden” facing minority women, or conversely the notion of gendered ethnic stereotypes additionally penalizing male candidates.
- ▶ There is some heterogeneity across occupations: Among receptionists and payroll clerks, occupations which in most countries are female-dominated, minority women are penalized more severely than men.

3.2.4 Racial discrimination

In three European countries - Germany, the Netherlands and Spain - we additionally carried out a comparative field experiment on the impact of phenotypes, as indicated by the photographs of our fictitious applications. We examined the average difference in call back rates across four ‘racial’ groups (‘White’, ‘Dark-Skinned Caucasian’, ‘Asian’ and ‘Black’) comprising of eight different photographs for each sex carefully matched in dimensions of attractiveness and likeability. All analyses were restricted to minority applicants only.

- ▶ We find evidence of ‘racial’ discrimination, net of ethnic origin in all three countries. Averaging across the three countries studied, ‘racial’ minorities have to send roughly between 13% (Dark-Skinned Caucasians) to 23% (Blacks) more CVs to receive a call-back than ‘White minorities’ net of region of ancestry.
- ▶ Racial discrimination is significantly lower in Spain and seems highest in the Netherlands, where Black minority applicants are roughly 30% less likely to receive a call-back than identical White minority applicants.
- ▶ Applicants’ phenotype does not influence employers’ responses independently of applicants’ ethnicity. For example, in the Netherlands and Germany, we find White applicants of Western Europe or US ancestry receive twice as many call-backs than Black applicants of MENA ancestry, while Black applicants of Western European/US ancestry do not seem to be discriminated against. Similarly, in Spain, the Dark-Skinned Caucasian phenotype is discriminated against if applicants have MENA ancestry but not if they have Western/US ancestry. This suggest there is intersectionality between racial discrimination (phenotype) and ethnic discrimination (region of origin).
- ▶ Only in the Netherlands we find evidence suggestive of racial hierarchies in employers’ responses to minority applicants of non-Western ancestry. This

means call-backs for these applicants tend to decrease by phenotype following the following ladder: White/Dark-Skin-Caucasian/Asian/Black.

3.2.5 Religious discrimination

More discrimination of applicants with a headscarf

In our study, we signalled the religious affiliation of our fictitious applicants with their voluntary work that is either conducted in a civic association (for our secular applicants) or in a religious (Christian, Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist) association.

- ▶ Minority applicants with a Muslim affiliation have a lower chance of receiving a positive call back from employers. There is a clear negative effect for female applicants in Germany, the Netherlands and Norway, and for male applicants in the UK, the Netherlands and Norway.
- ▶ The penalty for female Muslim applicants in the Netherlands and Germany seems to be driven by those wearing a headscarf in their CV picture. In fact, disclosing a Muslim affiliation does not have any negative effect for females (from Muslim countries) without headscarf, while the penalty associated to wearing a headscarf is substantial, particularly in Germany.
- ▶ Hence, the mere fact of being Muslim does not trigger discrimination for female Muslim applicants in most countries (except Norway). Rather, those who wear a headscarf are more discriminated in Germany and (although not significantly) in the Netherlands.
- ▶ Note that we only were able to test for an effect of wearing a headscarf in Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, as we included pictures of applicants only in these countries. In addition, in our experiment we only investigated the first phase of the hiring procedure, namely the selection of applicants for a job interview. It might be that wearing a headscarf also triggers discrimination in countries such as Norway and Great Britain (where we did not send pictures), but that this is not visible at this stage of the application process, but only when applicants actually appear for a job interview.
- ▶ Whereas we do find clear negative effects of disclosing a Muslim affiliation, we find no effect of a Christian, a Hindu or a Buddhist affiliation for minorities. The only exception to this pattern are Buddhist and Hindu males in Norway, who receive more positive call-backs compared to secular applicants.
- ▶ Among applicants from the national majority group, we find only evidence of religious discrimination in two countries. In Norway, applicants with a Christian affiliation have a lower call-back rate than non-religious applicants. In the Netherlands, a similar pattern emerges but only for female applicants.

3.2.6 The effect of the amount of information about the applicant

Discrimination is only marginally reduced when more information about the applicant is available

According to statistical discrimination theory (SDT), discrimination is due to information deficiencies. When employers have little information about job applicants' true productivity, they will base their decisions partly on information

about groups' average productivity or group stereotypes. Accordingly, adding more relevant information to a resume is expected to reduce discrimination in hiring. However, our results show overall only marginal effects in line with SDT.

- ▶ Adding more relevant personal information to the resume did not significantly reduce discrimination of minority applicants compared to majority applicants. Although adding more personal information diminishes discrimination slightly, the difference is not significant. Hence, the direct impact of more personal information is limited.
- ▶ We also examined whether differences in discrimination between ethnic groups are related to group characteristics, such as the level of labour participation, educational attainment, language distance, and group size. According to SDT, employers would partly rely on information regarding average productivity characteristics or stereotypes of groups. Hence, one would expect more discrimination towards ethnic groups which on average show lower levels of labour participation and educational attainment, or with a language in the country of origin that is more dissimilar to the language in the country of residence. Finally, one would expect less discrimination towards ethnic groups with a larger share in the (labour force) population, as there would be less uncertainty among employers about the productivity of such applicants. Consequently, applicants from larger minority groups would accordingly be less discriminated compared to (equally qualified) applicants from the majority group. A positive effect shows that the higher the score on this group characteristic, the more a minority group is discriminated compared to the majority group. We find some evidence for these hypotheses deduced from SDT. In line with SDT, we find in two countries (Norway and the Netherlands) that individual job applicants from minority groups are more likely to be discriminated against when the overall employment rate of their ethnic group is lower (i.e. the proportion of non-employed is larger). Interestingly, and also in line with SDT, these effects seem to be weaker when fictitious applicants sent more personal information, thus supporting SDT. Furthermore, in Germany, we find an overall negative effect of the relative size of a minority group. That is, members of smaller ethnic groups are apparently more discriminated. However, additional analyses show – in contrast to SDT – that this is only the case when more personal information was included. Likewise, we find in Germany that groups characterized by higher unemployment rates seem to be more discriminated against, but again – in contrast to SDT – only when more personal information was included. Finally, in contrast to SDT, we do not find that ethnic discrimination is significantly associated with the level of educational attainment or language distance. In sum, we find only limited support for the theoretical notion that employers use these objective group characteristics in their evaluation of individual job applicants.

3.2.7 The effect of applicants' warmth and competence signals.

Do employers discriminate less when applicants signal warmth and competence in their resume?

- ▶ Employers base their hiring decisions partly on signals of (majority or minority) group membership. Previous research shows that two types of information are

of particular importance when people form impressions of others: information about others' intentions (i.e. their warmth, communion, or morality) and about their capacity to reach their goals (i.e. competence, agency, or power) - often referred to as the 'Big Two' of social perception. We randomly varied competence and warmth by including a personal statement in the resume and cover letter.

- ▶ Overall, signalling competence increases the likelihood of receiving a positive response from employers. Signalling (only) warmth has no effect.
- ▶ However, the effect of competence differs between majority and minority applicants: majority members benefit more from competence signals than minority candidates. Hence, our results contradict statistical discrimination theory and are instead in line with psychological research on stereotype-consistent information. In most countries, majority applicants benefit from a warmth or competence signal in their resume. However, minority applicants benefit less.
- ▶ We also find variation across destination countries, with the pattern of results in Germany strongly deviating from the general finding. This might point to the German exceptionalism in application procedures. In Germany, job candidates have to hand in a large amount of information, including copies of school graduation and training certificates. Given this objective information, self-reports of competence and warmth may be of less importance for employers or they may even evoke reversed effects.

3.2.8 Formalization of HR procedures

To analyse whether and how discrimination varies across firms based on specific organizational-level characteristics (e.g. firm size), we are constrained by the type of information that was available on the online job platforms from which we sampled the job openings for the field experiment. This information is often limited and, where available, poorly comparable across countries. Given these constraints, we focus here on only one factor that is often discussed in the literature on how to reduce bias in organizational decision-making: the formalization of HR procedures.

Formalized hiring procedures are expected to decrease bias in hiring decisions by making the rules and structure of the hiring process transparent. In turn, transparency should make managers accountable for their decisions. We relied on an indirect measure of formalization to test whether discrimination is lower in organizations that have formalized hiring procedures. Our proxy for formalization measures whether the applicant received a confirmation of receipt after the application was received. These are messages like "Thank you for your interest in [firm]. Your application is under consideration for the position [job]. Interviews will start from [date]". This variable can be calculated for all countries except Spain, where the online platform used for sampling job openings automatically sent a confirmation of receipt to all applicants with an automated message. Admittedly, this is a very indirect proxy of formalization, which partly captures the presence of a HR department with a standardized communication policy for recruitment. It also correlates with firm size: in Germany, where information on firm size is available, the two are positively correlated ($r=0.251$, $p<0.01$). With these caveats in mind, the analyses show that in Germany, the Netherlands and Nor-

way the disadvantage of minority applicants relative to the majority applicants in the respective country is reduced in organizations that adopt formalized HR procedures. In the UK (not shown), this is however not the case. We find the same result, whether we look at the chance to get a (any) call-back from employers (model 1 and 2), or stricter, at the chance to get an invitation for a job interview.

3.3 Policy implications in Highlight

- ▶ In public and policy debates on labour market discrimination, applicants from minority groups are often called upon to strengthen the quality of their resume and motivation letter. Although it is of course recommended to write solid resumes and attractive motivation letters, we found that minority candidates face discrimination, despite having equal qualifications and equivalent resumes and motivation. Even more, our findings that adding more personal information (e.g. signalling competence) does not reduce discrimination, seem to imply that the ability for individual applicants to prevent discrimination based on group characteristics is rather limited in the first phase of the hiring process. Instead, our findings implicate that measures to prevent and combat discrimination should focus on the employers' side. Our results call for increased efforts to scrutinize the hiring process and combat discrimination.
- ▶ Our findings call for more awareness of employer's biases toward ethnic and cultural minority groups. These biases may to a large extent be implicit. Previous psychological research has shown that next to explicit negative stereotypes, implicit negative stereotypes can trigger discriminatory behaviour. Characteristic of implicit negative stereotypes is that people may not be aware when such implicit stereotypes are activated and consequently how these influence their behaviour. Even among those who hold no strong negative (explicit) attitudes towards minorities, implicit group stereotypes may bias their evaluation of individual job candidates. Information campaigns and training could raise employers' awareness of such biases and how these might influence hiring decisions. Such efforts should also take into account the type of stereotypes of minority groups. Unfounded group stereotypes can be countered by providing more information about minority groups or by increasing intergroup contact. Other stereotypes might partly reflect average group differences but could still induce discrimination if individual applicants are not evaluated on the basis of their own characteristics, but on the basis of a (perceived) group average.
- ▶ Next to raising awareness of such biases, more efforts are needed to decrease the impact of bias in the hiring process. Measures should be incorporated that emphasize standardized, objective, and accountable assessments of applicants, in order to limit the impact of employers' (implicit) negative stereotypes and group beliefs. Examples could be a stronger standardization and formalization of the hiring process in which decisions are made on strictly defined skills and competences that are relevant for the specific job; applicants are evaluated according to criteria that are pre-defined; and individuals are held accountable for their evaluations of candidates. In addition, the effectiveness of other methods like anonymous job applications could

be investigated, although this cannot be applied to all types of jobs and the implementation should be tailored to the specific organizational needs.

- ▶ In line with the notion that more standardization and formalization of the hiring process could reduce discrimination, we found in our study that overall, in most countries, the disadvantage of minority applicants relative to majority applicants is reduced in organizations that adopt formalized HR procedures.

3.4 Publications

Lancee, B. Ethnic discrimination in hiring: Comparing groups across contexts. Results from a cross-national field experiment. *Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Larsen, E., & Di Stasio, V. *Pakistani in the UK and Norway: Different Contexts, Similar Disadvantage. Results from a Comparative Field Experiment on Hiring Discrimination. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Thijssen, L., Lancee, B., Veit, S., and Yemane, R. *Discrimination against Turkish Minorities in Germany and the Netherlands: Field experimental evidence on the effect of diagnostic information on labour market outcomes. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Yemane, R., & Fernández-Reino, M. *Latinos in the United States and Spain: Impact of ethnic group stereotypes on labour market outcomes. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Ramos, M., Thijssen, L. and Coenders, M. *Labour market discrimination against Moroccan Minorities in the Netherlands and Spain: A cross-national and cross-regional comparison. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Veit, S., and Thijssen, *Almost identical but still treated differently? Hiring discrimination against foreign-born and domestic-born minorities. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

Di Stasio, V., Lancee, B., Veit, S., & Yemane, R. *Muslim by default or religious discrimination? Results from a cross-national field experiment on hiring discrimination. Submitted as special issue for Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*

04.

WP4 The Lived experience of Migration

Partners: NEC, UESSEX, UNIMIB, WZB, CURS , UC3M

4.1 Overview

The main aim of WP4 is to examine the ‘lived experiences’ of migration in relation to the project overall objective ‘Managing Mobility of Human Capital as a Driver of Growth’. While most studies concentrate on the migration outcomes once migrants are in the country of reception, the research design of WP4 allows to capture the dynamic process of mobility in its entirety: from the multi-layered nature of migration decisions through the various mobility channels to the diverse economic, cultural, political and social outcomes for individuals and societies. This is achieved by studying three groups with different positions in the mobility process: experts from public and private recruiting agencies, prospective migrants preparing their departure to a European country within one year and actual migrants – that is people who have migrated for work and have leaved for at least two years in the receiving country. The strength of the WP comes also from the study of migration motivations and mobility experiences as embedded in the specific social contexts of the countries of departures and the countries of arrival. The countries selected for the fieldwork represented three groups: traditionally receiving migrants such as Germany and the UK, countries traditionally sending migrants, such as Bulgaria and Romania, and countries which at present are both receiving and sending migrants such as Italy and Spain. In addition, the WP addresses the interplay between individual, contextual and institutional factors highlighting those that contribute to the successful integration of migrants and efficient use of human capital in Europe.

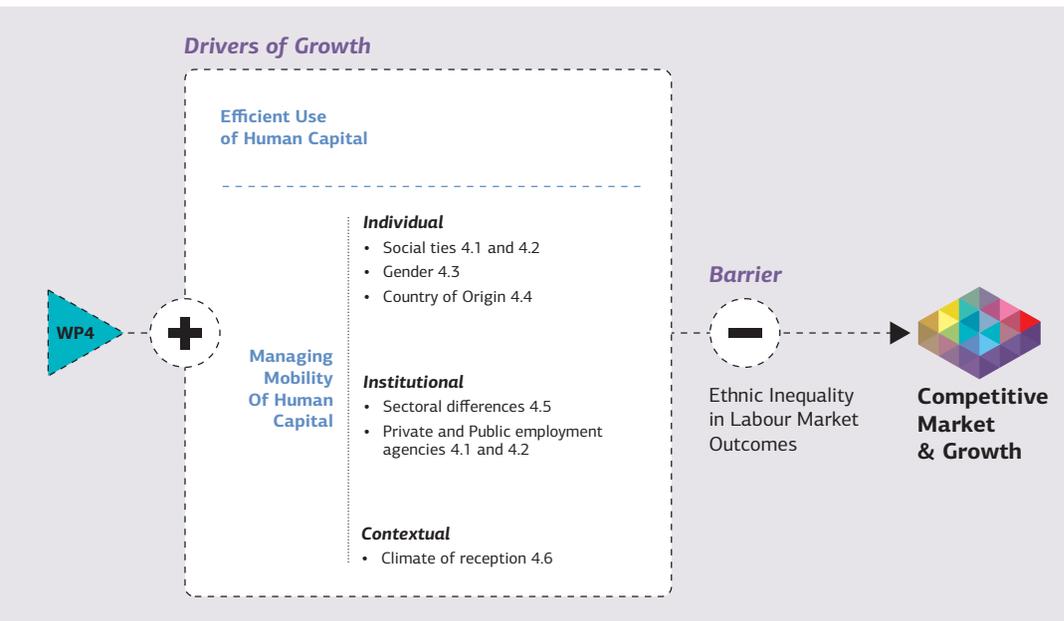


Figure 3: Research focus of WP4

Six country teams were involved in WP4 for the period of July 2016 to December 2018. Significant milestones were the kick-off meeting in Oxford, 1-3.10.2015, the project meeting in Plovdiv, 2-5.10.2016, the WP4 meeting in Bucharest, 25-28.05.2017, and the final conference and project meeting in Paris, 26-28 October 2018. The WP team received valuable insights during the review meeting in Brussels, 24-25.11.2016.

4.2 Sampling and Interviews

The fieldwork took about 8 months – from November 2016 till June 2018. The interview schedules were translated into the local languages, several pilot interviews were conducted to check their feasibility and then discussed by the research teams. The interviews were conducted by members of the research teams who were trained in qualitative methodology. Using the commonly agreed sampling design, the interview guides and letters of informed consent, the six teams from Bulgaria, Romania, Italy, Spain, Germany and the UK conducted 236 interviews-in-depth in total. The interviewees were selected following a quota sampling along the following criteria:

- ▶ 40 experts from recruiting agencies who were owners or employees of such organizations, both state and private, and working on different levels of the organizational hierarchy.
- ▶ 42 prospective migrants who were people that planned to leave the country of origin in less than 12 months and had made some preparatory steps.
- ▶ 154 actual migrants who were people who had lived in the country of reception for at least two years and meeting criteria of gender, skills and occupational sector.

The sampling of the core group of actual migrants was based on a quota design taking into consideration the home and host country of the migrants, gender and qualification level. The interviewed migrants were equally divided between men and women. One third were low-skilled and working in the sectors of construction, domestic care and transport; two thirds were highly-skilled in the sectors of finance, ICT and health. We aimed at maximum diversity for the rest of the individual characteristics of the interviewees such as age, family status, housing situation and years of migration experience. Equal gender distribution and two to one ratio of high to low skills among potential migrants was also sought for without fixing other quota criteria. The experts had to be working either in state or private employment agencies at different positions in the organizational hierarchy. By country of origin the interviewees included 65 Bulgarians, 47 Romanians, 46 Spaniards, 46 Italians and 16 non-EU migrants (Chinese and Americans).

Much attention was devoted to the ethics of our research project and each team ensured an ethical approval from a relevant ethics body before the start of the fieldwork. All interviewees were informed about the project, its aims, methods for analysis and presentation of results and then asked to sign a consent form. It was made clear that they could withdraw from the interview at any time

and that their personal details would be kept private. Bearing in mind the stages of analysis all researchers took care to protect the anonymity of their interviewees and presented them with acronyms only while deleting specific biographical details in the analysis of the cases.

All interviews were audio recorded and fully transcribed in the languages in which they were conducted. For comparative purposes extended 3-page summaries in English were written for each interview. The interviews provided rich qualitative information which served as the empirical basis for our research work.

4.3 Results and policy implications

4.3.1 Individual factors shaping the migration experience

The comparative analysis reveals the existence of a large range of mobility channels available to prospective migrants, which, however, are not equally used and in many cases the choices are not led by reasons of easy access and faster results. This often results in loss of human capital, mostly through underemployment but also through restricted opportunities for professional development. In the case of international mobility, the structure of opportunities defined by the rules of admission, residence and work that each Member State administers to foreign migrants living in their territory strongly influences selectivity patterns. In spite of formal recruitment channels providing greater security of employment and greater protection from discrimination, migrants both highly and low skilled use informal channels. Indeed, this happens to a larger extent in the case of countries sending predominantly low-skilled migrants (Bulgaria and Romania) and to a lesser extent in the case of countries sending predominantly highly-skilled migrants (Italy and Spain). Important differences have been observed between public and private recruitment agencies in their organisational structure, staffing, and practice approach. Private agencies seem to be more flexible, more pro-active and more efficient as compared to public agencies. On the other hand, public agencies have a larger coverage, both in terms of territorial presence and in terms of international collaboration and scope of job openings, especially in the context of their involvement in the EURES network. Hence, one may say that the activities of public and private recruitment agencies are to a large extent complementary and respond to real needs of the labour markets.

There is a great diversity of motivations for migration which cannot be solely explained by macrolevel factors such as high unemployment rates. Social inequalities stemming from ethnicity, educational and skills level, economic sector, types of occupation as well as gender often have different impact depending on the context of the sending and receiving countries. Better labour market opportunities are factors important for all types of migrants but often migrants choose the country of arrival based on very little knowledge about the norms regulating employment and social security. The lack of language proficiency is a significant barrier to mobility in the European labour market. Migrants from Italy and Spain more often look for better career opportunities in Germany and the UK while migrants from Bulgaria and Romania are motivated more often by income

differences and tend to accept jobs below their educational level. Highly skilled health professionals such as doctors from all countries choose the destination when they find that it offers better career opportunities, while nurses (medium skill level) from Bulgaria and Romania tend to accept starting in low skilled caring jobs. The image of particular cities acts as an attractive force for migrants. London and Berlin are seen as global cities offering high quality of work and life and a variety of multicultural experiences entice mainly young Europeans who are not only in search of better job opportunities, but also a better lifestyle and the possibility for autonomy and adventure.

Lengthy preparation of numerous documents such as university diplomas, training and skill certificates is a major challenge, particularly in sectors such as health care and construction, which most need a mobile workforce. Although many of our interviewees prepared their departure, there are those who depart without any kind of preparation and little knowledge of the destination country. The comparative advantages of investing more time in the migration preparation period were clear in the different 'success rates' in the first job search period, highlighting the necessity of more accessible and widely propagated information about the European labour market contexts. Being in possession of a job-offer prior to departure, opportunities for additional education and training in the host country, access to local language courses, stable integration into professional and social networks, in short, high levels of human capital are undoubtedly beneficial to migrants in the context of the countries of reception.

4.3.2 Institutional and contextual factors of migration

Upon arrival in the destination countries, regardless of their qualifications, tend to rely much more on non-state or informal sources of support than on official institutional assistance. Public agencies created by the host countries are more often seen as posing barriers to early adaptation rather than offering support. The Embassies and Cultural Centres from the countries of departure are more often perceived by migrants as neutral and disinterested, rather than offering information and help. The sources of support that migrants make use of most often are, on the one hand, family, friends and former colleagues; on the other hand, social media and professional networks; and last but not least, non-governmental actors such as charity, religious, welfare organizations or mutual help associations, usually working with people with the same national/regional origin or native language. Finding accommodation poses a significant challenge and migrants have to develop concerted strategies in this regard. Initially, migrants are looking for any kind of housing (often shared with co-nationals) before gradually orienting themselves to more desirable neighbourhoods. Examples of employers providing or assisting with housing (mostly in the health sector) are infrequent but seem to greatly ease the first steps of adaptation.

Upward, downward and horizontal work trajectories which were observed during the study suggest the importance of the sources of support for migrants' work careers. Being in possession of a job-offer prior departure, opportunities for additional education and training in the host country, access to local language courses, stable integration into professional and social networks, in short, high levels of human capital are undoubtedly beneficial to migrants in the context of

the countries of reception. Underlining the role of education, we should particularly stress the significance of EU educational initiatives such as the Lifelong Learning Programme and Erasmus Plus for the adaptation and career growth of migrants. Institutions which act as labour market mediators should develop more targeted approaches when assisting individuals with international job searches. Finally, the role of trade unions in educating and integrating migrants' in the local work cultures and defending their rights seems underdeveloped and should be encouraged. The analysis shows that discrimination at work operates at several dimensions: gender-based, practiced by employers and employees alike, between different nationality and ethnic groups in the same workplace. Many of the cases discussed in our reports fall under a legal ban but their occurrence in the working lives of migrants shows the need for stricter measures for guaranteeing equality, especially in multi-cultural labour environments. Maintaining active relationships with family members and friends remaining in the country of departure is not always easily achievable and sometimes not desired by migrants. Creating new families, friendship, neighbourhood and collegial ties is often more demanding than anticipated by migrants. In the new social context, keeping 'open doors' to the communities of co-nationals generates a different model of integration compared to the 'open doors' approach to the communities of locals and migrants from other nationalities.

Perceiving the migration process as a learning experience allows for a deeper look into the complex renegotiation of cultural and political boundaries that migrants experience in their destination countries. What emerges here is the importance of negative images and stereotypes of certain migrant groups as well as, in some cases, of the migrant status as such, which may trigger a gradual 'disidentification' with the society of origin. At the same time, notions of one's country of origin identity can be strengthened when challenged by the different and at times adverse social and cultural environment in the destination country. The development of multiple spaces and communities of belonging is often reflected upon as a positive outcome of the migratory process. In the legal and political terrain, the identity-nationality link deserves special attention since it sometimes determines migrants' decisions to apply or not for the citizenship of the host country. In the context of the Brexit referendum in the UK, our study shows that concerns about mobility rights are weaker than expected, in part because of the persisting confidence in EU citizenship. Perceptions of European citizenship, instrumental and based on pragmatic logic as it may be, nonetheless provides reassurance in situations of political turmoil and insecurity.

Non-EU migrants do not have the same freedom of mobility within the EU and Chinese citizens for example need visas to travel to Germany and the UK. Once the problem of their legal status is solved, the working experiences of Chinese, as well as US citizens face are conditioned by similar institutional and contextual hurdles as those of migrants from Southern and Eastern European countries. The insufficient knowledge of the local language impedes the early stages of integration in the new social context and often serves as a fig leaf for discrimination attitudes towards outsiders. Education abroad works in the opposite direction, enhancing career, human and social capital. Non-EU migrants describe the same bureaucratic obstacles for the recognition of their educational certificates as the mobile individuals from the EU member-states, despite the

efforts for integration and mutual recognition of university diplomas within the EU. The intra-EU migrants do not feel more welcome than migrants from outside the EU and those coming from the two Eastern European countries – Romania and Bulgaria – are often less accepted in the host societies. The formal right to travel, work and live within the EU does not bring about to unproblematic work and social integration of mobile Europeans in the host society but they still have another advantage to non-EU migrants – the symbolic sense of a European identity which most of them have developed during their mobility experiences. Our study indicated that migrants from within the EU might be a significant actor for greater political and cultural integration at the European level.

4.4 Data set qualitative fieldwork

The WP4 teams prepared a unified data set consisting of the 236 in-depth interviews conducted in Bulgaria, Romania, Italy, Spain, Germany and the UK in the respective national languages. Besides the full transcripts in six languages, three-page summaries of all interviews in English are included in the collection, as well as an Excel table listing all cases and their characteristics according to some selected indicators. This required concerted efforts to homogenise transcripts created in different national academic traditions, as well as meeting the technical requirements of the chosen data archive. A lot of work followed by strict control procedures were invested in anonymisation of the transcripts and summaries when preparing the data base. The unified data collection 'The lived experiences of migration' is deposited at Colchester, Essex: UK Data Service. 10.5255/UKDA-SN-853333 <http://reshare.ukdataservice.ac.uk/853333/>

4.5 Publications

Siyka Kovacheva, Darena Hristozova. Youth Migration and Life Course Transitions: Comparing women's mobility across generations. *Sociologija* (ISSN : 0038-0318). Abstract published, in *Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro* (Ed.) 2018 (Being) Young in context. Concepts, contexts and comparisons. ISBN 978-86-531-0424-5

Iraklis Dimitriadis, Giovanna Fullin, Maricia Fischer-Souan. Great Expectations? Young Southern Europeans Emigrating in Times of Crisis. *Mondi Migranti* (ISSN 1972-4888). Submitted (27/07/2018) - Under review

Iraklis Dimitriadis, Fabio Quassoli. New Italian Migrants in London and Berlin: Identity negotiation and cultural change. *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Diego Coletto, Giovanna Fullin. Before landing: How does the decision to migrate become real? *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Siyka Kovacheva, Boris Popivanov. Recruitment practices (self-)reflected: for-

mal ways in channelling intra-European migration in the view of the personnel of recruitment agencies. *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Boris Popivanov, Siyka Kovacheva. "Managing somehow": Informal channels of mobility among new European migrants. *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Stanimir Kabaivanov. Are migration decisions optimal - matching individual preferences with host country context? *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Maricia Fischer-Souan. Between 'Labour Migration' and 'New European Mobilities': Motivations for migration of Southern and Eastern European Migrants in the EU. *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Marin Burcea, Rodica Ianole-Călin. Informal practices and the lived experiences of Romanian migrants. *Social Inclusion* (ISSN 2183-2803). Abstract submitted (14/09/18)

Iraklis Dimitriadis, Fabio Quassoli. Nuovi italiani migranti a Roma e a Berlino: cittadinanza, identità e cambiamento culturale. Chapter in the book: Alberio Marco and Berti Fabio (eds.), "Italiani che lasciano l'Italia. Le nuove emigrazioni al tempo della crisi", Milano: Mimesis. Work in progress

Iraklis Dimitriadis, Fabio Quassoli, Maricia Fischer-Souan. New Italian and Spanish migrants in London and Berlin: citizenship acquisition. *Citizenship Studies* (ISSN 1362-1025). Work in progress

Octav Marcovici, Dorel Abraham, Marin Burcea. Social adaptation and professional trajectories of the Romanian migrants in four European countries. *Romanian Journal of Sociology* (ISSN: 2558-9962; ISSN-L 2457-6158). Under review

Octav Marcovici, Dorel Abraham, Marin Burcea. Aspects of the Romanian migrants' motivation. *Romanian Journal of Sociology* (ISSN: 2558-9962; ISSN-L 2457-6158). Under review

Octav Marcovici, Dorel Abraham, Marin Burcea, Ionela Sufaru. Country Report on individual factors and recruitment channels. *Romanian Journal of Sociology* (ISSN: 2558-9962; ISSN-L 2457-6158). Under review

Octav Marcovici, Dorel Abraham, Marin Burcea, Ionela Sufaru. Country Report on contextual and institutional factors. *Romanian Journal of Sociology* (ISSN: 2558-9962; ISSN-L 2457-6158). Under review

Boris Popivanov, Siyka Kovacheva. Patterns of social integration strategies: "strong" and "weak" ties of the new European migrants. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Research*. Work in progress

05.

WP5:

**Institutional
Arrangements**

Partners: WZB, UESSEX

5.1 Overview

This WP provides a better understanding of the embeddedness of the migration process within a policy context.

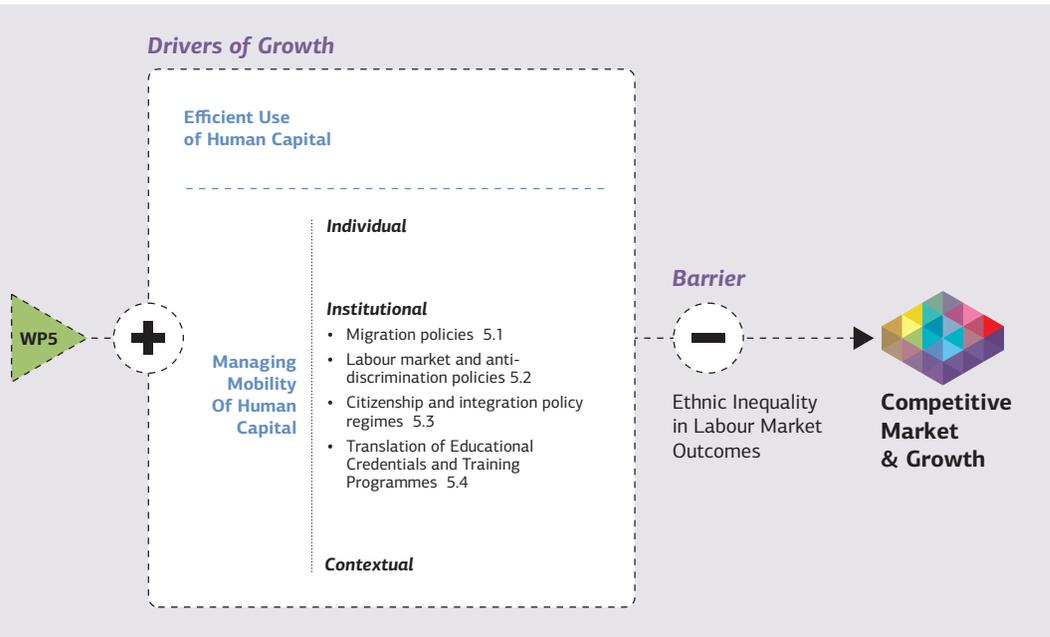


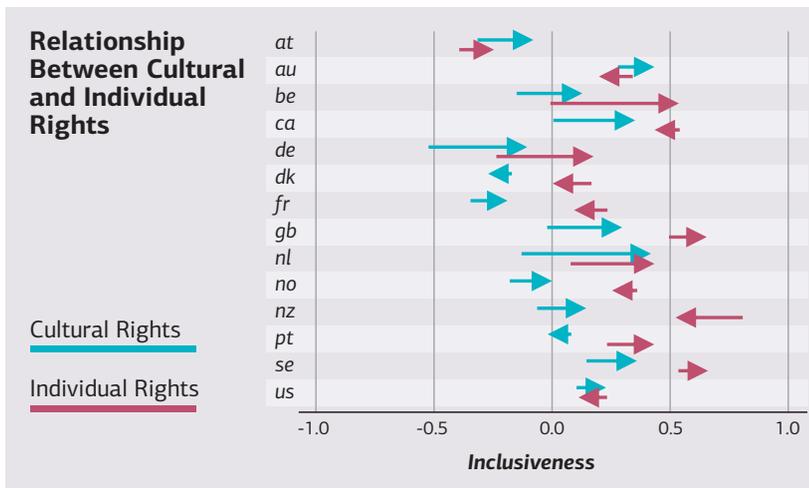
Figure 4: The research focus of WP5

5.2 Results and Policy recommendations

The main objective of this WP is to outline the policies and regulations in EU15 countries, Norway, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand that regard the management of migration and the successful and integration of immigrants. Within the broader GEMM objective, our goal is a better understanding of the embeddedness of the migration process within a policy context. To this end, we first examine citizenship regimes across countries and time using the ICRI dataset (Koopmans & Michalowski, 2017). Access to citizenship is of particular importance because it provides access to full rights and security of residence. In a second step we look at cross-country variation in the restrictiveness of immigration policies using the IMPIC dataset (Helbling et al., 2017). We especially consider potential differences between patterns in overall and in labour immigration policies. Lastly, we combine both data sources to investigate whether and how migration and integration policies correlate.

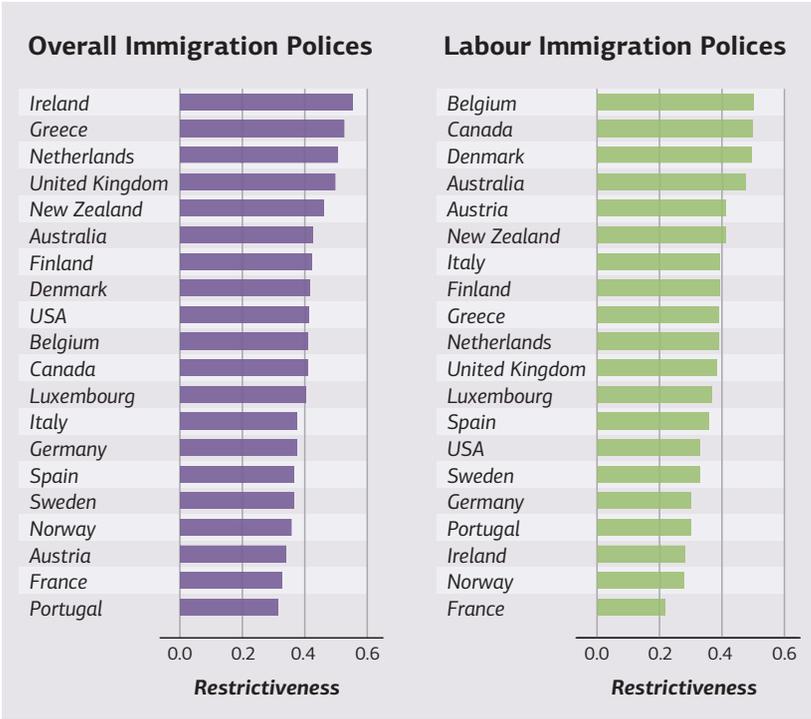
5.2.1 Citizenship

Our first analysis examines the development of citizenship regimes from 1980 to 2008 by using the ICRI dataset. We assess the position of countries on the two main sub-dimensions – cultural rights (i.e. equality of immigrant cultures relative to the majority) and individual rights (i.e. individual equality relative to non-immigrants). A few results become apparent from the below figure: first, there is a clear positive relationship between cultural and individual rights. States that are inclusive on the cultural dimension tend to also have more inclusive individual rights¹. Second, countries tend to be more inclusive on the individual dimension than on the cultural. Third, there is a general movement over time toward more inclusive rights on both dimensions. Last, over time relative differences between countries decrease as some less inclusive states such as Germany, Belgium, or Austria “catch up”.

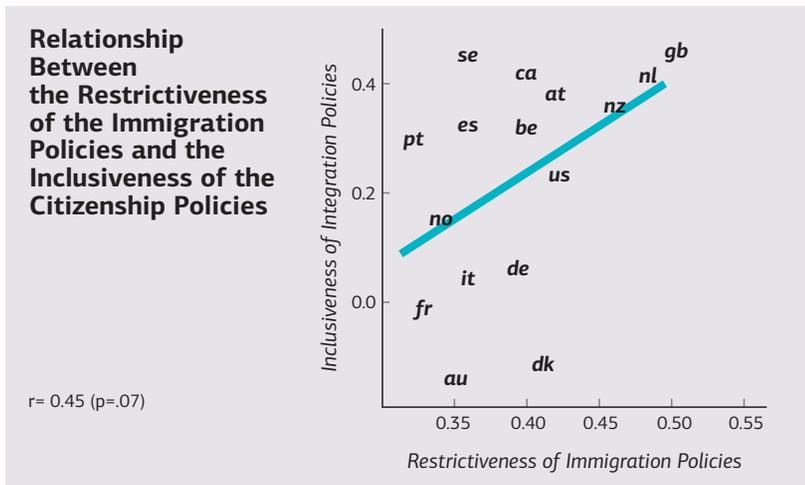


Next, we look at the association between overall immigration policy restrictiveness and the restrictiveness in one policy dimension, namely labor immigration, using the IMPIC data from 2010. We find that the two measures correlate ($r = 0.34$), as could be expected, but the association is far from perfect, indicating that cross-country variation in immigration policy restrictiveness follows different patterns in different policy dimensions. For example, the below figures (higher values indicate higher restrictiveness) show that Ireland has the most restrictive overall immigration policy, but a relatively permissive labour immigration regime. Austria, on the other hand, has liberal immigration policies in general but a stringent labour immigration regime.

¹ $r=0.74$ ($p < 0.000$)



In a last step we combine the ICRI and the IMPIC dataset to investigate whether there is a relationship between the restrictiveness of the immigration policies of a country and the inclusiveness of its citizenship policies. As the figure below demonstrates, countries with more restrictive immigration policies tend to have more inclusive citizenship regimes. This finding suggests that governments face a trade-off when designing policies for managing migration and the integration of immigrants: inclusive citizenship and integration regimes depend on stringent immigration policies because the latter are assumed to select migrants based on factors that facilitate integration (Cangiano, 2014). However, it is an open question whether restrictive immigration policies lead to better integration outcomes for immigrants.



5.2.2 Vocational skills

We identified and mapped mobility-friendly skills and vocational education and training policies and programmes across Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Norway (the five countries included in the GEMM project).

We provided an overview of the general structure of such training, and the groups of people (e.g. low-skilled immigrants) targeted by training policies in each country, with attention to similarities and differences across countries. Following Grubb and Ryan (1999) we classify vocational education and training (VET) into four categories:

1. Pre-employment VET: training for initial entry into employment through programmes within the schooling system; these programmes are generally operated by national ministries of education, and in so-called dual-systems, they are complemented by training in workplaces.
2. Upgrade training: for individuals already in employment and in need of skill improvement due to technological change and advancement in work environment.
3. Retraining: for individuals who have lost their jobs and are in need of further training in order to find new ones.
4. Remedial VET: for individuals who have been out of the labour force for a long time and are in need of training in essential skills.

With respect to this classification, pre-employment VET and some aspects of retraining are considered as initial vocational education and training (IVET), either through full-time schooling or apprenticeships. Upgrade training, including formal and non-formal kinds, remedial VET, and retraining to improve skills are considered as continuous vocational education and training (CVET) (Cedefop, 2008).

In identifying mobility-friendly skills and VET programmes across these five European countries, the recent trends show that both IVET and CVET provisions have proliferated in many different sectors, and further VET has expanded in

upper-secondary and higher education, focusing on improving skills after initial vocational training. There has also been an increasing trend of integrating workplace and formal vocational education and training, which is known as the 'German dual system'. In all the countries reviewed, an increasing emphasis has been put on the importance of practical knowledge in curricula and learning approaches, reinforcing work-based vocational education and training provision. New apprenticeship schemes have been introduced, particularly at different levels of education. Britain aside, these apprenticeship schemes are mainly organized by either national or regional authorities; in Britain, private training providers are vastly responsible for managing apprenticeship schemes. Importantly, however, although both IVET and CVET provisions have been increased in the last few years across the countries, the participation rate of young and adult migrants (foreign-born residents and citizens) in education and training has not significantly changed, with the exception of Britain, whose participation shows an initial decline.

5.2.3 Policy Recommendation

Several conclusions follow from our analyses. First, citizenship regimes with more inclusive cultural rights also tend to have more inclusive individual rights. Second, over time citizenship regimes became more inclusive and relative differences between countries diminish. Third, variation in the restrictiveness of labour immigration regimes does not strictly follow the same pattern as in overall immigration policies, suggesting that within countries, levels of restrictiveness vary by policy dimension. Last, there appears to be a trade-off between the restrictiveness of immigration policies and the inclusiveness of citizenship and integration regimes.

06.

**List of
researchers
in the project**

6. List of researchers in the project

<i>Name</i>	<i>E mail</i>	<i>Institutional affiliation</i>
Neli Demireva Coordinator	<i>nvdem@essex.ac.uk</i>	University of Essex
Zwysen Wouter Yasemin Soysal	<i>wzwyse@essex.ac.uk</i> <i>soysal@essex.ac.uk</i>	
Marcel Coenders Frank Tubergen	<i>m.coenders@uu.nl</i> <i>f.vantubergen@uu.nl</i>	Utrecht University
Boris Popivanov Siyka Kovacheva	<i>boris.popivanov@gmail.com</i> <i>siyakovacheva@gmail.com</i>	New Europe Centre for Regional Studies
Giovanna Fullin Emilio Reyneri Ivana Fellini Fabio Quassoli Diego Coletto Raffaele Guetto	<i>giovanna.fullin@unimib.it</i> <i>emilio.reyneri@unimib.it</i> <i>ivana.fellini@unimib.it</i> <i>fabio.quassoli@unimib.it</i> <i>diego.coletto@unimib.it</i> <i>raffaele.guetto@unimib.it</i>	University of Milano-Bicocca
Ruud Koopmans Susanne Veit Ruta Yemane	<i>koopmans@wzb.eu</i> <i>susanne.veit@wzb.eu</i> <i>ruta.yemane@wzb.eu</i>	Wissenschaftsz- entrum Berlin fur Sozialforschung
Edvard Nergard Larsen Gunn Elisabeth Birkelund	<i>e.n.larsen@sosgeo.uio.no</i> <i>g.e.birkelund@sosgeo.uio.no</i>	University of Oslo
Dorel Abraham Octav Marcovici Ionela Sufaru Marin Burcea Augustin Abraham	<i>abraham@curs.ro</i> <i>octav_m@yahoo.com</i> <i>burcea.marin@gmail.com</i> <i>augustin.abraham@curs.ro</i>	Center for Urban and Regional Sociology
Javier Polavieja María Fernández-Reino Jonas Radl Maria Ramos Martin Maricia Souan-Fischer	<i>javier.polavieja@uc3m.es</i> <i>marina.fernandez@uc3m.es</i> <i>jrads@clio.uc3m.es</i> <i>maria.ramos@uc3m.es</i> <i>msouanfi@clio.uc3m.es</i>	Universidad Carlos III de Madrid
Anthony Heath Valentina Di Stasio	<i>anthony.heath@nuffield.ox.ac.uk</i> <i>v.distasio@uu.nl</i>	University of Oxford
Bram Lancee	<i>B.Lancee@uva.nl</i>	University of Amsterdam

Edited by: Neli V Demireva and Marco Mangiantini

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PARTNERS

University of Essex - *Coordinator*

Utrecht University

New Europe Centre for Regional Studies

University of Milano-Bicocca

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

University of Oslo

Center for Urban and Regional Sociology

Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

University of Oxford

University of Amsterdam



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