



IZA DP No. 5185

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September 2010

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Discussion Paper No. 5185
September 2010

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ABSTRACT

Assimilation and Integration of Immigrants in Europe*

This paper documents assimilation of immigrants in European destinations along cultural, civic, and economic dimensions, distinguishing by immigrants' generation, duration of stay, and origin. Based on the European Social Survey, it suggests that assimilation may have multiple facets, and take place at different speed depending on the outcome in question. While assimilation along some economic and cultural outcomes may be correlated, such correlations are not systematic, and imply that progress on some dimensions may compensate the lack of progress on other dimensions; and also that a big discrepancy in one dimension is not necessarily a handicap, or an impediment, for assimilation on other grounds. Correlation of immigrants' outcomes and specific policies aimed at immigrants' integration are rather disparate, raising further questions regarding both their effectiveness and differentiated effect on various aspects of life.

JEL Classification: J1, F22, Z13

Keywords: assimilation, integration, migration policies, Europe

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* This paper is an abstract from the conclusion of the book "Cultural Integration in Europe", edited by Yann Algan, Alberto Bisin, Alan Manning and Thierry Verdier, forthcoming in the Oxford University Press/Cepremap Collection. We thank the Cepremap for logistic and financial support.

NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

While European countries are witnessing an especially vivid debate about immigrants' assimilation and integration into receiving societies, this paper offers a systematic analysis of whether such assimilation is indeed taking place. We suggest that, being a complex phenomenon, assimilation may be taking place along different dimensions and with different speed, and also differ across immigrants of various origins going to various destination countries.

We find that first-generation immigrants differ in a most important way from native-born along such dimensions as language, citizenship, civic involvement, religiosity, trust, perceived discrimination, occupations, and income. However, these differences are no longer the same for second-generation immigrants. In fact, a spectacular progress is observed between generations with respect to language and citizenship, occupations and income, while features such as religiosity are relatively persistent. In contrast, perceived discrimination and unemployment may actually aggravate for second-generation immigrants, while trust may also diminish, as compared to native-born and to first-generation immigrants. At the same time, we also find that there is an important heterogeneity in these outcomes not only across immigrant generations, but also across destination countries and migrant origins.

Assimilation along cultural and economic outcomes may be related one to another. For example, one would expect that learning a language of the receiving country may help immigrants to find a better job. We explore the relationship between assimilation along different behaviors, but do not find very strong or consistent patterns between them. In fact, for first-generation immigrants, we rather observe that progress on some dimensions may compensate the lack of progress on other dimensions; and also that a big discrepancy in one dimension is not necessarily a handicap, or an impediment, for assimilation on other grounds. Preserving some of the behaviors may actually be of help to immigrants to progress on others.

For second-generation immigrants, we find a particularly strong relationship between possessing citizenship and economic outcomes, language and citizenship, language and perceived discrimination, as well as between perceived discrimination and trust. Since the perceived discrimination reflects immigrants' experiences with the attitudes and behaviors of native-born in the receiving societies, the latter finding suggests that immigrant assimilation is interdependent with the attitudes and acceptance of immigrants on the part of the native-born.

Finally, we relate immigrants' assimilation to integration policies available in the European countries. We find that policies favoring labor market access of immigrants are positively related to assimilation in terms of employment. However, the link between other policies and behaviors is less clear. One of the reasons for this is that migration policies are also very complex. The same policy, such as, for example, antidiscrimination, may favor economic assimilation in providing more equal opportunities in the labour market; but at the same time, these very opportunities of equal treatment may favor the preservation, and not the change, of cultural behaviors. If this is the case, this can also partly explain why we observe assimilation on some, but not all, dimensions. This finding also opens a debate of what constitutes good integration policies, what policies we would like to have, and how to assess the effectiveness of policies that affect various aspects of life.

1. Introduction

Modern European countries are witnessing an especially vivid political and social debate about immigrants' assimilation and integration into receiving societies. Most recently, these discourses were particularly vibrant in 2010, when the French Minister of immigration and integration led a country-wide debate on what constitutes national identity; as well as in 2009-2010 in France, Switzerland, and Belgium, with respect to integration of religious minorities, and wearing a full-face Islamic veil as an affront to the national values.

A high concern about the failure of integration remains; while the large and growing empirical literature has not reached a consensus on this question. One of the reasons for this is that for the most part, the literature tends to focus on one specific aspect of assimilation at a time, without considering an interplay between the various dimensions of assimilation across different spheres of life, and neither considering the role of policies in this process.

There is an important body of research on the classical questions of immigrants' economic assimilation, such as in terms of wages (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1995; Hu, 2000; Algan et al, 2010), occupations (Chiswick, 2002; Green, 1999; Chiswick and Miller, 2009), participation to welfare programs (Borjas, 2002; Borjas and Hilton, 1996; Riphahn, 2004). Numerous papers also look at social and cultural dimensions, such as fertility adjustment (Blau, 1991; Fernandez and Fogli, 2009), perceived national or ethnic identity of immigrants (Dustman, 1996; Bisin et al., 2008; Constant, Gataullina, and Zimmermann, 2009; Manning and Roy, 2010), socialization (De Palo et al, 2007), or citizenship acquisition (Bueker, 2005; Chiswick and Miller, 2008). One observation that emerges from this literature is that assimilation is a very complex phenomenon, and that it may be taking place along some, but not all dimensions. For example, it may happen along language improvement, citizenship acquisition, or employment, but not necessarily religiosity. Its speed also varies greatly depending on the outcome in question. Further, assimilation may also be heterogeneous across destinations, across origin groups, or both. As most of the studies are done on different subsamples of immigrants, in different countries, and often using a different methodology, it is difficult to reach a conclusion on the overall assimilation.

While not claiming to provide one-and-for-all evidence on assimilation of immigrants in Europe, this paper is trying to fill an existing gap, and its contribution is three-fold. First, using the European Social Survey, we offer a comprehensive analysis of assimilation along

economic, cultural, and civic outcomes *of the same* individuals, using the same methodology and specifications, and contrasting different immigration waves and immigrant generations in Europe. Wherever possible, we look at assimilation patterns of immigrants from specific origins, as heterogeneity of origins countries plays an important role in the assimilation processes. Also, the comparative analysis is performed across numerous European countries that differ in their migration histories and migration policies, all of which also has implications for immigrants' adjustment processes.

Second, we explore a potential relationship between these assimilation processes. For example, the progress in mastering the language of the country of residence may be important in its own right, but it also affects the speed of assimilation along other dimensions (Chiswick, 1991; Dustman, 1994). The interest is hence to assess the degree of interplay between assimilation along other cultural and economic outcomes.

Finally, we also look at the link between assimilation and integration opportunities offered by the receiving societies, the latter being measured in terms of the immigrant-specific institutions and policies in the destination countries. To this end, we employ the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which is a cross-country index of six main policy areas of the integration of immigrants: "anti-discrimination", "access to nationality", "family reunion", "political participation", "labor market access", and "long-term residence".

Throughout the paper, we are careful in distinguishing the notions of "assimilation" and "integration". Immigrant assimilation – a process of convergence of immigrant behavioral and preferential outcomes to the outcomes of the native-born – is mostly a one-way, absorption, process. It may be rather necessary, and even desirable, for some outcomes, such as, for example, possibility to occupy a high-skilled position for immigrants with comparable education. However, it is not necessarily advantageous for other outcomes, where rather integration may be desirable. Integration can be defined as a process of providing immigrants with equal chances to access opportunities available to native-born. As such, it reflects the extent to which receiving societies are willing to go towards immigrants, accept them, and provide them with equal rights to express their behaviors and preferences along with the native-born, while potentially preserving and fully expressing of their differences.³

³ To quote the Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, 1966: "I do not regard [integration] as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the

Integration is thus most framed by specific measures and policies at the destination country that allow – or not - for the inclusion of immigrants into different life dimensions. The interest of this chapter is hence to assess to what extent there exist links between opportunities for integration provided by receiving societies and the assimilation processes.

Our main findings are the following. First, the differences in outcomes between native-born and different types of migrants (by duration and generation) vary substantially depending on the outcome in question. For first-generation immigrants, the largest gaps are observed in outcomes such as language, citizenship, civic involvement, religiosity, perceived discrimination, trust, occupations, and income. The gaps in language and citizenship diminish in the most spectacular way between first- and second-generation immigrants; however, in a number of countries, second-generation immigrants still have a significantly higher rate of non-citizenship as opposed to native-born, a finding that raises concerns regarding the lack of opportunities provided by the receiving countries to gain citizenship. The gaps in religiosity are more persistent, while the gaps in perceived discrimination and unemployment actually widen as we move from first to second generation immigrants in some countries like France. Interestingly, we also find that second-generation immigrants distrust significantly more the police than the native-born and then the first-generation immigrants. Potentially, these differences in unemployment, discrimination feeling, and trust, go hand in hand.

Second, we find that there is a large heterogeneity of gaps depending on migrants' origin and destination. For example, for language outcome, more variation is observed across the destination countries rather than within the same country of destination between different immigrants. In contrast, in terms of probability of having a tertiary degree, more variation is observed across origin groups.

Further, correlations between differences in outcomes among native-born and various types of immigrants reveal very few regularities. For first-generation immigrants, the only strong correlations are between the use of destination country's language and income; occupying a high-skilled job and being religious; preferences for redistribution and unemployment; citizenship and civic outcomes; discrimination and trust. In general, however, we do not find very strong correlation patterns between various types of outcomes, contrary to

stereotyped Englishman... I define integration, therefore, not a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance". Quotation borrowed from Algan et al (2010).

what might have been expected. For example, there is virtually no correlation between language and citizenship or trust; citizenship and economic outcomes or discrimination. This finding suggests that progress on some dimensions may compensate the lack of progress on other dimensions; and also that a big discrepancy in one dimension is not necessarily a handicap, or an impediment, for assimilation on other grounds. Preserving some of the behaviors may actually be of help to immigrants to progress on others.

For second-generation immigrants, the patterns of interplay between cultural and economic outcomes are, for the most part, different, and linked both to the fact that assimilation is taking place, and also that the composition of two immigrant groups is not the same. A particularly high positive correlation is found between differences among native-born and second-generation immigrants in citizenship and economic outcomes, language and citizenship, language and perceived discrimination, but not between language and economic outcomes. Differences in perceived discrimination are positively correlated with differences in citizenship and language, but also with differences in trust. Since the perceived discrimination reflects immigrants' experiences with the attitudes and behaviors of native-born in the receiving societies, the latter finding suggests that immigrant assimilation is interdependent with the attitudes and acceptance of immigrants on the part of the native-born.

Last but not least, we find little correlation between migration policies and differences in outcomes. Of notable exception are high correlations between differences in unemployment and policies favoring labor market access of immigrants; as well as praying and anti-discrimination policies. Small and unsystematic correlations raise questions about the effectiveness of such policies. However, we also acknowledge that the same policies may have a very complex impact on various outcomes. For example, better enforcement of antidiscrimination legislation may favor economic assimilation in providing immigrants with more equal opportunities in the labour market; but at the same time, these very opportunities of equal treatment may favor the preservation of cultural behaviors, rather than encourage convergence of immigrants' outcomes to the ones of the native-born. The same policy can thus enhance assimilation on one dimension and facilitate integration on another ground; and if this is the case, this can partly explain why we observe individual progress on one dimension, but not the other. By the same token, the same policy can also be more effective in one sphere of life, and not the other, and hence the assessment of its effectiveness should be done among all possible dimensions.

This finding once again stresses how multifaceted assimilation and integration can be, and how specific policies may spillover on various life domains. It also leads us to raising a question of what actually constitutes “good policies”: should “good” policies aimed at immigrants’ inclusion change, or, to the contrary, preserve and allow for a free exercising, of immigrant outcomes? What should the goals of such policies be? We leave this debate open to further research.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the data used for the analysis. Section 3 outlines the methodology. In Section 4, we present the results for economic, social, and cultural assimilation of immigrants, while sections 5 and 6 provide the analysis of their interplay, as well as their correlation with migration policies. Section 7 concludes.

2. Data

To get comparable data for performing cross-country correlations, we use a unified database: the cumulative European Social Survey (ESS) from 2001 to 2009. This survey is conducted in most of the European countries every two years, and has the value added to provide the same variable definition for economic and cultural outcomes across the different countries. The survey reports information on different dimensions of immigrants’ life. Importantly, the same questions of the survey are asked to all individuals in all participating countries, with a particular effort made to ensure the cross-country comparability of questions and concepts (Card, Dustmann and Preston, 2005). The random sampling “on full coverage of eligible resident populations” aims at objectivity and equivalence of sampling strategies in all participating countries (Jowel et al, various issues).

Using the ESS, we measure the cultural and civic integration processes with indicators of family arrangements, language spoken at home, religiosity, socialization, various dimensions of trust, perceived discrimination, civic life and citizenship acquisition. We capture economic integration by using indicators of educational attainment and labor market outcomes with the employment, type of occupation, and income penalty.

The ESS also reports key information on the country of origin and the country of destination of all immigrants. This information allows us first to control for country of

residence fixed effects that could drive the cultural and economic integration processes. Second, the information given by the country of origin fixed effects allows us to control partly for the sample composition of immigrants. This is important because if, for instance, if we are interested in comparing the cultural integration of immigrants of Maghreb origin across European countries, such analysis is likely to be biased by the fact that all Maghreb immigrants do not come from the same country of origin, and the inherited specificities from the home country could determine the economic and cultural integration process of immigrants in their destination country. In addition, the survey contains such key information as whether parents were born in the country of current residence, thus allowing to distinguish native-born individuals, second and first generation immigrants, as well as individuals with one foreign-born parent and information on years of residence.

Our analysis covers a large set of Western European countries: Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherland, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom. Unfortunately, data on immigrants are not available for Italy.

Table 1 reports the sample statistics for the percentage of native-born individuals (native born with native born parents), second generation immigrants (native born but foreign-born parents or at least one foreign born parent), and first generation immigrants by duration at destination, in the European countries of the sample. In Table 2b, we also report the percentage of immigrants by country of origin in Europe, all destinations confounded.

Table A1 of Appendix I also provides descriptive statistics for five types of individuals: native-born individuals, second-generation immigrants, first-generation immigrants depending on the duration of their stay, as well as individuals with one foreign-born parent, aggregated for all European countries of the sample. Those characteristics, for which the differences are the largest, are highlighted in italics. As we can see, while some differences are observed in socio-economic characteristics, the most pronounced differences are in cultural and civic outcomes at first sight. The next chapters explore further this heterogeneity in the integration process of immigrants by controlling for the sampling composition of immigrants, their individual characteristics, and the specifics of their country of destination.

3. Methodology

We are following the methodology of Algan et al (2010) and Card et al (1998) which consists in measuring the gaps between native-born and various sub-groups of immigrants in cultural and economic outcomes. Wider gaps are informative of big differences in behaviors, while their closing reflects both assimilation and integration. In principle, for second-generation immigrants who are likely to be fluent in host country's language and completed their schooling in the host country, there should be little differences in the outcomes as compared to native-born. The existence of the gaps may signal the lack of assimilation and also integration, especially if gaps in outcomes are accompanied by discrimination.

To compute these gaps, we regress the outcomes of interest on a set of basic characteristics, allowing the intercepts for these sub-groups to differ, and running regressions individually by these sub-groups. The set of basic characteristics additionally included in each regression is comprised of age and gender, destination country (d_j) and survey round (r_k) fixed effects, as well as controls for the type of origin country (o_m). The latter are categorized into six main groups⁴: Maghreb and Northern Africa (MENA), Africa, Asia, South America, OECD, as well as Eastern Europe, Former Soviet Union and Former Yugoslavia:

$$\text{Outcome}_{ijmk} = \text{Type}_i + \text{Age}_i + \text{Gender}_i + d_j + o_m + r_k + e_{ijmk}, \quad (1)$$

where Outcome_{ijmk} is an outcome of interest of individual i into country j from country m in period k ; Type_i is one of the following: first-generation immigrants, first-generation immigrants with less than 20 years of residence at destination, first-generation immigrants with more than 20 years of residence at destination, second-generation immigrants with both parents born abroad, or individuals who have only one parent born abroad. While this equation is very parsimonious and relatively simple, it has the advantage of allowing us to assess the gaps in various outcomes using exactly the same specification.

In addition to this, we perform the same regression for first-generation immigrants only, separately for each origin, taking all European countries as a unique destination. That is, we do the same regressions, where Type_{im} is now one of the six main origin groups, and vector o_m is omitted:

⁴ Appendix II provides the list of countries that constitute each origin sub-group.

$$\text{Outcome}_{imk} = \text{Type}_{im} + \text{Age}_i + \text{Gender}_i + d_j + r_k + e_{imk}, \quad (2)$$

Finally, for a subset of ten largest immigrant countries of the sample, which contain at least 500 immigrants, we also do similar regressions individually for each origin group and destination country pair:

$$\text{Outcome}_{imjk} = \text{Type}_{imj} + \text{Age}_i + \text{Gender}_i + r_k + e_{imjk}, \quad (3)$$

where Type_{im} is now one of the six main origin groups in a specific destination country. The next three sub-sections present the results of these regressions.

It is worthwhile mentioning that, even though we control for the survey round fixed effects, this does not allow us to fully control for the cohort effects. Hence, categorization of immigrants by duration, and also by belonging to first or second generation, is not free from composition concerns. Put differently, the newly arriving immigrants are not similar in their characteristics and migration histories to the parents of second-generation immigrants. The interpretation of our results is framed by this limitation, as inter-group comparisons are informative both of the genuine assimilation patterns and differences due the composition of immigration waves.

4. Empirical Results

4.1. Cultural integration

We start by analyzing the various dimensions of cultural outcomes of immigrants. These are family arrangements, such as the marital status and the age gap between spouses, but also the language spoken at home, the frequency of praying, and the frequency of socialization. Table 3a reports gaps in these outcomes based on estimating (1) for various sub-types of immigrants as opposed to the native-born, in all European countries confounded. Table 3b further distinguishes gaps for first-generation immigrants from different origins, and is based on estimating equation (2).

From Table 3a, at first sight, there is little difference in probability of being married or divorced among native-born and first-generation immigrants, regardless of their time at destination. In contrast, second-generation immigrants of all origins have lower probability of being either married or divorced as opposed to native-born individuals with parents also born

in the same country. From Table 3b, differences appear to exist and to be large across origins. Among first-generation immigrants, all but Africans and South-Americans have a higher probability of being married, as opposed to native-born. Some of them, notably immigrants from MENA and OECD, but also from South American countries, also have a higher probability of being divorced, as opposed to native-born. There is some evidence that first-generation immigrants, especially veteran ones, have a lower age gap with their spouses, however there is no evidence that these differences are due to particular immigrant origin.

More striking differences are observed for the language outcome. Language is measured in a dichotomous way, where one is assigned to individuals who report any official language of a country as first-mentioned language spoken at home, and zero otherwise (data on official country languages come from CIA fact book). This outcome is one of the most important one for immigrants, as it also affects the speed of assimilation along other dimensions (Chiswick, 1991, Dustman, 1994). The gaps in language spoken at home are significant and initially large for all types of non-native-born individuals regardless of their origin. In a notable way, for this outcome, the gaps between any immigrant group and native-born never vanish, but at the same time, we also observe particularly impressive closing of these gaps, the nearer we get to the “native-born with both native-born parents” status. First generation immigrants with less than 20 years of residence have a 53.5 percentage points higher probability of speaking a different language at home. This gap is still statistically significant for second-generation, but the magnitude drops dramatically to 12 percentage points. Figure 1 reports that in all destination countries, second-generation immigrants have lower gaps in speaking the language of the country than the first-generation immigrants.

Figure 2 also shows differences in language gaps by destination and origin pair, suggesting a large variation in outcomes. Not surprisingly, first-generation South-Americans in Spain have no language gaps as compared to the native-born, while highest gap is observed for Africans in Austria. More generally, immigrants from MENA and Asian countries have relatively high language gaps regardless of the destination. But there is also a large heterogeneity across the destination countries. Take the situation of immigrants from Maghreb. The gap in the probability of speaking a different language at home ranges from 22 percentage points in France, 42 percentage points in Germany, to 80 percentage points in Austria. By and large, there is more heterogeneity in these gaps across the destination countries than within the same country of destination between the different immigrants. We

get these estimates by controlling for country of origin fixed effects. They thus seem to capture genuine specificities in the integration process of each destination country.

We now turn to religiosity, considered to be perhaps the most persisting cultural trait. We measure religiosity as the frequency of praying, relating it to answers to the question “Apart when you are at religious services, how often if at all do you pray”. The answer takes on values 1 for every day, 2 for more than once a week, 3 for once a week, 4 for at least once a month, 5 for only on special holidays, 6 for less often, and 7 for never; and we convert them into days per year. Table 3a first shows a much higher frequency of praying among first generation immigrants relative to natives. Table 3b shows that the frequency of praying is significantly higher among immigrants from MENA and Africa, and to a lesser extent from Asia and South America, relative to native-born. Besides, the gap persists and remains as high among second generation immigrants as among first-generation immigrants, although heterogeneity of changes along this dimension is observed across destinations (Figure 3).

Lastly, we find some weak evidence that immigrants, especially of first generation, have lower propensity of socialization, measured by the question “how often do you take part in social activities compared to others of the same age”, and with answers ranging from 1 to 5; 1 indicating “much less than most”, and 5 indicating “much more than most”. However, there is no evidence that immigrants are different from native-born in terms of having a close person with whom they can discuss personal matters.

4.2 Integration in civic life and feeling of discrimination

In a similar fashion, this section offers additional insight into gaps in civic outcomes, such as being naturalized, the probability of being civically involved into various types of activities, expressing various types of trust, being satisfied with the way democracy works, and having particular preferences for redistribution.

Becoming a citizen of a destination country can be considered as one of the most ultimate – and controversial – outcomes for immigrants. It is framed by the policies of the destination countries, as much as by the migration reasons and duration intentions. While naturalization means acquiring equal rights of a citizen and thus opening ways to further assimilation on many economic, cultural, and civic dimensions, it may also be considered by itself as a civic act, a conscious step towards becoming a full member of the hosting society.

As such, it can be viewed as a behavioral civic outcome in its own right. In this chapter, the outcome citizen is measured on a zero-one scale, with one standing for having the citizenship of the country of current residence.

Tables 4a and 4b show that all types of immigrants, as well as first-generation immigrants of all origins have a significantly lower probability to be citizen, as opposed to native-born. But as with language, the progress on this dimension is strongly pronounced: second-generation immigrants regardless of the destination country have a much higher probability of being citizens in contrast to the first-generation immigrants. At the same time, Figure 3 shows that second-generation immigrants are still at a disadvantage as contrasted to native-born in a sizeable number of countries. The gap in naturalization among second generation immigrants almost vanishes in Great Britain, Netherlands, France, Greece, Ireland and Spain and to a lesser extent in Denmark and Sweden. However, it remains statistically significant in Luxembourg, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Norway, and to a lesser extent in Portugal and Austria. This observation raises particular concerns, as it signifies either a lack of assimilation on the part of immigrants along this dimension, or a lack of opportunities provided by receiving countries for gaining citizenship for second-generation immigrants born in the country; or both. Descriptive statistics of Figure 5 also provided insight into the heterogeneity of citizenship acquisition among various countries. The lowest rates of naturalization among first-generation immigrants are observed in Luxembourg and in Spain. While in the former country this fact is due to its migration specifics (most immigrants are temporary immigrants from other OECD countries), in the latter, this is also partly due to the fact that the majority of immigrants have come very recently. If we constrain the sample of immigrants to Spain to those with over 20 years of residence, we will see that as many as 72% have been naturalized.

We further look at the civic participation of immigrants by using a dummy variable equal to 1 if a respondent reports doing in the last year at least one of the following: being a member or volunteering for a political party, a trade union, or another organization or association; taking part in a legal demonstration; signing a petition; or wearing a badge. Table 4a shows that there is a 13.4 percentage points lower probability to be involved in civic life among first generation immigrants. But this gap vanishes quickly. There is no difference in these outcomes for first-generation immigrants with a long duration at destination, nor for second generation immigrants. Table 4b shows that the gaps in civic participations are

statistically significant for all country of origins, but higher for immigrants from Asia and MENA.

We turn to various measures of social capital and attitudes, such as trust in others, trust in country's police, parliament, politicians, and in the European parliament. Table 4a shows that first generation immigrants tend to be less trusting than the natives, the gap reaching 41.2 percentage points. Table 4b also shows that this gap is mainly associated with immigrants from Africa. It is worth stressing that distrust persists among second generations. The gap is still statistically significant and reaches 40.7 percentage points. Figure 6 shows that the gap in distrust not only persist but also widens for second-generation immigrants in countries like Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and, to a lesser extent, in France and Germany. Also, Figure 7 shows the evolution of distrust in the police among second-generation immigrants, which also raises particular concerns about the processes of integration. Second generation immigrants distrust significantly more the police than the native-born and than the first generation immigrants. In contrast, newly arriving immigrants tend to have a significantly more positive outlook and trust into the destination country's parliament and politicians, as well as in the European parliament in general, as compared to the native-born; reflecting both the self-selection and high hopes associated with migration decisions. This positive outlook vanishes quickly, giving place to potential disillusion, as signified by the reversal of the trend for second-generation immigrants, when it comes to the trust in politicians. In a similar way, satisfaction with democracy is higher among immigrants of first generation, but not among second-generation immigrants or individuals with only one parent born abroad.

The last line of Table 4a reports differences in preferences for redistribution. Interestingly, first-generation immigrants, on average, do not differ in their preferences for redistribution from the native-born. However, as is often the case, immigrant origin matters, and immigrants from African and South American origins exhibit significantly higher demand for redistribution. In contrast, second generation immigrants have a 4.5 percentage points higher probability to demand for redistribution than the natives. Also, Figure 8 shows that the demand of redistribution of second generation immigrants is significantly higher than that of the first-generation immigrants in Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent in Great Britain, France, Austria, and Greece. In what follows, we will explore further to what extent this pattern is related to economic integration.

We end up this section with the overall perception of discrimination on different grounds. We focus on the question “Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country on grounds: nationality? religion? color and race? language? ethnicity? gender?”. The answer takes on the value of 1 for yes and 0 for no. In a descriptive way, Figure 9 shows the variation in the grounds for perceived discrimination for immigrants in all destinations grouped together. First-generation immigrants feel in general discriminated against more than any other group, and are followed by second-generation immigrants and by individuals with one parent born abroad in this perception. The main reason for perceived discrimination is nationality, followed by color/race and religion. Strikingly, nationality is at the top of the preoccupation for first-generation immigrants, while the discrimination for color, religion or ethnic origin is more prevalent among second-generation immigrants.

For a selection of countries, Figure 10 reports where immigrants feel the most discriminated against, all grounds for discrimination grouped together. It shows that the feeling of discrimination is spread out in a different way among immigrants depending on the destination country. Immigrants from MENA feel the most discriminated in Spain (40 percent), Germany (29 percent), France (26 percent) and Sweden (24 percent). They feel much less discriminated in Switzerland (15 percent), and Great Britain (11 percent). Africans feel the most discriminated in Germany (40 percent), followed by France (34 percent). All, including other-OECD immigrants, report significant degrees of discrimination.

Table 4a reports the corresponding estimates when controlling for age, gender, destination country and origin region fixed effects. First generation immigrants have a 8 percentage points higher probability of feeling discriminated compared to natives, although this effect is weakly significant at the 10 percent level. Table 4b shows that immigrants from MENA and Africa display the highest perceived discrimination, which is higher by 22.6 and 23 percentage points than the perceived discrimination of natives. Looking at the evolution of the feeling of discrimination, Table 4a indicates that the gap in perceived discrimination is much more significant for second generation immigrants. The probability of feeling discriminated among second generation immigrants is 15 percentage points higher than that of the natives, and is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. This gap is twice as high as the one found for first generation immigrants. From Figure 11, in approximately half of the

countries of the sample, second-generation immigrants perceive lower discrimination than first-generation ones, but in half of the sample, second-generation immigrants feel significantly more discriminated against as opposed to the first-generation immigrants. This is particularly the case in Spain and the Netherlands in the first place, and also in Belgium, France, Ireland, Norway, and Great Britain. This finding of increasing feeling of discrimination, coupled with the finding on widening gaps in trust, once again raises concerns about the success of integration processes of immigrants. Since the perceived discrimination reflects immigrants' experiences with the attitudes and behaviors of native-born (potentially also of the police, administration, and politicians) in the receiving societies, this finding hints at the failure of immigrants' acceptance. "Culture clash" or "culture club" (Manning and Roy, 2010) is a two-way process; and pure willingness to assimilate on the part of immigrants is not enough: it is also the receiving societies that have to accomplish a certain work of accepting and integrating them.

4.3 Economic integration

This section turns to immigrants' economic assimilation. We estimate the gaps in outcomes such as the years of education, probability of having completed tertiary education, probability of being unemployed or inactive, probability of being employed in a high- or low-skilled job, as well as gaps in incomes.

At first sight, from Table 5a, there is no significant overall education gap between various types of immigrants and native-born, whether we consider total years of education or having a tertiary degree. However, large differences are uncovered for first-generation immigrants by origin (Table 5b). First-generation immigrants from MENA countries have lower years of schooling as opposed to native-born; while African, Asian, and South-American immigrants all have significantly more years of schooling. We find no difference in the years of schooling between the native-born and immigrants from the OECD or Eastern Europe. However, immigrants from Eastern Europe, together with immigrants from African, Asian, and South-American countries, all have a higher probability to possess tertiary-education as compared to native-born. This provides evidence for the positive selection of immigrants from these countries, while negative selection of immigrants from MENA region.

From Figure 12 and attached footnotes to it, the gaps in years of education of second-generation immigrants, as contrasted to those of the first-immigration immigrants, tend to close in some destination countries, but to widen in others. In countries such as Finland and Norway, a significant regress of immigrant children is observed, as they have significantly lower level of schooling. Even though second-generation immigrants in Switzerland and Great Britain still have higher level of schooling than native-born, these levels are actually lower than those of the first-generation immigrants to the same countries. The regress is also observed in Belgium, Portugal, and Sweden. Only in a few destination countries, such as Ireland, Germany, France, and Luxembourg, there is an improvement, albeit in the latter two countries, second-generation immigrants are no longer different from the native-born. Further research is needed to understand whether this is a purely composition effect, or whether indeed this results suggest a failure of integration processes.

The next outcome of interest is unemployment and labor market participation. Table 5b suggests that first-generation immigrants from all but African and OECD countries have higher probability of being unemployed. Immigrants from MENA display the highest employment penalty, with a higher probability of 3.5 percentage points of being unemployed relative to natives. Also, MENA, African, and Eastern-European immigrants have a slightly higher probability of being inactive (by 2.2 percentage point in the case of MENA immigrants).

There is also a cross-country heterogeneity in the evolution of the employment penalty across types of immigrants. Unemployment is significantly higher among second-generation immigrants and individuals with one parent born abroad, potentially reflecting, among others, the education disadvantage and discrimination.

Figure 13 shows that this result, however, seems to be mostly driven by France, Belgium, and Switzerland, where immigrants from second-generation have particularly higher probability of being unemployed, as opposed to native-born and to first-generation immigrants. For these countries, unemployment gaps are large, persisting, and, in the case of France, widening.

For those who are employed, the distribution of jobs across type of skill is of interest. We consider gaps in probabilities of being employed in low-skilled, elementary occupations

(ISCO classification codes 9), and also the probability of being employed in high-skilled occupations (ISCO classification codes 1, 2, and 3). First-generation immigrants regardless of their origin have a significantly higher probability of performing worse jobs, regardless of their potentially higher level of education. The literature suggests various reasons for this, such as the potential mismatch of occupations and qualifications and slow assimilation, or different valuation and non-recognition of diplomas at the destination. Remarkably, however, the biggest progress towards assimilation along the economic dimension is observed in occupation distribution. Figure 14 shows that for all destination countries, second-generation immigrants have a significantly lower probability of performing an elementary job, as opposed to both native-born and first-generation immigrants.

Finally, we also consider differences in incomes. Unfortunately, the European Social Survey does not contain information on earnings, neither on individual income. Thus, we use the household income and divide it by the number of household members, but as the information on the number of children is not available either, we are not able to apply equivalence scales and treat each member of the household as an adult. Hence, our measure of gaps in individual incomes is rather crude, and also reflects the differences in the compositions of native and immigrant families. Results of the regression analysis show that initial individual incomes are much lower for immigrants from almost all origins, but that they rise relatively quickly over time. Immigrants with more than twenty years at destination, as well as the second-generation immigrants, report higher incomes as compared to native-born. Figure 15 shows that second-generation immigrants are doing better than the first-generation ones, with the exception of Spain, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and in countries like Switzerland, they outperform native-born.

To conclude, for all types of outcomes, we also perform some robustness checks. Specifically, we repeat all estimations controlling also for parental education, to account for potential social disadvantage. Our results are broadly similar. Two notable differences are in socialization gaps, where we no longer find significant differences between first-generation immigrants and native-born; and years of schooling of second-generation immigrants, where we observe a positive and significant gap, in contrast to the overall negative insignificant result when social disadvantage is not accounted for.

5. The interplay between cultural and economic assimilation

As we have seen, immigrants' assimilation is indeed a very complex phenomenon, which may take place along some, but not necessarily, all dimensions. This section explores further the relationship between cultural, civic, and economic assimilation across European countries, assessing whether there is any link between the most salient gaps in the cultural and economic outcomes. Further, we also investigate how the gaps in these outcomes, or assimilation process, correlate with opportunities for integration provided by destination countries.

To start with, we focus on two cultural outcomes: one shown to be the least rigid (language), and one shown to be the most resilient (religiosity), and relate them to economic outcomes such as income and occupations. Figure 16 suggests a slight positive relationship between the income and language gaps: whereas the language gap is small, so is the income gap. In contrast, from Figure 17, there is a negative relation between the probability of occupying a high-skill job and being a more religious person relative to natives. This relation is more salient for immigrants in Germany, Netherlands or France.

The highest correlations are observed for outcomes such as preferences for redistribution and unemployment, but also for preferences for redistribution and religiosity, citizenship and civic outcomes; discrimination and trust.

In general, however, we do not find very strong correlation patterns between various types of outcomes (Table 6a). For example, the correlation is next to nil between language and citizenship or trust; citizenship and economic outcomes or discrimination. This finding is interesting, as it suggests that progress on some dimensions may compensate the lack of progress on other dimensions; and also that a big discrepancy in one dimension is not necessarily a handicap, or an impediment, for assimilation on other grounds. Preserving some of the behaviors may actually be of help to immigrants to progress on others.

For second-generation immigrants, the patterns of interplay between cultural and economic outcomes are, for the most part, different (Table 6b), and linked both to the fact that assimilation is taking place, and also that the composition of two immigrant groups is not the same. For example, we find a particularly high positive correlation between gaps in citizenship and economic outcomes, language and citizenship, language and perceived discrimination, but not between language and economic outcomes. Gaps in discrimination are positively correlated with gaps in trust, citizenship, and language. The only notable similar

correlation is in gaps in preferences for redistribution and religiosity, which is positive for both second- and first-generation immigrants (Figure 18).

6. The interplay between assimilation and policies

Further, of interest is to relate the progress along these dimensions to opportunities for integration, or specific migration policies, provided by destination countries. Yet, relating current policies to the gaps in outcomes between native-born and first or second generation immigrants is not very informative, as these gaps only reflect the existing differences, but not the progress along different dimensions.

To measure progress, we estimate regressions such as (1), however, we now measure the gap between first and second generation immigrants, rather than between immigrants and native-born. As already mentioned, in the current setting, we are not able to perfectly control for cohort effects; which means that the gaps in outcomes between first and second generation immigrants capture both convergence and group composition effect. Nevertheless, they still can be informative. For example, finding small outcome gaps between the two groups means that there has been either little assimilation, or that both groups have equally hard (easy) time changing their behavior at destination regardless of their composition. Finding small gaps is thus informative of resilience, or rigidity, of outcomes. At the same time, it may also signify that integration has been taking place, in the sense that immigrants of both generations were able to preserve their behaviors or preferences. If, however, the gaps in outcomes are large, this means that either there has been a lot of assimilation (and assimilation is easy), or that one immigrant group has a considerable advantage over the other in analyzed outcomes.

Our measures of policies are from the MIPEX database, which assembles indices measuring the friendliness of policies in integrating migrants in European countries. These indices cover 140 policy indicators, grouped into 6 main dimensions: labor market access, family reunion, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination.

We focus on three policy dimensions. The first one is Labor Market access. According to the MIPEX documentation, this index measures whether an migrant worker or entrepreneur is eligible for the same opportunities as EU nationals to work in most sectors. The index ranges from 100 when migrants have exactly the same rights as natives, to 0 when migrants

have no rights at all. In the case of 100, or best practice, an immigrant faces full integration policies, such as skills recognition, measures to adjust to the professional demands of the labour market, access to training, and language improvement. Secure in her employment, an immigrant can renew most types of work permits, remain in the country and search for work in case of unemployment, be free to change employer and industry or sector, and join a trade union.

The second dimension is anti-discrimination policies. This index also ranges from 0 to 100, and is a composite of anti-discrimination laws that guarantee equal opportunities in economic, social and public life for all members of society, including a migrant and her descendents. In the case of best practice, the state helps to seek justice through strong enforcement mechanisms, such bringing forward a case without fear of reprisals; application of wide range of sanctions by courts, such as financial compensation, measures to stop further discrimination; robust legal standing to help all victims on the part of equality bodies. The state takes up its responsibility to lead public dialogue and systematically promote equality in its functions.

Lastly, we also look at policies favoring political incorporation of immigrants, such as including them into consultative processes, giving voting rights and rights to stand in elections, allowing them to join political parties and form associations.

Table 7 reports correlation coefficients between integration policies across the European countries and gaps in outcomes between first and second generation immigrants. Figures 19-21 also relate the gaps in most interesting economic and cultural outcomes, such as probability of being unemployed, trust, and discrimination, to these policy measures. There is a high positive correlation between gaps in unemployment and policies favoring labour market access of immigrants. This suggests that either the progress towards employment is fast in countries with favorable labour market inclusion of immigrants; or that one immigrant group has a considerable advantage over the other in favorable labour market environments; or both. Similarly, a positive correlation is observed in gaps in praying and antidiscrimination policies: countries with best antidiscrimination practices observe large differences in religiosity among immigrants. In contrast, better political incorporation of immigrants is associated with resilience of such features as trust. In other words, trust gap widens from one immigrant generation to another if immigrants are less likely to have opportunities for

political and civic involvement, potentially reflecting the deception gap observed in earlier sections.

More typically, however, we observe rather disparate, unsystematic, and mostly low, correlations in policies and outcomes. For example, labor access policies have little correlation with the type of occupation or income of immigrants; while easiness of naturalization is virtually unrelated to actual citizenship acquisition. As far as it stands, we rather find that assimilation processes in economic outcomes are taking place irrespective of policies. In contrast, mostly negative correlations are found between better policies and cultural outcomes, such as trust, preferences for redistribution, and language, potentially also suggesting that better policies actually allow for integration in the sense of preserving behaviors and preferences pertinent to immigrants.

This leads us to raising a question of what actually constitutes “good policies”: should “good” policies aimed at immigrants’ inclusion change, or, to the contrary, preserve and allow for a free exercising, of immigrant outcomes? What should the goals of such policies be? Of course, we expect that policies such as those specifically targeting better labour market inclusion of immigrants, should indeed favor labour market assimilation of immigrants, in the sense of closing up the outcome gaps between immigrants and native-born. On the other hand, the impact of other policies, such as antidiscrimination, is considerably more complex, and hence the assessment of their effectiveness is more complicated. For example, better antidiscrimination policies improve economic outcomes of immigrants, thus enhancing economic assimilation, but they also favor the preservation and free exercising of cultural outcomes, which may be taken for the lack of assimilation, but at the same time may indicate higher integration. The same policy can thus enhance assimilation on one dimension and facilitate integration on another ground; and if this is the case, this can partly explain why we observe individual progress on one dimension, but not the other. By the same token, the same policy can also be more effective in one sphere of life, and not the other, and hence the assessment of its effectiveness should be done among all possible dimensions.

Clearly, a better understanding of the multifaceted impact of policies, of what constitutes “good” and “bad” policies, and what kind of policies we may want to have, is needed. Also, a more careful research is needed to examine in more detail the interplay between policies and outcomes, notably, which origin groups are affected the most by specific policies, and which ones not at all. We leave this analysis to further research.

7. Conclusions

This paper has offered a systematic assessment of differences between European native-born and different types of immigrants, distinguished by generation, duration of residence, and origin, along the most important cultural, civic, and economic dimensions. In addition to measuring the differences, we also undertook a first attempt to understand whether there is a link between differences in economic and cultural outcomes *of the same* individuals, as well as differences in outcomes and specific migration policies. Throughout the paper, we came across several important findings that opened up numerous questions for further research. Notably, these are the questions of what constitutes “good” integration policies, what should be a correct way of assessing policies when they affect numerous life domains, and how to design policies that would target and/or spillover to other domains.

Lastly, the question of a benchmark, with respect to which the assimilation should be measured, also came through as being important. While we analyzed both the progress of first-generation immigrants as compared to native-born, and as compared to second-generation immigrants, the heterogeneity of native-born in Europe remains of a particular concern for this type of analysis. For example, Bretons and Corsicans in France may be more different than Italians in Switzerland. Thus, further research may also be enriched by stepping away from the use of an “average” native-born as a benchmark for immigrants, and encompass a more regional and ethnical perspective.

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Table 1. Sample Statistics: Focus on Destination Countries; 2002-2009

	Total number of observations (=100% of the sample)	Native-born with both native-born parents, %	First-generation immigrants, %	Second generation immigrants, %	Individuals with 1 parent born abroad, %	Immigrants with >20 years of residence, % of first-generation immigrants
AT	6862	75,70	7,30	9,50	7,50	53,30
BE	7099	77,20	7,50	9,60	5,80	47,90
CH	7717	60,30	18,40	12,60	8,70	48,00
DE	11316	81,00	7,30	6,90	4,90	64,70
DK	6012	85,80	4,70	5,10	4,40	57,20
ES	7763	90,20	6,60	1,80	1,50	91,20
FI	7983	95,20	1,40	1,70	1,60	85,20
FR	7265	73,80	7,90	11,10	7,20	33,30
GB	8531	79,70	8,20	7,30	4,80	52,40
GR	4810	81,00	8,00	8,10	2,80	82,60
IE	5924	86,90	6,00	3,70	3,50	72,50
LU	3129	39,90	29,40	19,00	11,70	57,80
NL	6056	82,00	7,30	6,20	4,60	47,30
NO	6938	86,30	5,50	4,30	3,90	66,50
PT	7939	92,90	3,90	2,00	1,30	67,00
SE	7634	75,40	10,00	8,30	6,30	46,20

Table 2. Sample Statistics: Focus on Origin Countries; 2002-2009

Largest countries of immigrant origin	DE	IT	PT	FR	TR	GB	PL	RU	MA	FI
Largest countries of immigrant origin, % of all first-generation immigrants in the sample	7.7	5.2	5.1	4.6	4.4	3.9	3.4	2.9	2.9	2.3
Largest countries of non-EU-15 immigrant origin	TR	PL	RU	MA	AL	BA	RO	BR	DZ	IN
Largest countries of non-EU-15 immigrant origin in Europe, % of first-generation immigrants	4.4	3.4	2.9	2.9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.4

Table 3a. Average Gaps In Cultural Outcomes of Native-born and Immigrants in the EU

VARIABLES	1st generation immigrants		1st generation immigrants with less than 20 years of residence		1st generation immigrants with more than 20 years of residence		Second-generation immigrants		Individuals with 1 parent born abroad	
Married	0.032	(0.050)	0.079	(0.083)	-0.003	(0.042)	-0.040*	(0.018)	-0.040**	(0.006)
Divorced	0.018	(0.016)	-0.029	(0.024)	0.059**	(0.018)	-0.013*	(0.006)	0.010*	(0.005)
Age gap between spouses	-0.482*	(0.191)	0.129	(0.290)	-1.059**	(0.332)	-0.058	(0.088)	-0.066	(0.04)
Language of the country spoken at home	-0.347**	(0.049)	-0.535**	(0.042)	-0.172**	(0.058)	-0.120**	(0.011)	-0.046**	(0.004)
Frequency of praying (days a year)	49.079**	(15.206)	33.808*	(18.514)	63.698**	(18.779)	46.796**	(13.313)	16.371**	(5.822)
Anyone to discuss personal matters	0.035	(0.021)	0.042	(0.051)	0.029	(0.019)	-0.014	(0.011)	-0.010*	(0.004)
Frequency of taking part in social activities	-0.181*	(0.067)	-0.180	(0.114)	-0.187*	(0.078)	-0.006	(0.027)	-0.007	(0.023)

Notes: Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 3b. Average Gaps in Cultural Outcomes of Native-born in Europe and First-Generation Immigrants, by Origin

VARIABLES	MENA		African		Asian		South American		OECD		East. European, FSU, FY	
Married	0.166**	(0.031)	0.039	(0.024)	0.163**	(0.032)	0.027	(0.022)	0.050*	(0.018)	0.059**	(0.014)
Divorced	0.022**	(0.005)	0.012	(0.015)	-0.031	(0.016)	0.063**	(0.011)	0.020*	(0.008)	-0.003	(0.011)
Age gap between spouses	-0.195	(0.274)	-0.566	(0.313)	-0.137	(0.346)	-0.021	(0.131)	-0.018	(0.111)	0.226	(0.137)
Language of the country spoken at home	-0.371**	(0.066)	-0.268**	(0.035)	-0.504**	(0.046)	-0.094	(0.058)	-0.174**	(0.019)	-0.331**	(0.036)
Frequency of praying (days a year)	119.450**	(18.612)	170.686**	(12.228)	129.088**	(30.72)	84.404**	(17.568)	23.447*	(8.951)	23.333**	(5.167)
Anyone to discuss personal matters	0.031**	(0.008)	0.040**	(0.009)	0.083**	(0.015)	0.078**	(0.018)	0.013**	(0.004)	0.020**	(0.006)
Social activities	-0.102*	(0.043)	-0.193**	(0.024)	-0.201**	(0.029)	-0.188**	(0.051)	-0.004	(0.021)	-0.186**	(0.015)

Notes: Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 4a. Average Gaps In Civic Outcomes of Native-born and Immigrants in the EU

VARIABLES	1st generation immigrants		1st generation immigrants with less than 20 years of residence		1st generation immigrants with more than 20 years of residence		Second-generation immigrants		Individuals with 1 parent born abroad	
Citizen	-0.425**	(0.061)	-0.619**	(0.085)	-0.241**	(0.059)	-0.106*	(0.050)	-0.043*	(0.018)
Civic participation	-0.134**	(0.034)	-0.210**	(0.057)	-0.062	(0.048)	-0.023	(0.016)	0.02	(0.017)
General. trust (1-10)	-0.412**	(0.134)	-0.393	(0.213)	-0.441**	(0.153)	-0.407**	(0.034)	-0.158**	(0.023)
Trust in police	0.440	(0.364)	0.320	(0.478)	0.566	(0.332)	-0.366**	(0.088)	-0.226**	(0.035)
Trust in country's parliament	0.652*	(0.263)	0.666	(0.475)	0.616**	(0.210)	-0.118	(0.105)	-0.054	(0.046)
Trust in politicians	0.233*	(0.089)	0.055	(0.188)	0.369	(0.185)	-0.124**	(0.030)	-0.111**	(0.033)
Trust in the Eur. parliament	0.519**	(0.117)	0.560**	(0.200)	0.454	(0.336)	0.282	(0.155)	0.159	(0.082)
Satisfaction with democracy	0.080*	(0.031)	0.072*	(0.032)	0.083*	(0.034)	0.022	(0.026)	-0.005	(0.013)
Preferences for redistribution	-0.013	(0.044)	-0.015	(0.066)	-0.010	(0.053)	0.045**	(0.011)	0.008	(0.006)
Perceived discrimination	0.080*	(0.031)	0.072*	(0.032)	0.083*	(0.034)	0.150**	(0.025)	0.070**	(0.015)

Notes: Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 4b. Average Gaps in Civic Outcomes of Native-born in Europe and First-Generation Immigrants, by Origin

VARIABLES	MENA		African		Asian		South American		OECD		East. European, FSU, FY	
Citizen	-0.481**	(0.071)	-0.392**	(0.053)	-0.329**	(0.072)	-0.562**	(0.139)	-0.579**	(0.037)	-0.358**	(0.095)
Civic participation	-0.132**	(0.042)	-0.096**	(0.028)	-0.217**	(0.014)	-0.130**	(0.028)	-0.047**	(0.013)	-0.197**	(0.023)
Gen. trust (1-10)	-0.311	(0.176)	-0.354**	(0.068)	-0.072	(0.072)	-0.195	(0.097)	-0.052	(0.058)	0.056	(0.062)
Trust in police	0.131	(0.092)	0.112	(0.128)	0.394*	(0.160)	0.022	(0.056)	0.130	(0.075)	0.170	(0.102)
Trust in countr. Parliament	0.399**	(0.065)	0.986**	(0.268)	1.219**	(0.362)	0.579**	(0.052)	0.103	(0.088)	0.472**	(0.072)
Trust in politicians	0.359**	(0.078)	0.644**	(0.089)	0.891**	(0.173)	0.528**	(0.077)	-0.046	(0.076)	0.379**	(0.093)
Trust in the Eur. Parliament	0.612**	(0.141)	1.035**	(0.121)	1.190**	(0.246)	0.617**	(0.079)	0.456**	(0.070)	0.591**	(0.116)
Satisfaction with democracy	0.120**	(0.022)	0.145**	(0.012)	0.209**	(0.028)	0.077**	(0.018)	0.064**	(0.008)	0.089**	(0.015)
Preferences for redistribution	0.022	(0.011)	0.062**	(0.022)	-0.005	(0.014)	0.045*	(0.019)	-0.011	(0.011)	-0.011	(0.015)
Perceived discrimination	0.226**	(0.029)	0.230**	(0.031)	0.107**	(0.019)	0.164**	(0.017)	0.018	(0.016)	0.139**	(0.023)

Notes: Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 5a. Gaps in Economic Outcomes of Native-born and Immigrants in the EU

VARIABLES	1st generation immigrants		1st generation immigrants with less than 20 years of residence		1st generation immigrants with more than 20 years of residence		Second-generation immigrants		Individuals with 1 parent born abroad	
Years of education	-0.514	(0.980)	-0.339	(0.514)	-0.980	(0.339)	-0.24	(0.254)	0.142	(0.119)
Tertiary education	-0.006	(0.036)	-0.044	(0.093)	0.014	(0.584)	-0.029	(0.019)	0.012	(0.011)
Unemployed	0.016	(0.021)	0.023	(0.034)	0.010	(0.035)	0.030**	(0.006)	0.019**	(0.003)
Inactive	0.051	(0.025)	0.088*	(0.040)	0.018	(0.018)	0.006	(0.006)	0.006	(0.004)
Occupation: high skilled	-0.094**	(0.032)	-0.082	(0.056)	-0.104*	(0.046)	-0.01	(0.024)	0.015	(0.012)
Occupation: low skilled	0.047*	(0.017)	-0.021	(0.028)	0.107**	(0.037)	0.001	(0.014)	0.001	(0.008)
Individual income (log)	-0.260**	(0.025)	-0.200**	(0.044)	0.200**	(0.043)	0.122**	(0.024)	0.217**	(0.024)

Notes: To calculate the gaps in the years of education and in possession of tertiary education, we restrict the sample to individuals of 30 years and more. Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 5b. Gaps in Economic Outcomes of Native-born in Europe and First-Generation Immigrants, by Origin

VARIABLES	MENA		African		Asian		South American		OECD		East. European, FSU, FY	
Years of education	-1.443*	(0.859)	1.437*	(0.711)	0.691**	(0.319)	1.723**	(0.473)	0.399	(0.671)	-0.116	(0.397)
Tertiary education	-0.084*	(0.04-)	0.103*	(0.049)	0.038**	(0.013)	0.095**	(0.026)	0.072	(0.038)	0.211*	(0.009)
Unemployed	0.035**	(0.011)	0.029	(0.018)	0.034**	(0.005)	0.034**	(0.009)	0.009	(0.007)	0.044**	(0.008)
Inactive	0.022**	(0.007)	0.011**	(0.003)	0.001	(0.004)	0.012	(0.011)	0.002	(0.002)	0.007**	(0.002)
Occupation: high skilled	-0.155**	(0.041)	-0.028	(0.051)	-0.058*	(0.024)	-0.088**	(0.021)	0.017	(0.034)	-0.120**	(0.017)
Occupation: low skilled	0.063**	(0.018)	0.054*	(0.021)	0.005	(0.023)	0.123**	(0.043)	0.018**	(0.005)	0.077**	(0.011)
Individual income (log)	-0.509**	(0.078)	-0.243*	(0.096)	-0.395**	(0.033)	-0.114	(0.053)	0.047	(0.070)	-0.293**	(0.032)

Notes: To calculate the gaps in the years of education and in possession of tertiary education, we restrict the sample to individuals of 30 years and more. Each cell contains a coefficient from a separate regression, in which the row heading is the dependent variable (the outcome of interest), and the column heading is the independent variable. Reported coefficients represent the gaps in outcomes. Robust standard errors in parentheses. * significant at 5%, ** significant at 1%.

Table 6a. Correlations between Differences in Outcomes between First Generation Immigrants and Native-born; Selected Outcomes

	Citiz	Lang	Unempl	Educ	Low skilled	Ind income	Relig	Discrim	Pref.	Trust	Trust in police	Trust in politicians
Citizenship	1.00											
Language	0.10	1.00										
Unemployed	0.01	0.38	1.00									
Education	0.25	-0.02	-0.49	1.00								
Low skilled	-0.65	-0.13	-0.18	-0.39	1.00							
Individual income	0.48	0.25	0.11	-0.11	-0.34	1.00						
Religiosity	0.10	0.27	-0.03	-0.27	-0.04	0.43	1.00					
Discrimination	-0.01	0.23	-0.15	0.14	0.38	-0.26	-0.44	1.00				
Pref. for redist.	-0.17	0.30	0.42	-0.52	0.14	0.23	0.28	0.07	1.00			
Generaliz.trust	-0.45	-0.13	-0.65	0.06	0.70	-0.20	-0.02	0.56	-0.03	1.00		
Trust in police	-0.50	-0.04	-0.37	-0.25	0.62	0.26	0.49	-0.07	0.30	0.63	1.00	
Trust in politicians	-0.43	-0.12	-0.53	0.05	0.57	0.18	0.31	0.05	0.13	0.74	0.90	1.00

Table 6b. Correlations between Differences in Outcomes between Second Generation Immigrants and Native-born; Selected Outcomes

	Citiz	Lang	Unempl	Educ	Low skilled	Ind income	Relig	Discrim	Pref.	Trust	Trust in police	Trust in politicians
Citizenship	1.00											
Language	0.63	1.00										
Unemployed	-0.11	0.02	1.00									
Education	-0.05	0.07	0.25	1.00								
Low skilled	-0.11	0.24	-0.10	0.09	1.00							
Individual income	0.12	-0.12	0.41	0.09	-0.28	1.00						
Religiosity	-0.38	0.08	0.40	0.52	0.50	0.33	1.00					
Discrimination	0.54	0.11	-0.30	-0.33	-0.31	0.04	-0.62	1.00				
Pref. for redist.	-0.05	-0.09	0.16	0.39	0.44	0.43	0.56	-0.03	1.00			
Generaliz.trust	0.18	0.24	0.10	0.28	0.22	-0.54	-0.08	-0.14	0.02	1.00		
Trust in police	-0.16	0.01	0.31	0.51	0.60	-0.07	0.56	-0.54	0.50	0.40	1.00	
Trust in politicians	-0.22	0.18	0.48	0.37	0.42	-0.23	0.43	-0.22	0.40	0.51	0.66	1.00

Table 7. Correlations between Specific Migration Policies and Differences in Outcomes between First and Second Generation Immigrants

	Labour Market Access	Anti- discrimination	Political Incorporation	Access to Nationality
Citizenship	-0.332	-0.037	0.205	-0.025
Unemployed	0.378	0.019	0.238	-0.094
Occupation: low skilled	0.049	-0.529	-0.266	-0.458
Civic Participation	0.041	0.205	0.255	0.163
Generalized Trust	-0.112	0.140	-0.231	-0.034
Perceived Discrimination	-0.348	-0.042	-0.243	-0.203
Language	0.034	-0.325	0.085	-0.133
Occupation: high skilled	0.386	0.156	0.405	0.173
Religiosity	0.224	0.383	0.230	0.561
Pref. for redistribution	-0.182	-0.566	-0.137	-0.321
Individual income (log)	0.131	-0.206	-0.308	-0.030

Figure 1. Gaps in Speaking the Destination Country’s Language at Home among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

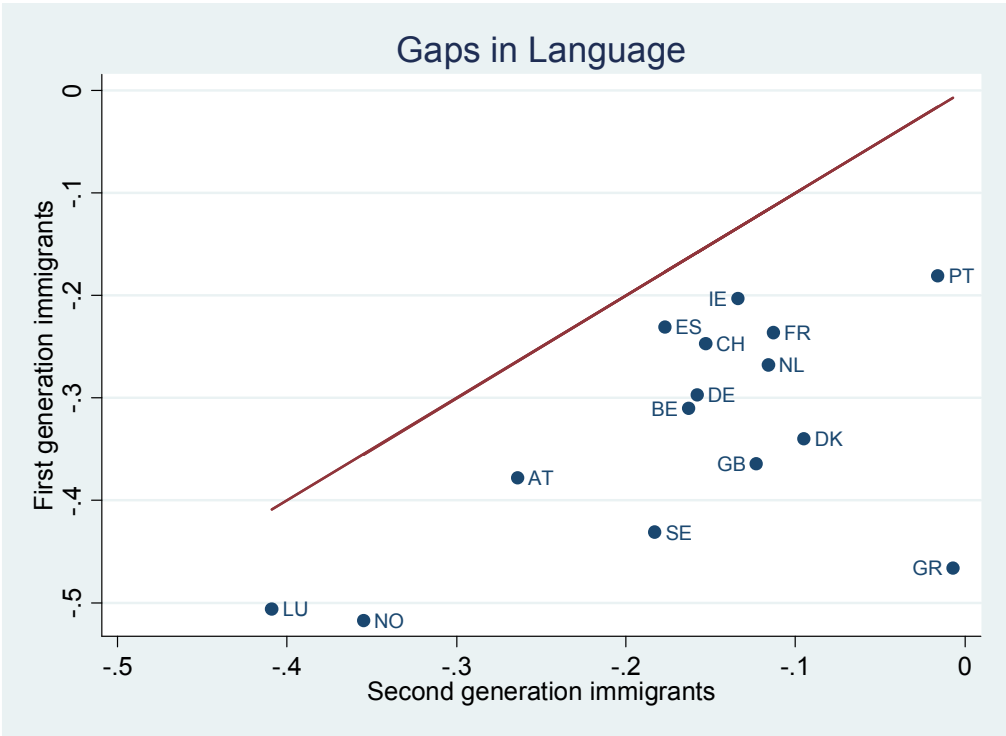


Figure 2. Gaps in the Probability of Speaking the Language (1st and 2nd generation) as Opposed to Native-Born, by Largest Origin Groups and Destination Countries

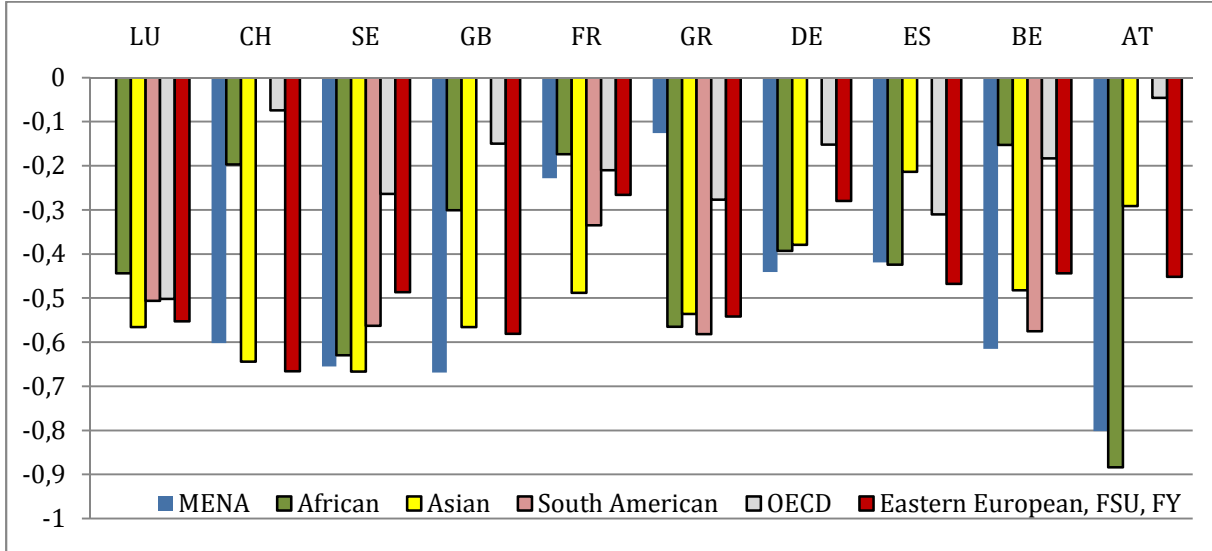


Figure 3. Gaps in Religiosity among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

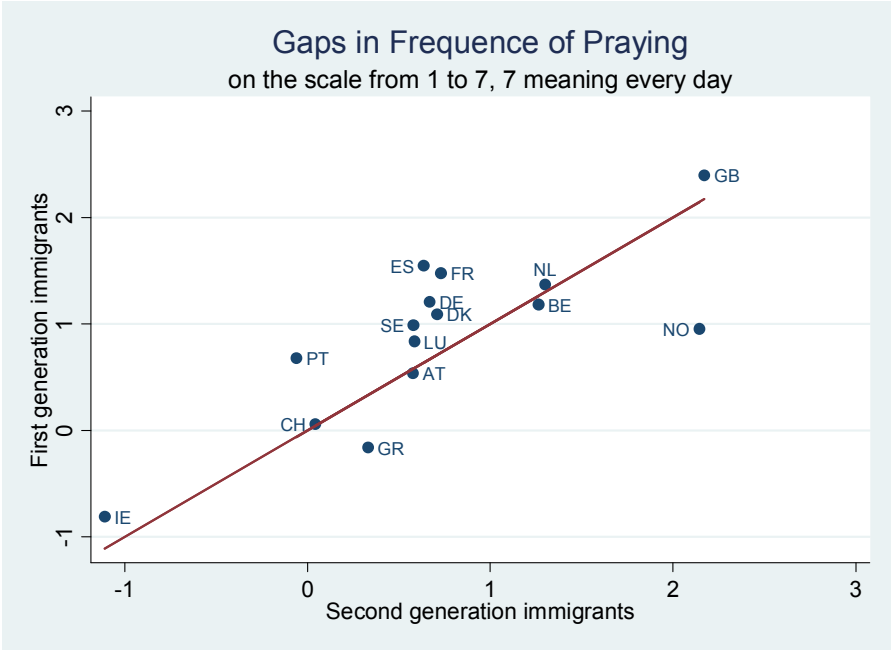


Figure 4. Gaps in Naturalization among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

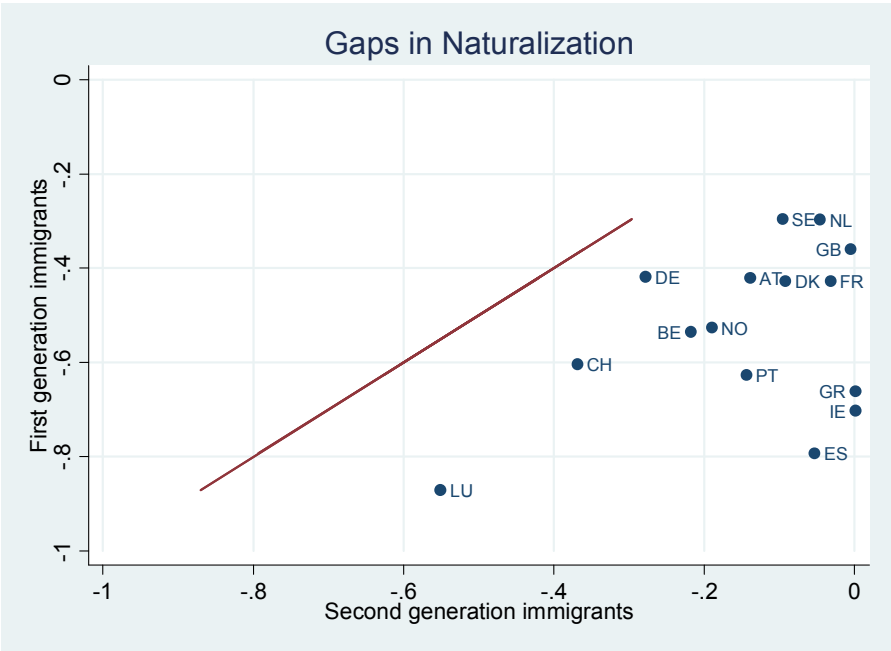


Figure 5. Naturalization of First and Second Generation Immigrants by Destination

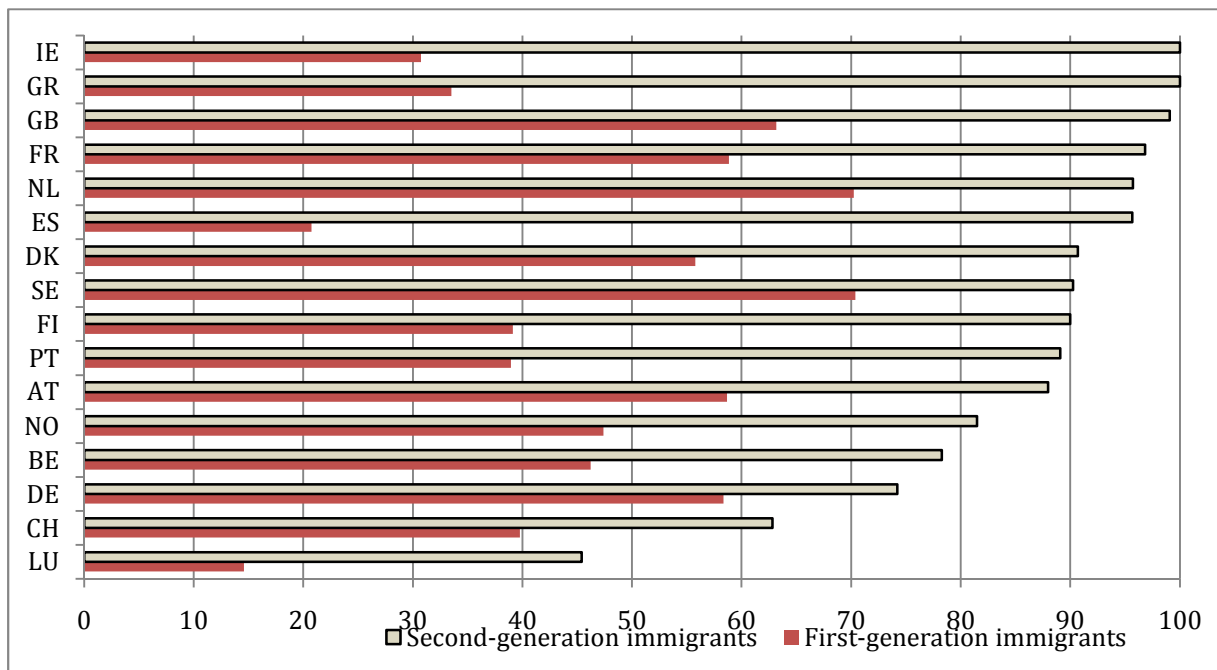


Figure 6. Gaps in Generalized Trust among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

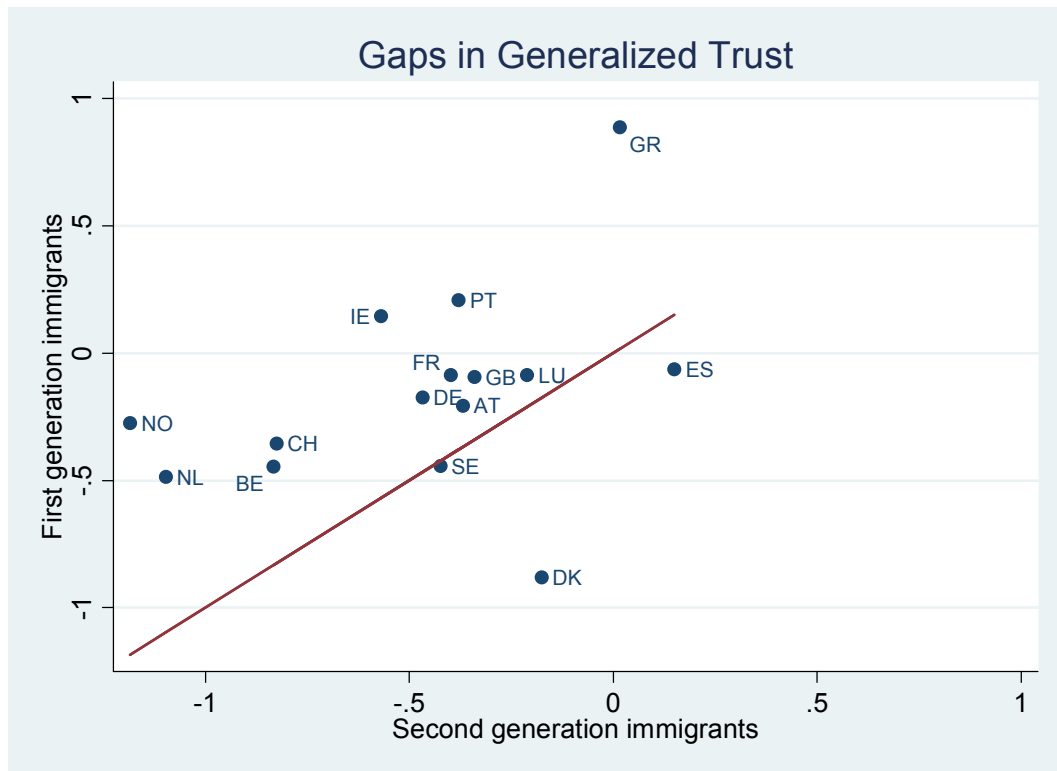


Figure 7. Gaps in Trust in the Police among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

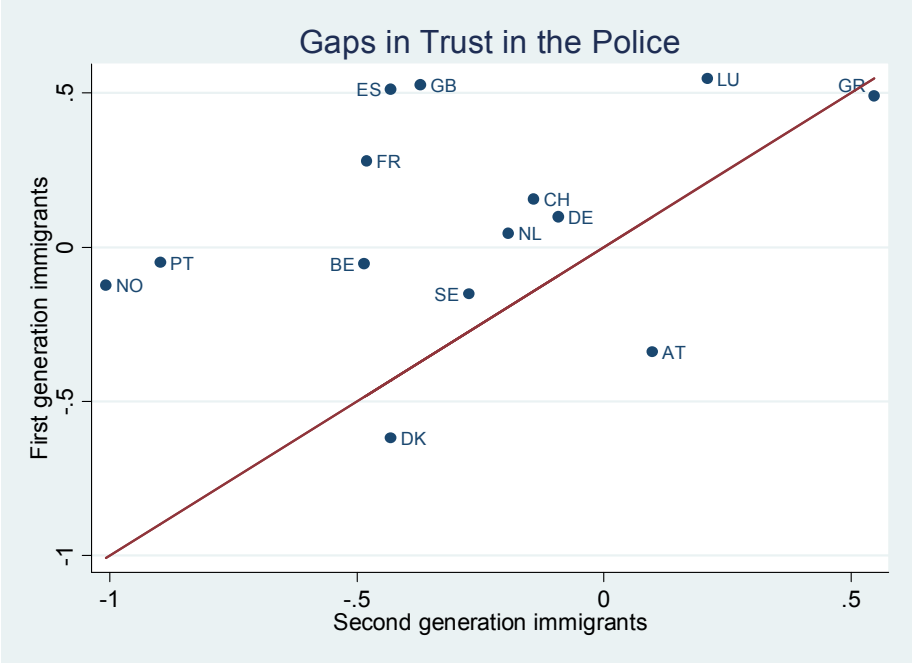


Figure 8. Gaps in Preferences for Redistribution among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

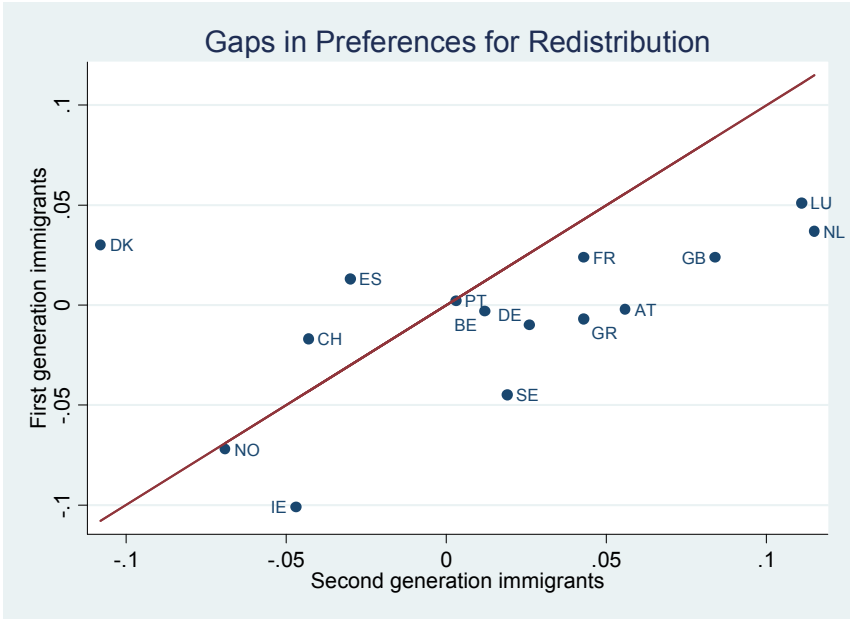


Figure 9. The Dimensions of Discrimination

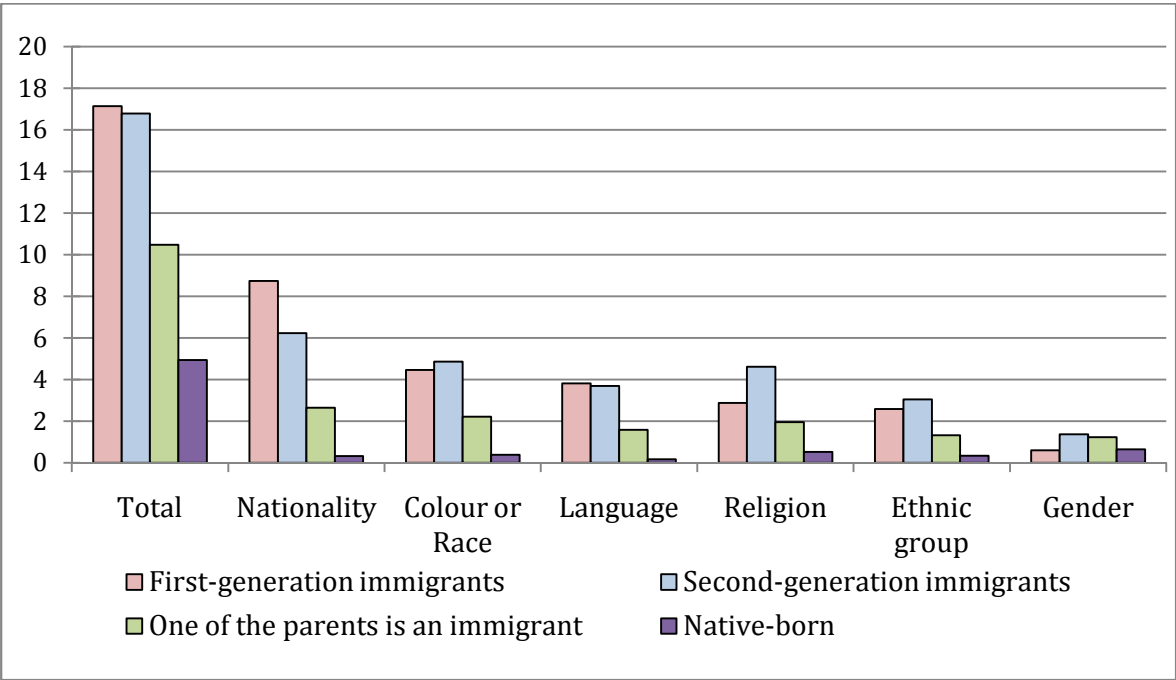


Figure 10. Who Feels Discriminated, and Where?

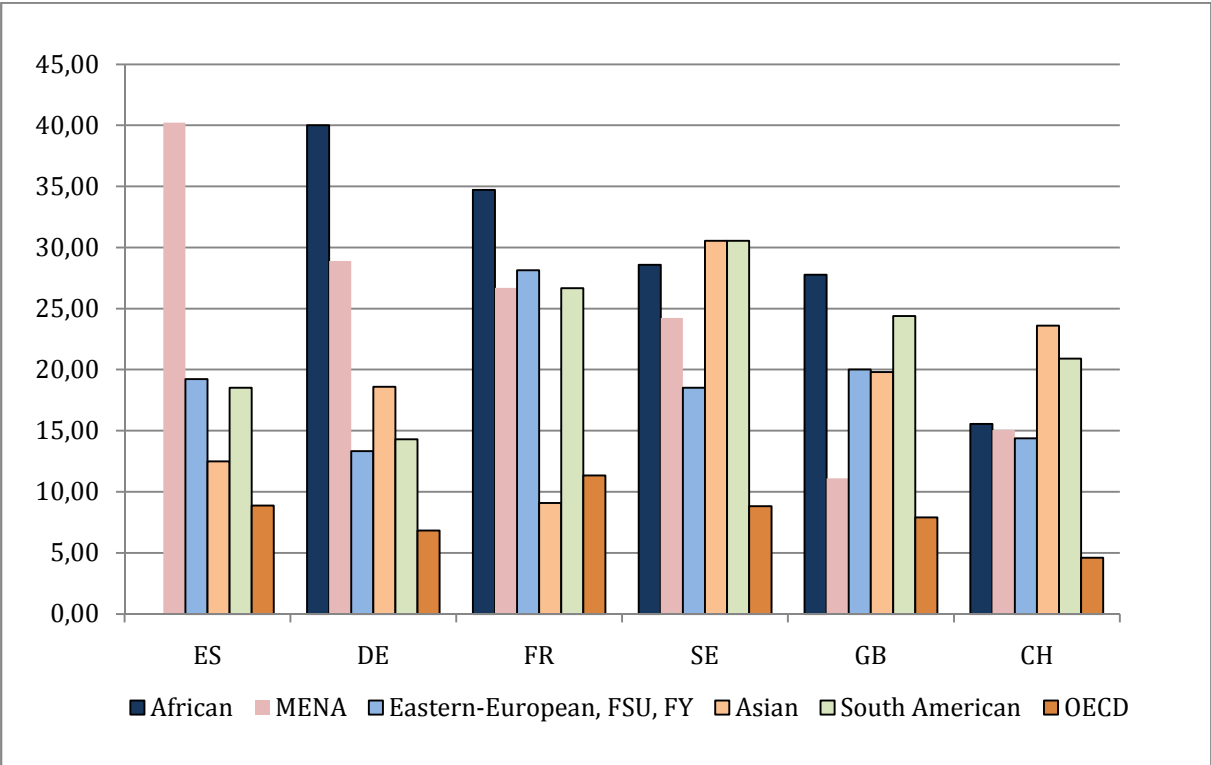


Figure 11. Gaps in Perceived Discrimination First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born

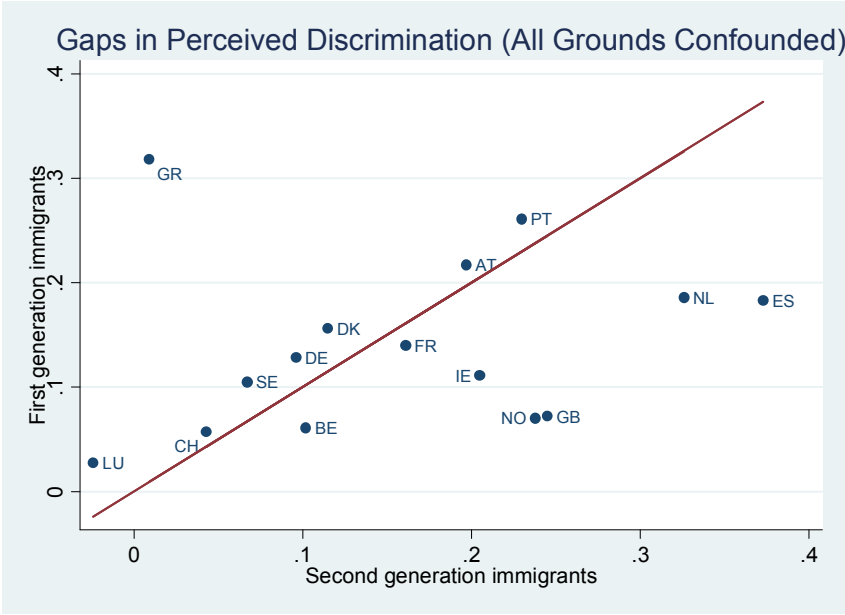
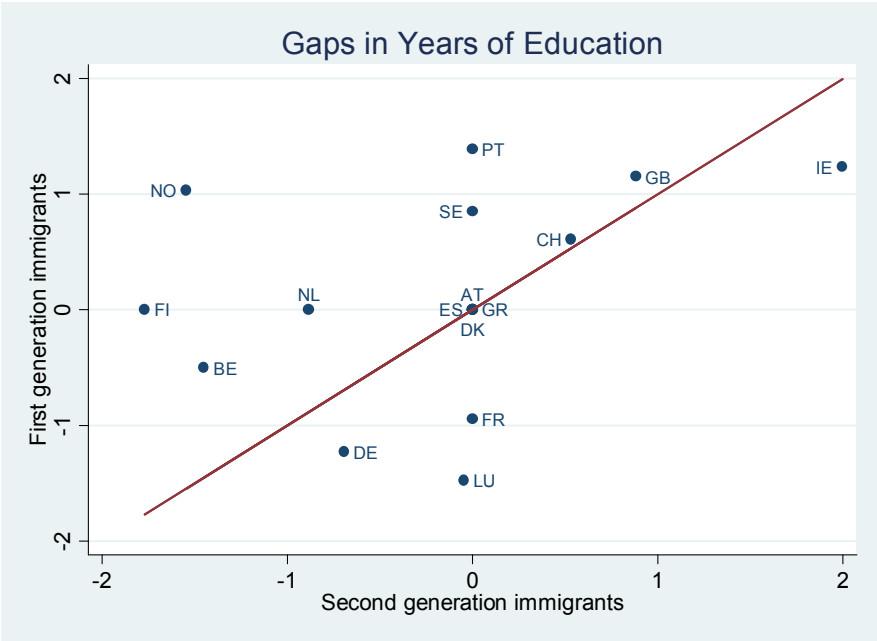


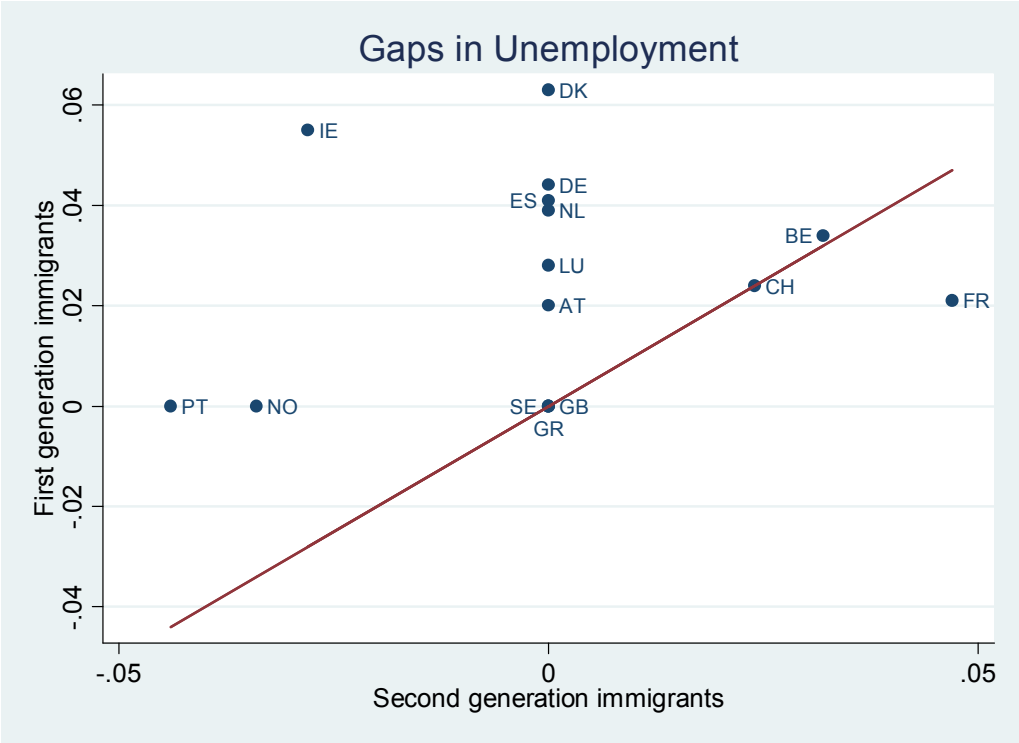
Figure 12. Gaps in Years of Education among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born



Note: Regression results suggest the following statistically significant gaps:

	AT	BE	CH	DE	DK	ES	FR	FI	GB	GR	IE	LU	NL	NO	PT	SE
First generation	0.00	-0.50	0.61	-1.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.95	1.15	0.00	1.24	-1.48	0.00	1.03	1.39	0.85
Second generation	0.00	-1.45	0.53	-0.69	0.00	0.00	-1.77	0.00	0.88	0.00	2.00	-0.05	-0.89	-1.55	0.00	0.00

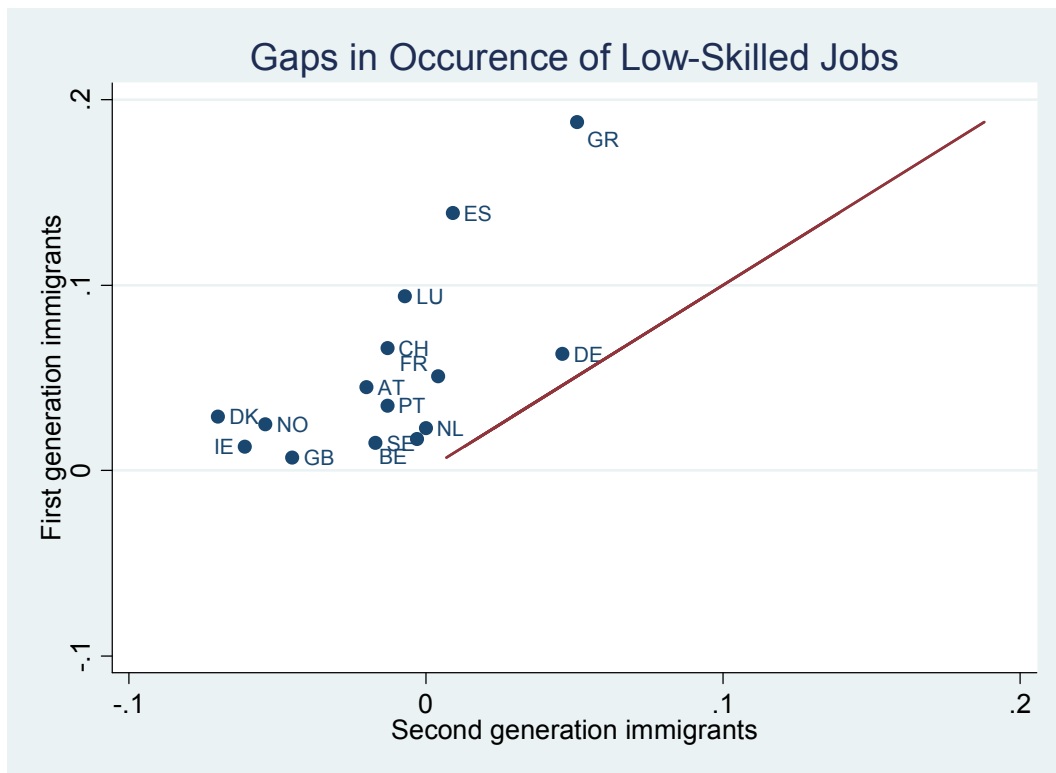
Figure 13. Gaps in Unemployment among First- and Second-Generation Immigrants as Opposed to Native-Born



Note: Regression results suggest the following statistically significant gaps:

	AT	BE	CH	DE	DK	ES	FR	GB	GR	IE	LU	NL	NO	PT	SE
First generation	0.020	0.034	0.024	0.044	0.063	0.041	0.021	0.000	0.000	0.055	0.028	0.039	0.000	0.000	0.000
Second generation	0.000	0.032	0.024	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.047	0.000	0.000	-0.028	0.000	0.000	-0.034	-0.044	0.000

Figure 14. Gaps in Probability of Occupying a Low-Skilled Job as Opposed to Native-Born



Note: Regression results suggest the following statistically significant gaps:

	AT	BE	CH	DE	DK	ES	FR	GB	GR	IE	LU	NL	NO	PT	SE
First generation	0.05	0.00	0.07	0.06	0.00	0.14	0.05	0.00	0.19	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Second generation	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	-0.07	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.05	-0.06	0.00	0.00	-0.05	0.00	0.00

Figure 15. Gaps in (logarithm of) Individual Income as Opposed to Native-Born

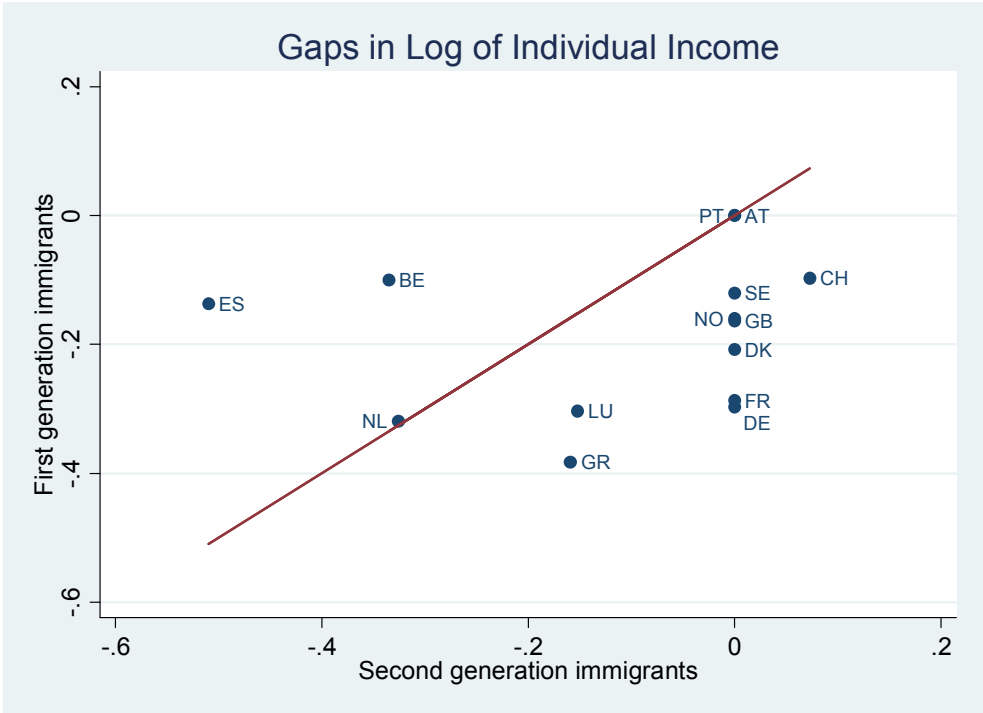


Figure 16. Relationship between Language and Income Gaps of First-Generation Immigrants

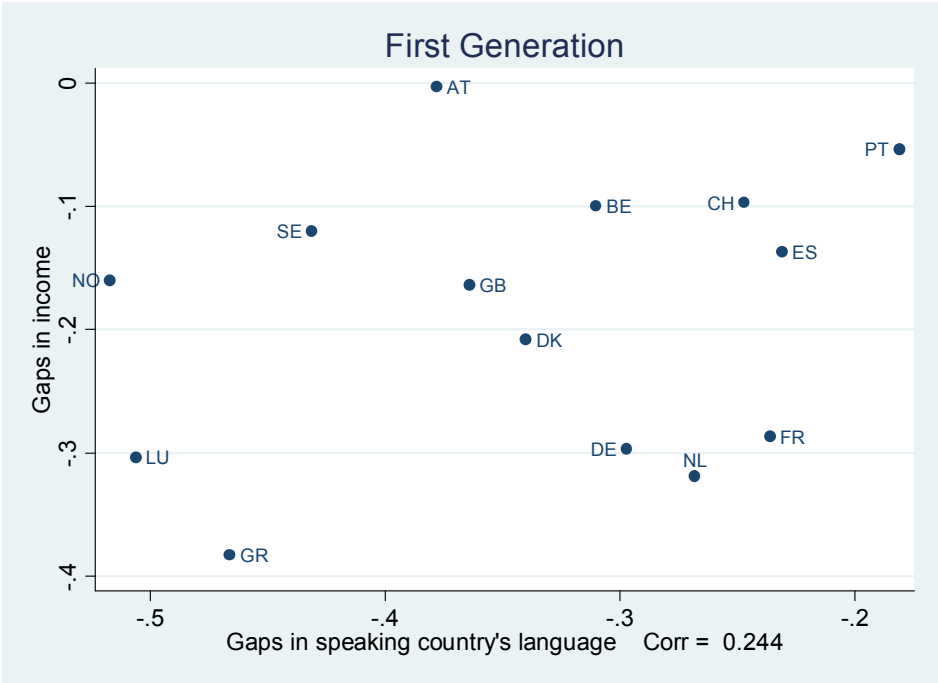


Figure 17. Relationship between Praying and Occupying High-Skilled Jobs of First-Generation Immigrants

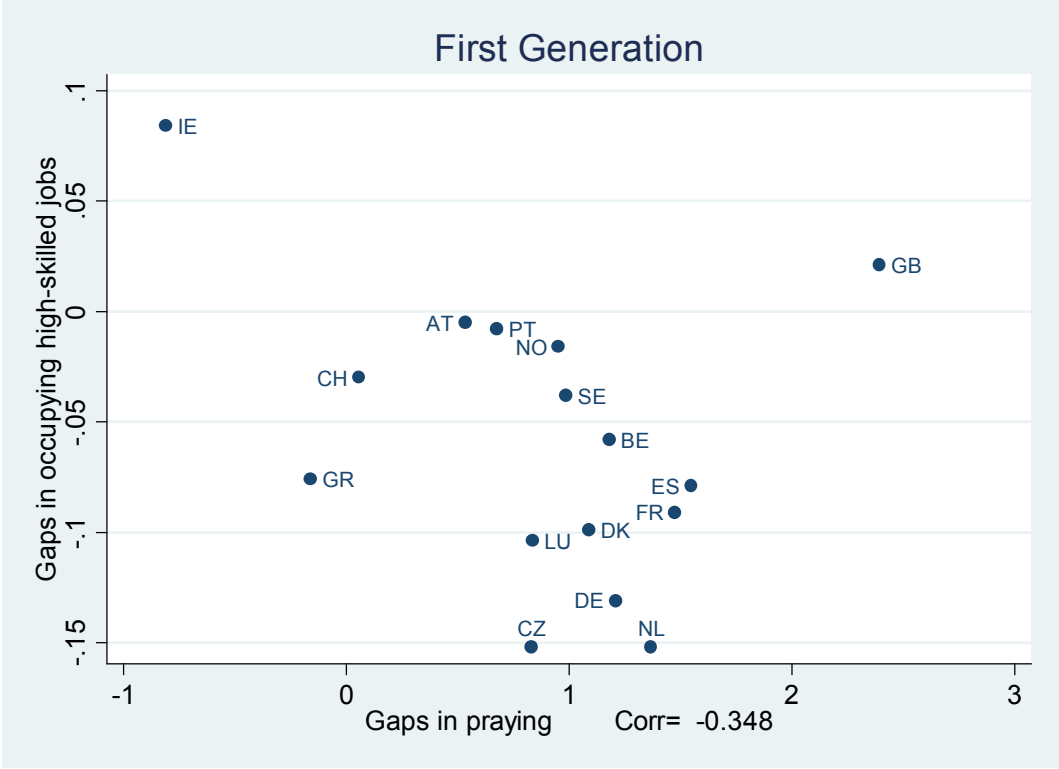


Figure 18. Relationship between Preferences for Redistribution and Praying, First and Second Generation Immigrants

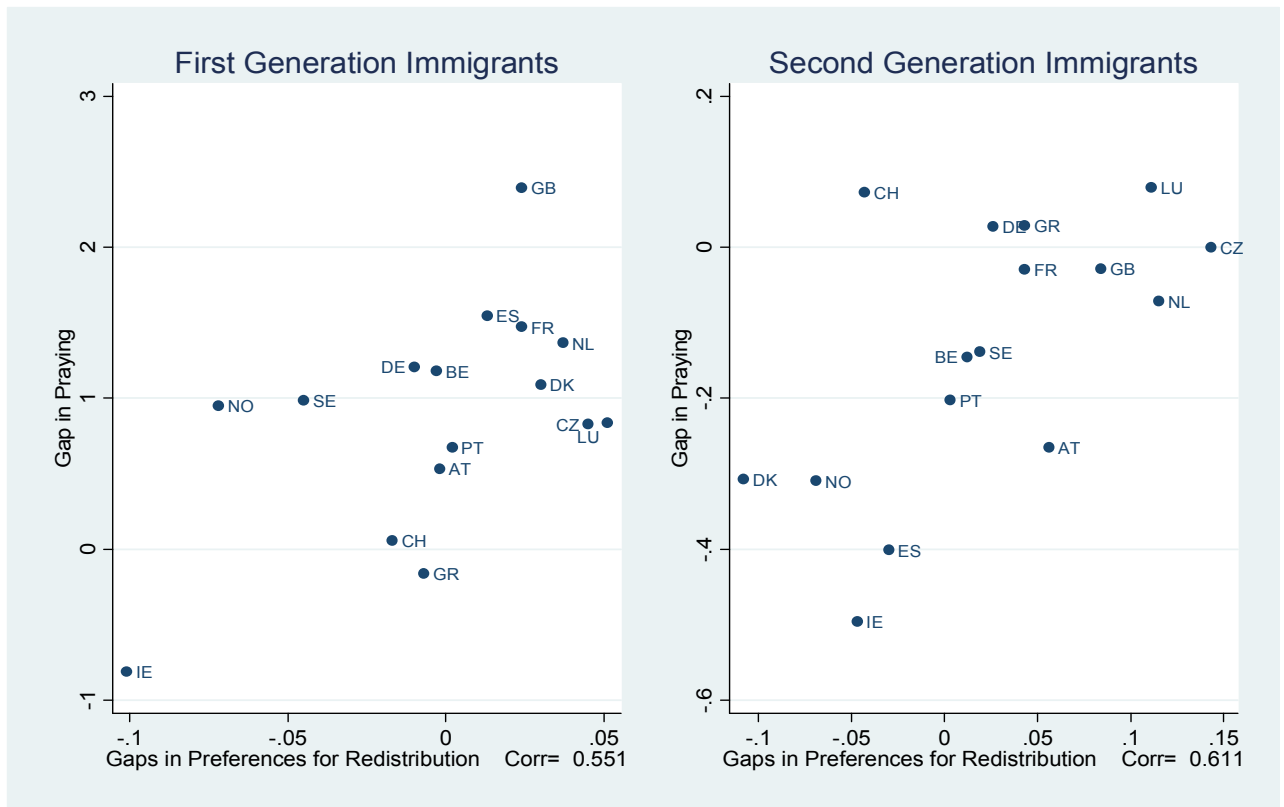


Figure 19. Gaps in Unemployment between First- and Second-Generation Immigrants, and Labour Market Access

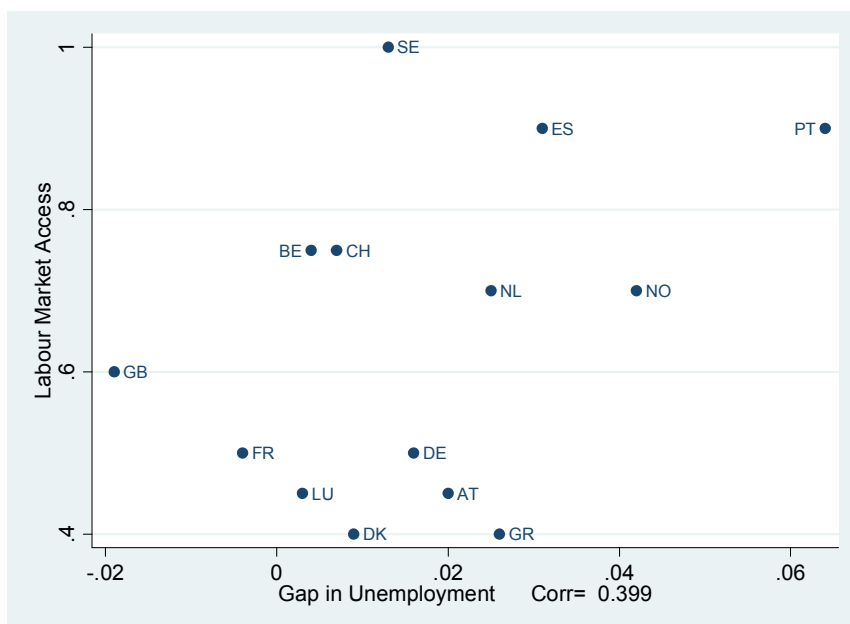
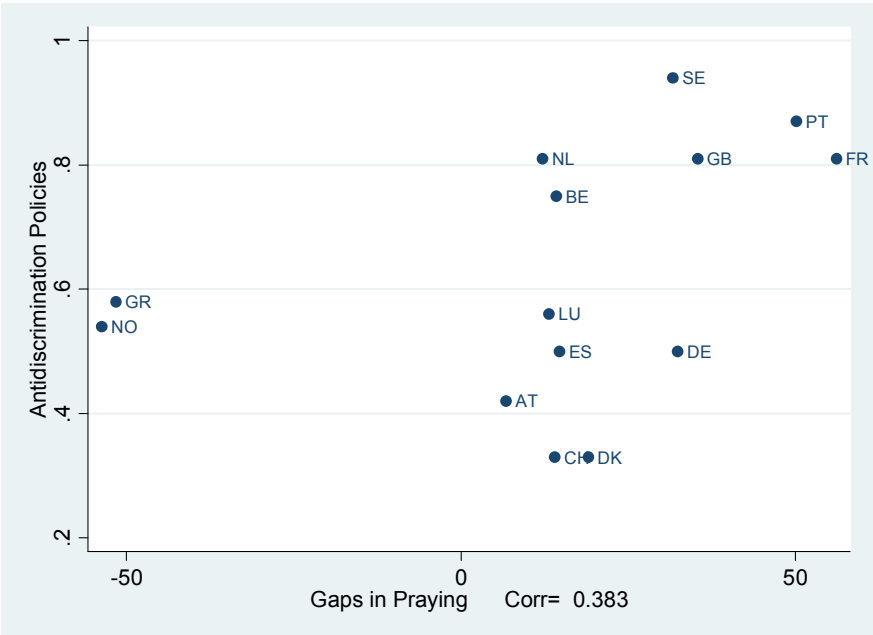


Figure 20. Gaps in Praying between First- and Second-Generation Immigrants, and Antidiscrimination



Note: Correlation is 0.573 if Greece and Norway are excluded

Figure 21. Gaps in Trust between First- and Second-Generation Immigrants, and Political Inclusion Policies

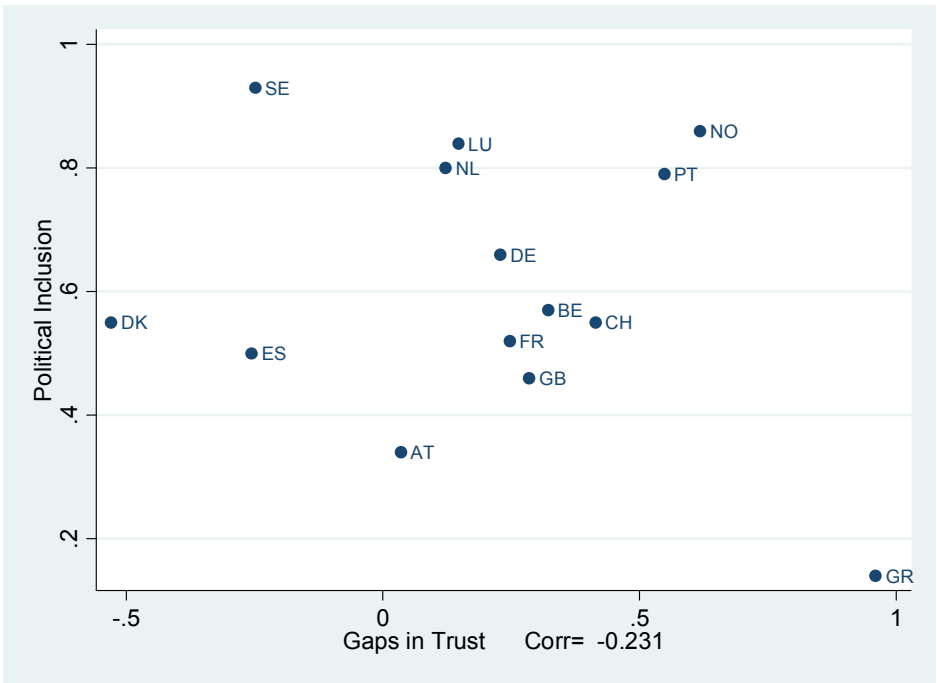


Table A1. Descriptive Statistics by Immigrant Status (Means)

Appendix I

	First- generation Immigrants, >20 years of residence	First- generation Immigrants, < 20 years of residence	Second- generation immigrants	Individuals with 1 parent born abroad	Native-born
Socio-Economic Indicators:					
Years of education	12.74	11.82	12.63	12.85	12.07
Tertiary education	0.26	0.22	0.20	0.24	0.20
Unemployed	0.09	0.04	0.08	0.06	0.04
Inactive	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02
<i>Occupation: high skilled</i>	<i>0.22</i>	<i>0.31</i>	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.34</i>	<i>0.30</i>
<i>Occupation: low skilled</i>	<i>0.15</i>	<i>0.11</i>	<i>0.07</i>	<i>0.08</i>	<i>0.09</i>
Cultural Indicators:					
Married	0.57	0.63	0.42	0.44	0.55
Divorced	0.08	0.10	0.06	0.08	0.07
Age gap between spouses	2.73	2.38	2.23	2.29	2.28
Partner economically active	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
<i>Speaking an official language of a country as first language at home</i>	<i>0.61</i>	<i>0.80</i>	<i>0.86</i>	<i>0.93</i>	<i>0.98</i>
<i>Belonging to the main religion of the country</i>	<i>0.29</i>	<i>0.33</i>	<i>0.32</i>	<i>0.34</i>	<i>0.49</i>
<i>Frequency of praying (days a year)</i>	<i>129.00</i>	<i>135.57</i>	<i>97.90</i>	<i>74.88</i>	<i>82.57</i>
<i>Perceived discrimination</i>	<i>0.22</i>	<i>0.15</i>	<i>0.22</i>	<i>0.13</i>	<i>0.05</i>
Frequency of socialization (on the scale from 1 to 7)	5.01	4.88	5.21	5.17	4.96
Anyone to discuss intimate matters with	0.901	0.871	0.916	0.917	0.914
Generalized trust (1-10)	4.99	4.74	4.42	4.72	4.82
Trust in police	6.51	6.20	5.69	5.86	6.02
Trust in country's parliament	5.32	4.77	4.29	4.38	4.37
Trust in legislation	5.95	5.30	5.01	5.07	5.00
Trust in politicians	4.19	3.69	3.41	3.43	3.42
Trust in the European parliament	5.29	4.53	4.54	4.46	4.43
Trust in the United Nations	5.42	5.02	4.95	5.08	5.18
Civic Indicators:					
<i>Citizen</i>	<i>0.42</i>	<i>0.69</i>	<i>0.89</i>	<i>0.95</i>	<i>1.00</i>
<i>Civic participation</i>	<i>0.33</i>	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.50</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>0.46</i>
<i>Satisfaction with democracy</i>	<i>0.82</i>	<i>0.71</i>	<i>0.66</i>	<i>0.64</i>	<i>0.65</i>
Preferences:					
<i>In favor of redistribution</i>	<i>0.65</i>	<i>0.70</i>	<i>0.72</i>	<i>0.68</i>	<i>0.69</i>

Source: Authors' Calculations based on the ESS.

Note: Tabulations are done accounting for survey design and population weights

Appendix II. List of Countries in Immigrants' Origin Sub-groups:

MENA :

Alger, Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Yemen, Arab Emirates

East European, FSU, FY:

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Moldova, Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina

African:

Angola, Burkina Faso, Benin, Burundi, Congo, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Uganda, Gambia, Kenya, Cameroon, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Chad, Togo, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Asian:

Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Brunei, China, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Iraq, Korea, Laos, Mongolia, Macao, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam,

South American:

Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Belize, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Surinam, El Salvador, Uruguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, Paraguay

OECD:

Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Island, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Portugal, Norway, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Japan, Luxembourg, the US, Sweden