



Research group
Cultural and Social Differentiation
(SOCCULT)

State of the Art Report

December 2006

Introduction

The SOCCULT Arena could be defined as an area where the EQUALSOC members interested in analysing the social cohesion at the meso-level could exchange, “social cohesion” being extensively defined in terms of relational connectedness, sense of belonging to a community and including the extent of inequalities of life opportunities.

The emphasis is on the strengths of relations and inequalities within and between secondary groups, on the changes in co-operative or hostile relations that link these groups together, on the possible expansion of the social groups less integrated, and on the weakening or strengthening of social links that could develop afterwards.

The themes and groups that are likely to be studied in these perspectives are numerous: age groups, social classes, immigrants and ethnicity, status groups and life style differentiation, neighbourhoods, social capital and so on. The research proposals currently in process thus deal with all these themes. We will confine ourselves to the proposals advanced enough to have received funding during the first period of the network, i.e. the ones dealing with immigration and ethnicity, neighbourhood and social capital. State of the art reports are presented here for each of these three topics.

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

➤ *The Educational Achievements of the “Second Generation” in Europe: A Review of the Literature*

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Introduction

The huge migration to affluent western countries from a wide diversity of origin countries in the last third of the twentieth century has been one of the most striking developments of recent social history. As a result of these migrations, a growing number of “second generation” children are now moving through the western educational systems and into the labour market. Their experience is of great significance with important implications for equality of opportunity and for social integration. Pessimists foresee problems ahead for the members of the “new” second generation with the possibility of downwards assimilation into a disadvantaged underclass for some minorities. Optimists hope for upward mobility especially through education. In both accounts education is key, both in the form of human capital with its valuable payoffs in the labour market and also as a crucial mechanism of social integration. Shared experiences of higher education in particular are often believed to promote tolerance and the blurring of group boundaries.

This review reports on the evidence presented in the current literature on the educational achievements of the second generation in Europe. As well as providing an outline of the descriptive work that has been undertaken, it seeks to examine the extent to which factors such as social class, parental education, reactions to discrimination, “ethnic social capital” and parental interest play a part.

Descriptive work

Achievement/Attainment

Research has suggested that fewer children of immigrants in Belgium are found in general secondary education than native pupils, with second generation children overrepresented in vocational training, especially in the options “central heating and sanitary fittings”, “electrical installations”, “hairdressing” and “nursing” (Timmerman et al, 2003). In terms of entrance to further education, it has been found that Moroccans and Turks are particularly likely to attend a higher education institute (Neels 2000; Timmerman et al, 2003). Research using the 1994-1996 surveys on Migration History and Social Mobility (which provide the only recent national data for both Wallonia and Flanders with reference to the educational position of the second generation) found that more Turkish males than their Moroccan counterparts entered higher education. It has been suggested that the proportion of Moroccans and

¹ This state of art report has been prepared within the Research Team on *Ethnic educational inequality in comparative perspective*. This Research Theme is a joint proposal between SOCCULT and EDUC (Education, Social Mobility, and Social Cohesion).

The author would like to thank members of the “Ethnic Educational Inequalities” Group within EDUC for their contributions in preparing this review, particularly Yael Brinbaum, Hector Cebolla Boado, Silje Noack Fekjær, Nadia Granato, Anthony Heath, Cornelia Kristen, Karen Phalet, Herman van de Werfhorst and Frank van Tubergen.

Turks attending a higher education institute is rising, but that these groups are more likely to drop out (Timmerman et al, 2003).

The Youth Cohort Study of England and Wales (YCS) has been a rich source of data for the study of minority ethnic educational achievement in Britain. Drew and Gray (1990) and Drew (1995) used it to analyse attainment at the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE). They found that Afro-Caribbeans scored lower than whites on an overall measure of attainment, while Asian performance was comparable to that of white pupils. Demack et al's (2000) analysis, which took advantage of the more detailed information now available in the YCS on ethnic background, distinguished between two attainment clusters. The higher attaining cluster consisted of Chinese, Indian and white students, and the lower attaining cluster of Pakistani, black and Bangladeshi students. Owen et al. (2000) and Rothon (2005b) found a similar pattern. Indian students exhibited the highest rate of success; Pakistani and Bangladeshi students evinced the lowest level of attainment.

There are also a number of studies in Britain of a more limited geographical scope that have been used to look at minority ethnic achievement. Haque and Bell (2001) investigated the performance and progress of black and minority ethnic pupils between Key Stage 3 (age 14) and GCSE. They found significant differences in performance at Key Stage 3 and GCSE, with negative effects of African, Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils in comparison to their white counterparts. Demie (2001) looked at results from the London borough of Lambeth from Key Stage 1 (age 7) to GCSE and noted that Caribbean pupils performed better than Bangladeshi pupils at Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2 but that this was reversed by GCSE. McCallum and Demie (2001) used the Census and pupil records to examine the performance of the 1998/99 GCSE cohort of pupils in an Inner London borough. They found that African and white pupils performed similarly well and that Caribbeans exhibited lower levels of achievement. Overall, the performance of girls was found to be superior to that of boys. Gillborn and Mirza (2000) found a different pattern using data collected by LEAs as part of their submission for support under the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) and found that each ethnic group was the highest attaining in at least one LEA.²

Simon (2003) used data from the *Enquête Histoire Familiale* (Family History Survey, EHF) to analyse the positions of pupils of Turkish, Moroccan and Portuguese origin in France. It was found that leaving school without achieving any qualification was more common for Turks than for any other group. This was compounded by gender differences, with girls being even more likely to leave without any formal qualifications. Turks were disproportionately found in the vocational tracks. University attendance among second generation Turks was rare. The Portuguese second generation was less likely to follow the general curriculum and were most often found in short-term, vocational training courses. The proportion of this group existing school was early compared to the average in France. Moroccans, on the other

² No single ethnic classification was followed; in some cases LEAs collapsed the data into broad ethnic categories, masking the differences in educational attainment between the various Asian and black groups. One third of the LEAs did not record GCSE attainments by ethnic origin. Attainments at GCSE in the majority of submissions were expressed in percentages making it impossible to know how many pupils were involved. No social class control was used. Their findings are therefore unconvincing. It could be that in these LEAs there were a very small number of students of the minority group in question and that these pupils came from particularly affluent and educated backgrounds. There is no indication of the number of LEAs in which the results are significant.

hand, were found to be in a relatively good educational position, with their performance being much closer to the general average for France. They were more likely to attend general courses and they were found in lower numbers in the vocational tracks. However, the data for this group was affected by particularly high performance of children of mixed couples whose rate of access to the general stream and to university is higher than the French average. Children with two Moroccan parents exhibited educational attainments closer to those of Turks and Portuguese.

The EFFNATIS study in Germany revealed that native youth were more likely to be found secondary and tertiary education than Turks and Yugoslavs. The latter two groups were found to be more likely to enter the vocational training system or have already entered the labour market, often without vocational training (Worbs 2003). An examination of those no longer in education revealed that more than 70 per cent of Turks and more than 50 per cent of Yugoslavs had achieved only basic qualifications. Worbs found little evidence of intergenerational educational mobility for the immigrant population. Alba et al. (1994) used data from the 1980s and Seifert (1995) employed a longitudinal data set of the German Socio-Economic Panel 1984-1989 to examine educational differentials in Germany. In both studies the second generation included only “foreigners” and the results are not directly comparable with EFFANTIS data. Both came to a clear finding; there was a marked distance between young Germans and the Turkish second generation in educational qualifications. Kalter and Granato (2001) focused on differences between second generation youth and native youth and concluded that the gap had increased between 1989 and 1996 in spite of intergenerational progress.

In terms of highest educational qualification obtained, “foreigners” lag behind native Germans. 7.9 per cent of Germans leave with no educational qualification; the corresponding figure for “foreigners” is 19.2 per cent. At the upper end of the scale, 24.8 per cent of native Germans obtain the generation qualification for university entrance whilst only 8.9 per cent of foreigners do (Federal Statistical Office 2003, quoted in Luchtenberg 2005). One must take care in interpreting these figures; the number of students with a migrant background in Germany is far higher than the number with a foreign passport.

For the Netherlands, one body of research examines the role of ethnicity and social class in *primary* education, drawing on the large-scale PRIMA cohort surveys initiated in the year 1988 (Gijsberts 2003; Oomens et al, 2003). These studies unequivocally conclude that pupils of the major non western immigrant groups from the Caribbean (Surinamese, Dutch Antilleans) and particularly of Mediterranean origin (Turks, Moroccans) are at a large disadvantage when they start primary education. Their language skills are approximately two years behind those of natives, their mathematics skills about half a year (Gijsberts 2003). Mediterranean pupils have fewer language and mathematics skills in the second year of primary schooling (when pupils are about six years of age) than native pupils, even when considering social class and other factors (Oomens et al, 2003). Following the same pupils throughout their primary schooling reveals that minority students make more progress in language and mathematics than native Dutch students, thereby diminishing ethnic differences (Gijsberts 2003).

There are still ethnic differences at the start of *secondary education*, however. Despite the fact that minority students in the Netherlands receive better recommendations by their teachers and choose higher levels of education than would be justified on the basis of their achievements at the end of primary schooling

(Gijsberts 2003; Luyten & Bosker 2004), on average they are more often found at the lower tracks than native Dutch students (Herweijer 2003).

After completing MAVO, HAVO or VWO, more than 90 per cent of the pupils in the Netherlands chooses to attend continuing education at MBO, HBO or University level (Herweijer 2003). Minority students are more likely to choose higher tertiary tracks compared to native Dutch pupils who obtain the same level of secondary education (Korteweg et al, 2003). However, because of their lower social class background and the lower tracks they follow at secondary school, minority students are overrepresented in lower tertiary education and underrepresented at university level. In 2001, about 17 per cent of native Dutch students went to university against no more than seven per cent among students from Turkish and Moroccan origin (Herweijer 2003). Minority students are more likely to dropout in tertiary education than native Dutch students, partly because they are somewhat older (Bosma and Cremers 1996; Crul and Wolff 2002).

Rroma, or “Gypsies” as they are commonly called in many parts of the world are a group that exhibits considerable disadvantage educationally in Europe. Because of their nomadic existence, many Rroma children receive little formal education. High levels of illiteracy persist in the Rroma population which are rarely reduced when host countries attempt to use education to encourage assimilation and settlement (Kruczek-Steiger and Simmons 2001).

Progress

The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) Study, *School Matters*, reported research on the performance of 2000 pupils in 50 London schools.³ The research largely focused on progress. Smith and Tomlinson (1989) found that white pupils attained the highest examination results overall, but that the gap narrowed between minority students and white students during secondary education. These findings were largely supported by those of Nuttall et al. (1989), Thomas and Mortimore (1994) and Thomas et al. (1994). Sammons (1994) found that many of the gaps in performance at the primary level were reversed at the secondary level, with Asian pupils performing significantly better than their white peers and the Caribbean pupils performing at a similar level to the white group.

Bressoux’s (1994) study of nearly 3000 children in France achieved a similar result, with minorities progressing more than their peers of a similar social class. In two studies about school careers in the early stages of secondary school the same pattern was found (Ernst and Radica 1994; Meuret 1994). Some papers contradict these findings however. Mingat (1991) concluded that although foreign-born minorities made greater progress, France born minority children made less progress than the native population. Serra and Thauvel-Richard (1994) found that a pupil’s nationality made no difference to rates of progress.

Gender differences

In Britain, a distinctive feature of the pattern of results over the last decade and a half has been the “gender gap” in attainment. From the late 1980s, a pattern emerged whereby girls outperformed boys at GCSE level; this has been sustained ever since (Arnot et al. 1998). The trend has been greatly publicised in the media and has not generally led to a resounding acknowledgement of girls’ achievements. This gender

³ It must be remembered that this study was not nationally representative; there may be important differences between children in schools in Inner London and those in schools elsewhere in the country.

gap in achievement at GCSE has been found to apply to all ethnic groups (Rothon 2005b).

In France, for both Portuguese and Moroccans, limited gender differentials have been found in favour of women. Girls perform better at school regardless of social background (Duru-Bellat 2004). This is also true for those of foreign origin (Brinbaum and Kieffer 2005). Second generation Portuguese and Moroccan boys have been found to be more focused on short-term studies and drop out more, while girls seem to invest more seriously in education. This is in contrast to the pattern for Turks where girls were less likely to continue onto higher levels of education (Simon 2003).

In Germany competence measures (Baumert and Schümer 2001; Müller and Stanat 2006; Schwippert et al, 2003, 2004; Stanat 2003), teacher assessments (Bos et al, 2004; Kristen 2006), transition rates (Bos et al, 2004), track attendance (Alba et al, 1994; Haisken-DeNew et al, 1997) and degrees accomplished (Konsortium Bildungsberichterstattung 2006) all demonstrate considerable inequality by ethnic group. While members of the second generation attain better results than those of the first generation, compared to their German age peers without a migration background, children of immigrants still experience considerable disadvantage.

Worbs (2003) found that in the native German, Turkish and Yugoslav groups there was little difference between men and women in current educational status. However, when school leaving certificates were compared for those who have already left education there is a differential; women achieved intermediary and higher degrees more often but this was only at a significant level for the Turkish group. Seifert showed the increase in educational qualifications for the second generation between 1990 and 1995 by gender. It was found that although there has been favourable development for both women and men, there has been a greater increase for women in absolute terms, particularly at the intermediate school certificate level (Seifert 1999). Alamdar-Niemann et al. (1991) point to the problem of Turkish girls being unable to join important school activities, such as travelling in mixed classes with overnight stays.

Crul and Doornik (2003) and Timmerman et al. (2003) found a similar gender pattern in the Netherlands and Belgium respectively. In the Netherlands, 15 per cent of Turkish second generation women aged 19 and a quarter of those aged 21 are already married (Alders et al, 2001). Marriage at a young age usually heralds the end of a school career. Timmerman et al. (2003) suggest that this has implications that extend beyond the individual; the fact that a number of Turkish girls get engaged or married at 16 while still at school means that many of them are more preoccupied with marriage and engagement than with school. This affects the classroom climate negatively. In Belgium, figures based on the 1991 census suggest that second generation Moroccan girls usually continue in education for longer than second generation Turkish females. In the 20-25 age group there were twice as many Moroccan girls as Turkish girls studying (Lesthaeghe 1996).

Explaining ethnic differences

Individual level differences

The association between social class and educational attainment has been extensively documented (see for example Blackburn and Marsh 1991; Floud et al, 1956; Halsey et al, 1980; Heath 2000; Jonsson and Mills 1993a, 1993b; Savage and Egerton 1997; Shavit and Blossfeld 1991). How the effect of social class varies by

ethnicity is less clear. Minority ethnic groups are heavily concentrated towards the bottom of the class structure; it might therefore be expected that many of the inequalities in performance can be explained by the differential distributions of the major ethnic groups across the occupational framework.

A theory that has often been tested alongside the measurement of the effects of socioeconomic background is that of cultural capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argued that a parental cultural investment in children could yield educational returns. They asserted that middle class parents are able to endow their children with various linguistic and cultural competencies that are vital to success in school. The middle classes fail to transmit these skills to the working classes. Such competencies may be acquired in many ways, for example through the availability of suitable books in the household, visits to museums and visits to art galleries. Bourdieu and Passeron's view was that children develop a deeply ingrained, largely unconscious orientation (*habitus*) that shapes their tastes. Although they acknowledged that people do pick up new cultural baggage, they argued that they only enjoy consuming culture that fits with their *habitus*. Individuals may learn new things but they are learning the same kinds of things, so their cultural capital stays the same. Despite the fact that it has been demonstrated that sociocultural factors can be associated with achievement (see for example de Graaf 1986; DiMaggio 1982; Sullivan 2001) evidence that cultural capital theory is useful in explaining differences in performance by ethnicity has been mixed. Because Bourdieu relates his theory so strongly to the effects of social class background, papers looking at the influence of cultural capital on educational attainment will be discussed in this section.

In the case of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis in Britain class has been found to be an extremely important factor in explaining their low levels of attainment. These groups perform worse than any other ethnic group in the examinations taken at the end of compulsory education. However, they also fall disproportionately into lower socioeconomic groups; this explains much of the deficit (Haque and Bell 2001; Rothon 2006). However, social class is not able to explain the lower performance of Afro-Caribbean students, particularly boys (Rothon 2006).

In France, Vallet and Caille (1996) found that when controlling for socioeconomic conditions and family structure the performance of immigrants at primary school was similar to that of those with non-immigrant parents. At secondary school the effect of being a child of immigrants was positive. They argued that immigrant ancestry itself was not detrimental to students. However, belonging to larger families and having parents in lower social positions did have an effect; this largely explained the lower achievements of immigrant pupils. As regards social class, nearly 80 per cent of immigrant fathers had been or still were manual workers, if they were employed at all. Their 1999 study, also using the 1989 French National Education Longitudinal Survey, found that 31.8 per cent of French secondary school students complete the *baccalauréat* within seven years (without repeating a year). The corresponding figures for the major minority ethnic groups were much lower than this: a rate of 24.7 per cent for South East Asians, 20.2 per cent for Portuguese, 19.1 per cent for Moroccans, 18.2 per cent for Tunisians, 16.9 per cent for Algerians and 12.9 per cent for Turks. However, once socio-demographic characteristics were controlled for, children of immigrants more often completed the qualification within seven years.

Simon (2003) found a strong positive effect on educational achievement for the offspring of mixed marriages. Although, as discussed above, children with two Moroccan parents performed relatively badly, those with one Moroccan parent and

one parent of different heritage performed above the French average. This was linked to the higher social class of mixed couples. If the socio-economic status of parents in the two family types was taken into account, the social mobility of the second generation for both groups was moderate. Simon summarised his paper on the second generation in France neatly: “all things being unequal, performance of children of immigrants in school is not so bad” (Simon 2003, p. 1105).

Many French studies have pointed out that family environment and in particular parental educational attainment may explain children’s achievement at school. Immigrant families find it difficult to help their children with homework or more generally to invest in their schooling (Brinbaum 2002; Thin 1998; van Zanten 2001). They lack the kind of knowledge that is required to navigate the French school system and they do not have the cultural and socio-economic resources that would allow them adopting the strategies of the French middle class.

A study based on a French representative quantitative survey focused on parental educational investment in immigrant families compared with those of native French one showed the discrepancy between the high expectations of immigrant families and their concrete investment due to their lack of resource (Brinbaum, 2002). Nevertheless, this study also showed the high mobilisation in some families (North African families in particular) despite their social origin and lack of resources.

Worbs (2003) argued that low levels of parental education (as well as limited knowledge of the national language) were particularly detrimental in the German case. German schools are predominantly half day schools. This means that intensive support with homework by parents is necessary; this is often problematic in minority ethnic families. After taking social origin into account Müller and Stanat (2006) identified a persistent Turkish disadvantage in the reading performance of 15-year-olds. Alba et al. (1994), who analysed ethnic variation in the distribution over the three different secondary tracks, also found a negative Turkish effect.

Overall, Dutch studies report few, if any, differences across ethnic groups once social class background is controlled for. All studies find a strong effect of social class and of parental education in particular. What remains of the small ethnicity effect is to a small degree attributable to factors like the number of children, home language use, parental involvement with school activities, length of stay in the Netherlands and various other potentially relevant family characteristics (Roelandt et al, 1991; Van ‘t Hof and Dronkers 1993; Van Ours and Veenman 2003; Wolbers and Driessen 1996).

Although studies report few net ethnic differences in secondary education, it is important to acknowledge that ethnic minorities sometimes do better than natives with comparable class background. Some studies find that although ethnic minorities have lower achievement at entry into secondary school they choose higher levels of secondary education than natives with the same educational level (Hustinx 2002; Luyten 2004). In the literature there is considerable debate about this net *positive* ethnic effect. Some researchers argue that ethnic minorities are “over-advised”, leading them to drop out from secondary school more frequently than natives, for whom capacities and achievements are better matched to their educational level (Herweijer 2003; Tesser and Iedema 2001). Indeed, research shows that minority students are more likely to drop out from school than native Dutch pupils even after social class and other factors are considered (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 2003). Others, however, argue that over-advice has almost vanished in the pupils finishing primary school in 2003 (Driessen 2006) and that even among earlier cohorts ethnic minorities are generally able to survive at the level of their advice (Hustinx 2002).

Driessen and Dekkers (1997) analysed the Educational Priority Policy (EPP) evaluation study; this was conducted among 20,000 secondary level pupils from 400 schools. They found that social class was the best predictor of educational achievement (in language, mathematics and information processing) and that ethnic and gender effects were far smaller. The two lowest performing ethnic groups were Turks and Moroccans, most of whom come from the lowest socioeconomic category. This led to the conclusion that social class background and ethnic origin were so closely interlinked that it was virtually impossible to distinguish between the two. They also pointed to the importance of considering factors beyond social class in explaining the differentials observed. These include cultural and social differences, ethnic relations with racial undertones, ethnic bias on the part of the school and discontinuities between the home environment and the socialising principles of the home. Driessen (2001), using data from the Dutch nationally representative cohort study of Primary Education (PRIMA), concluded that cultural capital theory had no utility in explaining the performance of children of immigrants. Van der Veen (1999) came to the opposite conclusion; cultural capital as measured by how much the parents read, what kind of books were present in the home, whether the students talked about politics, news and books with their parents, whether their parents watched the news, documentary and educational programs and frequency of attendance at a museum, library or theatre was found to be significant in predicting attainment.

Lower educational attainment among minority groups, partly explained by social background, is also found in Norwegian studies (Dæhlen 2001; Støren 2005; Fekjær 2006). Støren (2005) finds that social background is less important among minorities also in Norway, but these differences are small and the sample size is limited. Some studies on educational achievement and attitudes towards school find less effect of social background among minority groups in Norway and the US, but do not distinguish between groups of different countries of origin (Krange and Bakken 1998; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1999; Lauglo 2000).

Reactions to discrimination

Another group of explanations focuses on the reaction of minority ethnic pupils to discrimination both within and outside the school. Historically, these arguments have focused on the impact of direct discrimination. More recently, however, it has been suggested that more indirect discrimination, “institutional racism” can also play a part.

A great deal of qualitative work has looked to teacher racism to explain ethnic differentials in achievement. Mac an Ghaill (1988, 1989, 1993) noted the conflict between black pupils and their teachers and went on to explore the range of teachers’ perspectives and expectations, finding that many teachers operated with views of black pupils as disadvantaged by broken homes and pathological family structures. In addition the research highlighted a range of stereotypes existing in the boys’ school about Asian pupils; Asians were portrayed as technically able and well-behaved but uncreative. One teacher said that Asian students were not interested in “real learning”. Mac an Ghaill concluded that “racism was prevalent throughout the white staff” (Mac an Ghaill 1988, p. 61), but it is impossible to assess the proportion of teachers for which this was the case. Wright (1986, 1987, 1993) focused on the interaction between teachers and Afro-Caribbean students. This was often characterized by confrontation and conflict. She found that Afro-Caribbean students were placed in academic bands and examination sets that did not reflect their ability. This is backed

up by Eggleston et al's (1986) finding that children from black and minority ethnic backgrounds were more likely to be placed on courses below those which might better suit their abilities and ambitions. Connolly (1995) reported similar processes of conflict and control between teachers and pupils. Gillborn (1990) found that teachers penalised Afro-Caribbean students more frequently than any other group. He found that teachers often viewed Asian pupils as being more highly motivated, better behaved and of relatively high ability. Although the studies reported here suggest that teachers often view Asian pupils as being more well-behaved, more highly motivated and of relatively higher ability than Afro-Caribbean pupils (see for example, Gillborn 1990; Mac an Ghail 1988, 1989) negative stereotypes have also been observed. Treatment has been found to vary according to the gender of the students in question. So, while Mac an Ghail (1988) found that "there was a tendency for Asian male students to be seen by the teachers as technically of "high ability" and socially as "conformist" (Mac an Ghail 1988, p. 64), Wright (1992) noted that Asian girls were seen as quiet and submissive; this rendered them "invisible" in class.

The findings of ethnographic studies such as these are open to a number of interpretations. It has been argued, for example, that as a group black pupils simply break more rules than any other ethnic group. Foster (1990, 1991, 1993) and Foster et al. (1996) argued that there is currently no conclusive evidence by which discrimination against black students can be established and that ethnographic studies alleging racist attitudes are filtered through a process of selective interpretation based on the preconceived assumption that schools are racist. Foster argued that teachers' views of students are not based on cultural stereotypes but on the actual behaviour and attitudes of students. In addition, he highlighted the methodological weakness in many of the studies which reported teacher racism in allocating students to lower ability sets at school and in making decisions to exclude pupils: they failed to control for pupils' prior attainment. He argued that without doing this it is impossible to ascertain whether any discrimination has taken place. This critique has been dismissed by some researchers as racist (Blair 1998; Gillborn 1998). Mirza (1992) has argued that such studies have a very narrow focus and are "in danger of ignoring the wider social and economic forces that affect the school's independence as a social institution" Mirza (1992, p. 52).

Some studies have controlled for prior ability in order to assess how fair the judgements of teachers are. Tizard et al. (1988) found that reading, there appeared to be no systematic relation between misclassification and sex or ethnicity. For mathematics, expectations for black boys were high relative to their scores on the tests, and expectations for white girls relatively low. Mortimore et al. (1988) found no association between teachers' assessments and ethnicity once attainment had been controlled for. Smith and Tomlinson (1989) found that allocation to course levels was based on tested attainment rather than ethnicity. US research has displayed a similar pattern, with allocation to ability groups associated with ethnicity and social class being determined by average differences in test scores rather than bias on the part of teachers (Haller 1985, Oakes et al, 1992).

Resistance to the "white culture" of schools

A great deal of literature has focused on the effects of curriculum and staff in explaining the lower performance of certain ethnic groups, in particular black males.

In the US literature Ogbu has focused on the notion of an "oppositional culture". This develops as a reaction to the poorer position of blacks in society which eventually manifests itself in a negative reaction to the "white" values of schools.

Firstly, in an abstract sense, black children and parents recognise the value of education. Ogbu (1978) documented the deep and abiding belief of blacks in education as a crucial means to attain upward mobility. Secondly, this belief is not translated into better academic performance as blacks are aware that they face a job ceiling. The discordance between abstract beliefs in the importance of education and actual achievement has been termed the “attitude-achievement paradox” (Mickelson 1990). Ogbu (1974, 1997b, 2003) argued that black families may initially have high aspirations for their children, but as they are made aware of barriers to opportunities in further education and the labour market they develop a bleak view of their children’s prospects. Thirdly, the children themselves choose not to compete for scholastic rewards. Finally, they adopt alternative strategies within a limited opportunity structure to defend against “failure” in mainstream schools and jobs. An important feature of these strategies is that they are created in opposition to the culture of white Americans, contributing to the formation of an oppositional cultural identity. Ogbu later refers to this as “cultural inversion”:

Cultural inversion is the tendency for involuntary minorities to regard certain forms of behavior, events, symbols and meanings as inappropriate for them because these are characteristic of white Americans. At the same time the minorities value other forms of behavior, events, symbols and meanings, often the opposite, as more appropriate for themselves (Ogbu 1992, p. 8).

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) developed this idea further by claiming that this form of identity was reinforced by a sense of group loyalty among black Americans. Through this, members of the group are sanctioned for violating the established norms of the dominant culture. Fordham and Ogbu argued that black Americans face the “burden of ‘acting white’” if they aim for success academically, as this is seen to be the role of white Americans.

Ogbu accounted for the fact that many black and minority ethnic groups succeed at school, and resist the adoption of an oppositional cultural identity, by differentiating between two main groups of minorities (Ogbu 1974, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2003).

◆ ***Immigrant minorities:*** Groups that migrated freely to the host country, for example East Asians, compare their condition to that of relatives in their homelands. This comparison is generally favourable so they develop optimistic attitudes regarding both their chances for success in the new country and reward for their efforts. Voluntary minorities see cultural differences as barriers to be overcome in order to achieve their long-range goals of future employment and assimilation into the host society. These groups also have a “symbolic option” of returning to their homeland, unless they have emigrated for political reasons (Ogbu 1986).

◆ ***Involuntary minorities:*** Individuals from historically oppressed minorities such as black Americans, who have been conquered or relocated against their will and lack an identifiable foreign reference group, do not hold such positive expectations for their future. They learn from those around them that they have limited job opportunities and place little emphasis on success at school, developing a pattern of linguistic, cognitive, motivational, and other skills related to school which is at odds with the ethos of the American public school system. They do not accept their ascribed menial position and blame the “system” for their subordination. Involuntary minorities see cultural differences between them and the dominant group as barriers to be retained, and thus avoid complete assimilation into mainstream society. These minorities have also been described by Ogbu as “castelike” minorities (Ogbu 1978, 1981a, 1986, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1997a, 1997b, 2003).

A similar argument was put forward by Wilson (1987). His “resigned adaptation” explanation argued that, in response to high levels of unemployment and discrimination, non-whites have become relatively more tolerant of joblessness. The fact that many black and minority ethnic groups live in communities where unemployment is prevalent restricts their aspirations and decreases their desire for work. This is reinforced by a feeling that obtaining work will not necessarily result in any financial gain compared to benefits or other non-market income. Such norms, it was argued, can become transmitted within and across generations and the incentive to acquire education in order to offset discrimination becomes less and less important. These problems are compounded by the lack of economic opportunities in the inner city areas where less affluent black and minority ethnic groups are concentrated. This has been termed “spatial mismatch” theory (Holzer 1991).

The majority of the work to date testing Ogbu’s theory has been carried out in the United States; this is unsurprising given that this is his country of focus. A number of researchers have found strong support for his thesis (see for example Farkas et al, 2002; Graham et al, 1998). Other papers have questioned the validity of Ogbu’s theory (see for example Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998; Cook and Ludwig 1998; Cross 2003; Downey and Ainsworth-Darnell 2002; Erickson 1987; Gibson 2000; Jaynes and Williams 1989; MacLeod 1987, 1995; O’Connor 1997; Trueba 1988).

Some work has been undertaken in Europe with the aim of assessing the validity of Ogbu’s claims. Hermans (2004) suggested that Ogbu’s theory is at odds with the situation of the largest minority groups in Belgium and the Netherlands; the paper examines the educational position of Moroccans specifically. It was pointed out that there has been little attention paid to the theory of oppositional culture in the Low Countries. This is partly because there has been an emphasis on socio-economic explanations for educational disadvantage, but also because Ogbu’s theory has no obvious applicability. Firstly, although Moroccans form a voluntary minority they still lag behind, contrary to Ogbu’s expectations. There is also a sense of pessimism inherent in the theory; it is deterministic and suggests that whatever measures the system develops they will have no impact. Hermans reported on a series of ethnographic research. This looked at Moroccans’ frame of comparison, relationship with the dominant society and beliefs about the instrumental value of education and educational strategies and concluded that the community forces that hinder the achievement of Moroccan children are not dissimilar from those that inhibit involuntary minorities in the United States. Although Ogbu’s insights were seen as valuable, it was argued that the initial voluntary nature of the migration is not crucial. The development of the relationship of the originally voluntary immigrants with the host society should instead be considered in detail. It was posited in the paper that when immigration started in the 1960s, Belgium and the Netherlands considered it to be a temporary measure. The immigrants themselves shared this view seeing working abroad as an opportunity earn capital and return to better their situation in their country of origin (Obdeijn et al, 1999). It was only gradually that they realised that the situation was likely to be permanent. The time when guest workers were in demand had by then gone. This was followed by a recession in the 1970s in which many people lost their jobs and where immigrant workers were often the first to go. Racism followed as guest workers were viewed as having taken the jobs of the original inhabitants. In addition, there existed a long history of distrust between Muslim Moroccans and the Christian West (Wheatcroft 2003). Hermans believes that this

history gives some sense of the similarities between involuntary minorities in the United States and certain groups of European migrants (Hermans 2004).

Very little work has been done to test Ogbu's theory in Britain. An examination of abstract and concrete attitudes to education in general, attitudes to school specifically and pupils' behaviour did not elicit any results that suggested that the attitudes and behaviour of black children in Britain are significantly different from those of the other major ethnic groups. In fact, the analysis indicated that black children and their native white counterparts behaved very similarly with regard to engagement with school (Rothon 2005a). Gillborn (1997) argued that Ogbu's theory, with its focus on community forces may lead to stereotyping certain groups and holding them responsible for their disadvantaged status. He stresses the importance of focusing on the schools themselves in seeking an explanation for discrepancies in educational attainment by ethnic group.

In the British case, it has been argued that Caribbean males experience a particular lack of connection with the school due to cultural and linguistic differences. This, it is contended, may lead to an inability to view teachers and other adults at the school as positive role models. For black Caribbean children, the paucity of co-ethnic adults in educational institutions might compound this. Some researchers have suggested that this is a major factor in explaining the low attainment of some ethnic groups. Mac an Ghaill (1991), for example, has pointed to the conspicuous success of black voluntary schools. These are private schools, but are often linked to the state sector through funding from Local Educational Authorities or Community Relations Councils. The teachers are black and the schools are closely linked to the communities that they serve. Parents are encouraged to take an active role in the running of the school. Specifically black material is incorporated into the curriculum. These characteristics lead to more positive engagement with school and to higher educational attainment. A factor of potential interest, therefore, may be the extent to which schools are sensitive to the needs of minority ethnic children and the degree to which the curriculum takes account of this diversity.

Gibson (1997) commented on the paucity of French research into the effects of the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of students on their educational attainment. She suggested that this is not surprising given the national ideology of assimilation. Van Zanten's (1997) paper sought to look at these explanations in depth and found that Ogbu's theory cannot be easily applied. In the French case, students of Algerian and Moroccan ancestry (who might be described as an involuntary minority given their colonial background) performed at a higher level than the Spanish and Portuguese "voluntary" minority groups. When Vallet and Caille (1999) controlled for social class and family structure, they found that the children of immigrants are more successful in French secondary schools than native children.

Eldering's (1997) paper examining the applicability of Ogbu's theory in the Netherlands also demonstrated the limitations of his involuntary/voluntary minority dichotomy. Her major comparison was between the African Surinamese and Turks and Moroccans. Within Ogbu's framework the former group could be described as an involuntary minority as its members were slaves in the former Netherlands Guiana. The latter group came as guest workers so might therefore be considered as a voluntary minority. However, the African Surinamese in the Netherlands performed significantly better than the Moroccans; this would not be predicted by Ogbu's framework. Eldering pointed to the complexity of the situation in the Netherlands, highlighting the fact that the first Surinamese arrivals were mainly from the elite classes. These migrants had not been slaves in the former colony. They also arrived

for the most part with a knowledge of Dutch culture and language and were entitled to full Dutch citizenship. This was not the case for the Turks and Moroccans. Elderling suggested that other factors may be more relevant than the distinction between voluntary and involuntary minorities. These include the cultural capital of the arriving group, the ethnic and class resources available, the extent of conflicts between the cultures of the home and the school and the quality of schooling provided.

Pásztor (2005) looked at the case of Hungarians who became part of their countries or residence involuntarily as a consequence of territorial arrangements following the two World Wars. She found considerable variability between the identification of the Hungarian groups in Slovakia, Romania, the Ukraine and Serbia; in Slovakia, for example, a majority of respondents identified themselves as purely Hungarian. In the other three countries the emphasis was on a “hyphenated” identity. Educational attainment relative to the native majority also varied considerably between the countries. In Romania and Serbia a higher proportion of Hungarians attended higher education institutes compared to the native population. The opposite was the case in Slovakia and Serbia. This led Pásztor to conclude that the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy is not sufficient to explain the observed differences in educational attainment.

There are a number of reasons why one might not expect Ogbu’s theory to fit the European data. Firstly, as discussed by Hermans (2004) one of the central features of the castelike minorities that Ogbu identified in the United States is that they came involuntarily to the country. The same cannot be said of most European black and minority ethnic groups. Many groups were primarily attracted by a strong demand for labour as a result of post-war reconstruction and the expansion of Western European economies which has been attributed, in part, to the Marshall Plan (Layton-Henry 2002). Later arrivals, for example Moroccans and Turks, initially arrived in Europe as guest workers whose primary aim was to improve their economic standing and return to their home countries to better their situation there.

Secondly, it is not necessarily the case that black and minority ethnic groups in Europe have no “homeland” to return to. Many black and minority ethnic groups retain strong links with their country of origin. As Layton-Henry (2002) pointed out, international migrants are no longer as isolated from their countries of origin as they were in the past. Modern communication through the internet, telephone, satellite television and cheaper air travel means that migrants can maintain contact with the people and institutions of their country of origin. There are some groups in Europe, however, which might be worth investigating as “involuntary minorities”. These include indigenous groups such as the Sámi in Finland and Sweden or the Travellers in Ireland. In addition, the delineation may be stretched to national or linguistic minorities who have lived in the respective countries or specific territories for centuries. These include the Roma and the Muslim minority in Greece.

Thirdly, Ogbu (1986) argued that legal devices in the United States had been instrumental in relegating blacks to menial positions. There have been few formal laws limiting the activities of black and minority ethnic groups in Europe. There are exceptions to this. Luciak (2004) argued that no minority ethnic group in Europe completely fits Ogbu’s notion of a “castelike” minority, but that some groups have very similar attributes. This is especially true of the Rroma; although they were not colonised or brought as slaves, they were enslaved in Romania for centuries, suffered from persecution in many countries and were victims of the Holocaust. They have also faced segregation in schooling which in some countries continues today (Luciak 2004).

Ogbu's primary emphasis on blacks as a castelike minority in the context of discrimination in Europe is also questionable. In Britain, for example, it is not clear that blacks receive substantially more discrimination than other black and minority ethnic groups. Modood (1997) found a consensus among Caribbeans, Indians, African Asians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and whites that "Asians" suffered the greatest level of discrimination in Britain. Indians, African Asians and Pakistanis felt that within the Asian group, Muslims faced the most prejudice. The survey on which this conclusion is based (The Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities) was conducted prior to September 11th 2001. Model and Lin (2002) also found substantial evidence of religious discrimination against British Muslims. Discrimination testing (where two or more testers equally matched in every respect except their ethnicity apply for the same job vacancy at the same time) has consistently uncovered substantial levels of racial discrimination for both black and Asian groups (Brown and Gay 1985; Commission for Racial Equality 1996; Hubback and Carter 1980; Simpson and Stevenson 1994). Researchers on Europe have highlighted the importance of September 11th in increasing levels of racism against Muslim groups.

A key problem with Ogbu's work is that he concentrated only on one type of immigrant minority group: those that migrate to a new country for primarily economic reasons. These groups enter the country with full rights of residence. He has given scant attention to other types of immigrant groups. Although a number of US studies have found that the school performance of the children of refugees and temporary workers may be similar to those of economic immigrants (Bankston 1994; Caplan et al, 1991; Rumbaut 1995; Suárez-Orozco 1991) there is also evidence of a great deal of variation in performance. The theory of "segmented assimilation" discussed below takes a number of other factors into account; these include immigrants' status in their new country, context on arrival, the resources available to the group and patterns of residence.

Ethnic social capital and the theory of "segmented assimilation"

Although a number of theorists have been instrumental in developing the concept of social capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Bourdieu 1984, 1986, 1988, 1991, 1997 [1983]; Loury 1977, 1981; Putnam 1995, 2000, 2003) the key contributor as regards education is James Coleman. Coleman's primary aim in utilising the concept was to develop an understanding of the relationship between educational achievement and social inequality. His empirical work included a series of studies in 1980 and 1982 to compare educational attainment in public high schools with those in Catholic schools in the United States (Hoffer, Greeley and Coleman 1985). It was noted that pupils in Catholic schools exhibited significantly higher levels of attainment than those in public high schools. Coleman's (1988) use of social capital represents a *post hoc* explanation for his earlier findings.

Coleman argued that there were two main ways in which social capital could be successfully developed. The first was through closing networks by which adults in the community could successfully sanction their children's behaviour. The second was by promoting strong relations within the family. Coleman also discussed the importance of friendship networks. In relation to education, closing networks meant creating not only ties between children and their peers and parents and their children, but also by encouraging "intergenerational closure" through parent-parent contact. This enables children's behaviour to not only be sanctioned by their own parents, but also by the parents of others.

The second way in which social capital could be important, according to Coleman, is through the family. He asserted that social capital, in the form of relations within families, sets the context within which parents' financial and human resources can impact on the schooling decisions made by their children. High levels of social capital, in the form of the physical presence of parents and a high level of attention to their children, was seen as the only way in which parents could transmit their human capital to their children. Given the limited financial capital of many minority ethnic groups, it might be expected that social capital may be of particular importance to their children. On the other hand, there is an assumption that time spent with parents will benefit children through offering practices or knowledge that is relevant in the classroom. Minority ethnic parents may not be as able to navigate their children through the school system because they have not been through it themselves.

Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou ((2001) [1993]) used the model of "segmented assimilation" to describe various outcomes faced by different groups of second generation youth. The theory of segmented assimilation expands on the work done on social capital by looking at *ethnic* social capital specifically and proposing ways in which the levels of social capital possessed by a minority group will affect their assimilation into the host society. Those with strong ethnic networks, access to capital and limited ties to disaffected youth from the host country experience a "linear" ethnicity that creates networks of social ties and may provide access to job opportunities while reinforcing the authority and values of parents.

The concept of segmented assimilation developed from a reaction against more traditional assimilation models (Park 1928; Park and Burgess 1969 [1921]; Stonequist 1961 [1937]). Recently, there has been renewed interest in the concept of assimilation, with a move away from the assumption of inevitable assimilation into a middle-class Anglo-American way of life. Contemporary accounts have recognised the differing social group and spatial contexts in which black and minority ethnic groups are located. The theory of segmented assimilation represents an important development in this direction. It formulates an alternative framework of immigrants' adaptation, looking at "why different patterns of adaptation emerge among contemporary immigrants and how these patterns necessarily lead to the destinies of convergence or divergence" (Zhou 1997, p. 984). Portes and Zhou identified three main patterns of assimilation:

One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and tight solidarity (Portes and Zhou 2001 [1993], p. 599).

The first of Portes and Zhou's three patterns is to be expected of those from middle-class backgrounds. Socio-economic background determines the type of neighbourhood in which children will live, the quality of the schools they attend and the peers that they associate with. Immigrants from middle-class backgrounds are able to benefit from financial security, good schools, safe neighbourhoods and other supportive formal and informal organisations that will improve their life chances. It is expected that these groups will gain relatively rapid entry into professional occupations and develop links with middle-class American society. For less privileged immigrants, however, specifically ethnic networks may be important in creating an environment within which educational learning is supported and fostered.

Children who have parents with little education and few skills are more likely to grow up in underprivileged neighbourhoods. For these groups, the second pattern of

assimilation is anticipated. There are two key aspects to this. Firstly, interaction with existing communities may lead to the creation of an “oppositional culture” among immigrant youth or to “resigned adaptation” (Wilson 1987). Secondly, there is a lack of economic opportunities in the inner city areas in which poorer ethnic minorities are concentrated.

For children living in an area densely populated with co-ethnics, however, it is possible to build social capital by preserving values and solidarity. Portes and Zhou saw resources within immigrant communities as the most important factor for improving chances of upward mobility. Those with strong ethnic networks, access to capital, and limited ties to U.S minorities experience a “linear” ethnicity that creates networks of social ties and may provide access to job opportunities while reinforcing parental authority and values. Through retaining a close-knit ethnic community, members can also protect themselves from discrimination.

Crul and Doornik (2003) pointed to the effect of mutual help and support from family and community networks as a key factor in predicting minority ethnic educational success in the Netherlands. They compared the Turkish community in Utrecht with the Moroccan community in Amsterdam. In the case of the Turks they argued that strong social cohesion is key in promoting higher academic achievement and entry into the labour market. In these communities there is a high degree of membership in Turkish cultural, religious and sports organisations. Turkish people watch Turkish news more than Dutch news and the majority regard themselves first and foremost as Turks. The most successful segment of the younger generation can be found in the professions; members of this group generally remain very much in the community and continue to observe its traditions. By contrast, the Moroccan group are overrepresented in crime statistics. Less community spirit is observed and there is greater debate and conflict between fathers and sons and young men and their socially mobile girlfriends. Obdeijn and de Mas (2001) have characterised this group as “fighting” their way into Dutch society.

In comparing Turkish students with Spanish and Portuguese students, however, Lindo (1996) pointed to some disadvantages of strong social cohesion within the Turkish community. In trying to explain the higher achievement of the latter group, he argued that the strict social control within families meant that immigrants to the Netherlands were compelled to send money to their relatives back in Turkey, thus reducing their financial capital. He noted that Turkish children comply with strict social control due to the financial burden even when it interferes with their academic career. An example of how this social control works to limit educational possibilities in practice is the convention to marry young, particularly for girls. These limitations do not apply to Spanish and Portuguese students as they do not have such strong obligations to their family.

Bakken (1999) used social capital theory as a starting point for examining the impact of parents on their children’s school achievement in Norway. It was hypothesised that the children of immigrants will be more dependent of parental expectations and strong family relations than the majority group due to their parents’ relatively low levels of financial and cultural capital. The research utilised the *Oslo Youth Study*. It was found that living with both parents (a measure of parental monitoring) was statistically significant for the achievement of native Norwegian students and not for the children of immigrants. Time spent with parents also had a greater effect for Norwegian students than those from minority ethnic groups. In addition, parents’ emotional support and attitudes to education had a greater effect for native youth. Parental help with homework had a weak relationship with achievement

for both groups. Participation of parents at school meetings had a surprising effect for the children of immigrants; among the 38 minority ethnic pupils that reported that their parents never attend such meetings, 42 per cent were found to be high achievers.

Lauglo (2000) used a questionnaire survey of youth in the city of Oslo to examine the extent to which social capital affects attitudes to school. He found that youth from developing country backgrounds most often displayed attitudes that indicated constructive engagement with their schoolwork and that it was ethnic Norwegians that least often displayed these traits. This was despite the fact that immigrant children from a developing country background often faced difficulties at school. In terms of parental control Lauglo found that whilst able to monitor children effectively within the family, parents of immigrant background found this more difficult outside the family, and were less likely to be directly involved with the school. In other aspects of the social capital framework immigrant youth tended to possess high social capital; Lauglo found that immigrants displayed higher rates of cohesive family ties and that this led to a more positive engagement with school. It was found that immigrants from a developing country background were less likely to be part of a “gang” than other young people, as well as being less intensely involved with their friends and peers. The most “culturally remote” immigrant youth were at an advantage in this respect. This lends support to the segmented assimilation thesis and also mirrors Coleman’s (1988) findings in the US. Lauglo also found that the ethnic minorities in his survey were able to cement social ties through higher levels of participation in the religious community. This was conducive to high performance at school. Overall, Lauglo concluded that the net effect of social capital influences is helpful to immigrant youth from a developing country background.

Parental attitudes

Parental attitudes are also of potential importance. These are often cited as a possible explanation for the high performance of Indians across Europe. Modood (2005) pointed to the motivational drive for self-improvement that some ethnic minorities have for themselves and their children. Inglehart’s (1981, 1997) theory of post-materialism may have relevance here. The majority of the native white children who have recently completed secondary education will have been born to the “baby boomers” that grew up in a period of relative affluence following the Second World War. Such parents are argued to have post-materialist values i.e. to value goals other than upward mobility through material gain (such as self-actualisation). Indian parents born in the same era may have very different priorities for their children. Less affluent than whites in relative terms, they develop materialist values which place emphasis on the social mobility of their family. As a result of this, they view the academic achievement of their children as a concern of the utmost importance.

For France, Vallet and Caille (1999) found that although immigrant parents suffered disadvantage because of their location in the socio-economic structure and their level of education, they invest in the educational system. They develop strong aspirations for their children and invest in the education system to improve their children’s future. The authors found that these socio-psychological factors had a key role in explaining the educational attainments of the children of immigrants in both French lower and upper secondary schools.

In the context of the Netherlands, it has been argued that parental attitudes differ depending on the child’s gender. The literature contains evidence that parental attitudes towards the schooling of their daughters are sometimes ambivalent; this has been found to especially be the case among Turks (Coenen 2001; Lindo 2000).

Coenen has explained these attitudes in terms of the past experience of parents who grew up in rural societies where education for girls is seen as unimportant. However, this has also been found to apply to Moroccan parents; in these families girls are more likely to progress to higher levels of education (Crul and Doornik 2003). It has been suggested that the strong social cohesion of the Turkish population partly explains this more negative effect of group solidarity. It is suggested that gossip is stronger, which keeps girls in line. Early marriage can ward off shame for the family. In addition, parents can reap better short-term payoffs from early marriage, especially with a family member from Turkey, than if a daughter extends her educational career. This also has the potential to benefit extended family income and status in the community in the country of origin. It has been argued that weaker community bonds in the case of Moroccans give daughters greater room to study and to postpone marriage (Crul and Doornik 2003). It is important to recognise that these attitudes and trends are constantly subject to change.

European comparative research

Comparative studies of ethnic inequalities in education are relatively rare, but a limited amount of analysis has been attempted.

Levels and Dronkers (2005) found socio-economic background to be of great importance in explaining differential attainment in Mathematics. Using the PISA 2003 data, they found that the occupational status of both parents, indices of family cultural possessions (for example the presence of literature, poetry and works of art), home educational resources and home possessions and family type (nuclear or not) to all be significant variables. In regression analysis, these variables reduced the origin effect greatly, although some effect remained; this suggested that seeking explanations beyond that of social class background is important.

Marks (2005) carried out a comparative study using the PISA data to establish patterns of achievement among the children of immigrants. He found that in almost all countries the children of immigrants had lower scores in reading than the native population. In Switzerland their scores were 100 score points lower, in Luxembourg 98 points lower, in Germany 91 points lower, in Austria 78 points lower, in Greece 65 points lower, in the Netherlands 62 points lower and in Sweden 57 points lower. There were no significant differences in Latvia, the Russian Federation, Spain and the United Kingdom. However, it must be remembered that these scores reflect an aggregate only; there is considerable variation between minority groups within the countries in question. As Levels and Dronkers (2005) point out, the fact that PISA 2000 only allowed for a distinction between natives and non-natives means that an explanation in terms of the diversity of the origin composition of the non-native group cannot be tested. In the UK, for example, Indians form the biggest minority ethnic group and perform at a level that is higher than the native population. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, on the other hand, perform at a significantly lower level. Averaging out the high scores of certain minority groups and the low scores of others may lead to the conclusion that minority and native performance is not very different. In measuring whether inequalities exist, this is misleading. Marks found that children who did not speak the national language at home performed worse. Those who did performed more similarly to native pupils; in Australia, Canada, Greece, Latvia, New Zealand, Portugal and the US there were no significant differences although in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland children of immigrants performed worse even if they spoke the national language at

home. In Mathematics the pattern of achievement was found to be similar to that for reading. In countries where the scores for the children of immigrants were low for reading, they were also low for Mathematics.

Marks found that controlling for socio-economic background significantly reduced differences in overall scores for most of the 20 countries that he examined using the PISA study. In the United States, almost all of the differences were explained by socio-economic background. In other countries about half the differential was explained; this was the case in Sweden, Austria, France, Germany and Luxembourg. In some the difference was reduced by a quarter. These included Belgium, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. When socio-economic factors were taken into account differences in reading scores between the children of immigrants who spoke another language at home and the native population were no longer significant in France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Spain. Up to half the gap in reading scores was explained in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden and the UK. For Norway and Sweden this control also resulted in smaller differences. In several countries socio-economic factors reduced differences in reading scores between second generation minority ethnic children who spoke the national language at home and native students. This was the case, for example, in Germany and Luxembourg. Similar patterns were found in Mathematics scores, with a substantial impact in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland. Socio-economic background explained less in Greece, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and the UK.

Conclusion

There is a relatively large body of work examining differences in the achievements of the second generation in Western Europe within individual countries. In a number of key areas, the evidence is consistent across countries. Most notably, the importance of socio-economic background as a factor contributing to ethnic inequalities in educational performance comes across strongly in all of the countries under consideration here. Comparative work is more limited, however. This is largely due to a lack of standardised measures. Where standardised measures are available, there are limitations. In the PISA dataset, for example, the measure for parental social class is weak and ethnicity is not measured in a uniform way across the participating countries.

The development of comprehensive data in which standardised measures are available is desirable, particularly since there are some grounds for expecting ethnic inequalities in education to vary cross-nationally. It has frequently been claimed that early selection will tend to be associated with greater social class inequalities whereas educational systems that delay selection will be more egalitarian (Breen and Jonsson 2005). Similar processes might be expected in the case of ethnic inequalities on the grounds that, if minority students have low test scores at the time selection occurs (for example because of language difficulties), these inequalities will be perpetuated throughout their subsequent educational careers.

It is also possible that neighbourhood comprehensive schools might have some disadvantages for ethnic minority students. Since ethnic minorities are often concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, typically economically deprived ones, and that deprived neighbourhoods tend to be associated with poorer schooling, higher teacher turnover and possibly adverse “contextual effects” of the school’s social

composition on student attainment, comprehensive systems may reduce ethnic minority opportunities. This may be more of a problem in highly unequal societies such as Britain and the USA than in more equal societies such as Norway where variations in school quality and school contextual effects may be smaller.

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➤ **New immigrants in the European countries.**
Occupational structures and insertion in the labour market

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Introduction

Two waves of cross-national migration have affected West European countries since the end of the Second World War. After 1945, massive reconstruction efforts required immigration to satisfy labour shortages but this ended abruptly in the mid-1970s as the first oil crisis triggered worldwide economic depression. The second, ‘new’ wave began in the mid-1980s and is yet ongoing. Some countries have been host to both migratory inflows (the ‘established’ immigrant countries including Germany, Austria, The Netherlands, France and the UK) whilst others have been affected only by the latter wave (the ‘new’ immigrant countries: Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece).

Data restrictions have severely limited our understanding of ‘new’ immigrants’ labour market outcomes and few studies other than purely descriptive ones exist to date. Nevertheless, the ‘new’ immigrant wave has captured growing research interest. This paper has two aims. First, it will act as a ‘state of the art’ report providing a comprehensive review of ‘new’ immigrants’ labour market outcomes in West European countries. In particular, the paper seeks to highlight patterns of ‘new’ immigrants’ labour market insertion (employed, unemployed or inactive) and their occupational roles compared both with native inhabitants and, if applicable, with older and more established immigrant populations. In the case of ‘established’ receiving countries, as far as is possible notwithstanding data limitations, ‘new’ immigrants will be compared to the ‘old’ in terms of a) countries of origin, b) personal characteristics: gender, educational attainment and human, cultural and social capital and c) method of entry: authorised or unauthorised. Second, it is intended that the paper will act as a theoretical and methodological springboard for further research.

The paper is split into three parts.

- Section one outlines descriptive patterns of labour market attainment for both ‘old’ and ‘new’ immigrants in European countries and concludes by suggesting a typology of migratory flows in established and new receiving countries.
- Section two reviews papers which utilise a micro approach to understanding immigrant labour market inequality.
- In section three, alternative frameworks for explaining cross-national differences are outlined.

Descriptive patterns of immigrant labour market attainment

Established immigrant-receiving countries

Germany

Approximately 12.5% of Germany’s inhabitants were born outside the country making the state home to one of the largest foreign-born populations in Europe

⁴ This state of art report has been prepared within the Research Team on *New immigrants in the European countries. Occupational structures and insertion in the labour market.*

(OECD 2004). Whilst emigration from Germany was predominant in the years prior to World War Two, five distinct waves of immigration to Germany since 1945 can be identified (Kalter and Granato forthcoming). Immediately following the war up until the construction of the Berlin wall in 1961, 'immigration' was dominated by the return of Germans from the former German provinces in Eastern Europe, a trend intensified by the onset of the Cold War as Germans fled Soviet occupied territory (Bade 1997; Kalter and Granato forthcoming). Between 1961 and 1973 a second wave of immigration occurred as the FRG's government sought to fill a large labour shortage resulting from Germany's 'economic miracle' (Kogan 2003; Kalter and Granato forthcoming). Low-skilled workers from Southern Europe were recruited to plug Germany's booming economy; recruitment agreements with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) contributed to a massive increase in the number of foreign-born labour migrants (Rudolph 1994). By 1973, 4 million relatively unskilled *Gastarbeiter* ('guest-workers') laboured in Germany, the largest proportion of which came from Yugoslavia and Turkey (Kalter and Granato forthcoming). The OPEC oil embargo (1973) and the recession that followed curbed the German state's official guest-worker recruitment policy (Thranhardt 1999; Kogan 2006) but a third phase of immigration occurred nonetheless as the families of guest workers already in Germany sought to be reunited (Kogan 2003). Velling (1993) argued that between 50% and 70% of Germany's migration between 1975 and 1981 was the result of spouses and children of guest-workers emigrating to Germany. This trend fundamentally changed the demographic composition of the immigrants: labour force participation fell and the unemployment rate for immigrants was higher than that of native Germans for the first time since guest-worker recruitment began (Kalter and Granato forthcoming). Although the German government provided financial incentives for guest-workers to return home, these policies failed to entice 'return migration' and consequently the average length of a guest-worker's stay in Germany increased. By the mid-1980s a fourth wave of immigration had begun. Asylum seekers from the fall of the Iron Curtain, civil war in Yugoslavia and Kurdish regions of Turkey and Iraq sought refuge in Germany (Kogan 2003; Kogan 2006). Additionally, there was a large increase in the number of *Aussiedler* ('ethnic' Germans living in formerly Soviet Eastern Europe); in 1989 alone more than 377,000 *Aussiedler* were granted German citizenship (Kalter and Granato forthcoming). In 1993, as a response to the fourth wave of immigration, the German government passed two major pieces of legislation aimed at reducing the numbers of asylum seekers and 'ethnic' Germans. Since 1993 two patterns in German immigration can be identified. First, immigration to Germany has decreased and second immigrants in this fifth phase have come largely from Eastern Europe, in particular from Poland and the Czech Republic.

Empirical research has consistently found that immigrants in Germany's labour market are much less successful than native Germans being considerably over-represented in the lower strata of the occupational hierarchy (Seifert 1992; Diekmann, Engelhardt et al, 1993; Velling 1995; Bender and Seifert 1996; Szydlik 1996; Seifert 1997; Kogan 2003). This finding holds true for the 'new' labour migrants from Eastern Europe, 'classic' immigrants who arrived in Germany in the 60s and 70s as well as their children who, despite improving somewhat on their parent's situation, continue to be disadvantaged when compared to native youth, especially the children of Turks (Gillmeister, Kurthen et al, 1989; Granato and Kalter 2001). Of special interest is the finding that 'ethnic' Germans, whose educational and occupational

qualifications are officially recognised by Germany, are also a much-disadvantaged group, especially highly-educated *Aussiedler*, women, and ethnic Germans arriving from the Former Soviet Union (Koller 1993; Rudolph 1994; Munz and Ohlier 1998; Greif, Gediga et al, 1999; Janikowski 1999; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2001; Kogan 2003; Kogan 2006). However, some research indicates that employment chances are more favourable for *Aussiedler* holding skilled and technical manual qualifications (Greif, Gediga et al, 1999; Janikowski 1999; Westphal 1999).

Austria

Austria, having signed bilateral immigration agreements with Spain (1962), Turkey (1964) and Yugoslavia (1966), became a country of net immigration in the late 1960s (Münz 2001) reversing a long trend of post World War Two emigration to Germany and Switzerland (Butschek 1992). Turks and Yugoslavs (who made up the largest proportion of guest workers (Parnreiter 1994; Münz, Seifert et al, 1997)) were recruited to fill the growing demand for labour under the 'rotation principle', a temporary initiative – due to Austria's considerable reluctance to accept the permanence of its labour migrants (Fassman and Münz 1994; Bauböck 1996; Bauböck 2000; Herzog-Punzenberger 2003) - designed *not* to attract immigrants' dependents and under which migrants would have to renew their work and residency permits regularly (Tazi-Preve, Kytir et al, 1999). The labour required was generally unskilled in the textiles, leather, clothing, agriculture and heavy industry sectors (SOPEMI 1993; Fassman 1999; Fassman, Munz et al, 1999). Fassman et al. (1999) have concluded that labour migrants to Austria were amongst the most unskilled of any labour-recruiting country during this time period coming predominantly from the more undeveloped regions of Yugoslavia such as Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Between 1973 (the first oil crisis) and the late 1980s, labour force guest-worker recruitment declined dramatically in Austria (Fassman, Munz et al, 1999; Kofler 2002): Yugoslav immigrant guest-workers mostly returned to their countries of origin whilst Turks frequently remained in Austria (Münz, Zuser et al, 2003). From this point, immigration to Austria has been comprised mostly of family reunifications, asylum seekers and refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Kurds from South-East Turkey as well as those from further afield: Chile, Argentina, Uganda, Nigeria, Iran, India and Afghanistan, through a quota system (Münz, Seifert et al, 1997). However, there has been a resurgence in the number of labour migrants coming from Eastern Europe taking low-skilled temporary, intermittent or seasonal jobs in both industrial and service sectors particularly hospitality and cleaning (Currell 1994; Kogan and Kalter 2006). As the law stands, legally-employed non-EU immigrants cannot surpass a given percentage of the domestic labour force calculated according to the yearly labour demand in each state (König and Stadler 2003).

As a result of the various waves of labour migration, labour force participation (LFP) rates – especially amongst men – are very high: Kogan (forthcoming) found that first-generation men of nearly all immigrant groups and second-generation Turks have a LFP rate of above 90% which is higher than native Austrians. First-generation male immigrants from developed countries, the Middle East and Southern Asia are likely to be economically active at around the same rate as the local population whilst second-generation male Yugoslavs, Eastern Europeans and other westerners are, however, likely to be less economically active. First-generation female Yugoslavs and East Asians as well as second-generation Turks and ex-Yugoslavs are *more* likely to be economically active compared with indigenous women (Kogan forthcoming). First-generation females of Turkish, Middle Eastern and South Asian descent and

second-generation women from developed countries and other Eastern European countries however have lower LFP rates (Kogan forthcoming).

Whilst LFP rates are mostly high, both male and female first-generation immigrants from undeveloped states (especially Turks and Yugoslavs) tend to be *over*-represented in unemployment figures and semi-skilled and unskilled professions and *under*-represented in skilled occupations, the salariat, routine non-manual and self-employment strata of the occupational hierarchy. According to Kogan, second generation Yugoslavs and, to a lesser extent Turks, have an occupational distribution which is closer in structure to native Austrians than their first-generation parents, being less likely unemployed or unskilled and less likely employed in unskilled manual occupations. First and second generation immigrants from developed countries are much more likely than the indigenous population to find work in the salariat and must less likely to be employed in manual labour.

The Netherlands

Post-World War Two immigration hit the Netherlands dramatically, reversing her long-standing status as a predominantly mono-ethnic society (Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming). In 1970 the number of ethnic minorities residing in Netherlands was just 200,000; by the 2000s this figure has increased to 1.5 million (10% of the total population) (Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming). Three groups of immigrants are identified in the literature: semi- or unskilled and poorly-educated guest workers from Turkey and Morocco recruited to fill labour shortages in industry, immigrants from former West Indian colonies (Suriname and the Dutch Antilles) and more recently refugees and asylum seekers from Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea arriving at a rate of about 40,000 per year (Hartog and Vriend 1989; Lucassen and Penninx 1997; Tillaart, van den et al, 2000; Zorlu and Hartog 2001; Zorlu and Hartog 2005; Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming).

Migrant insertion into the labour market in the Netherlands follows some interesting patterns, with some notable differences emerging between men and women. For men, the main four groups of immigrants (Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean and Surinamese) in both the first and second-generation have lower labour market participation and higher unemployment rates when compared with the indigenous population (Kee 1993; van Beek 1993; Bovenkerk, Gras et al, 1995; Zorlu and Hartog 2001; Gowricharn 2002; Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming), although the unemployment rate of immigrants has been in recent decline (Musterd 2003). Amongst the first-generation, Surinamese and Antillean women are more likely to be economically active than native Dutch women but Moroccan and Turkish women participate at a much lower rate (Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming). In the second-generation however, inter-ethnic differences in participation rates mostly vanish (Tesser and Dronkers forthcoming). Both male and female first-generation ethnic minority immigrants are disadvantaged in the labour market finding primarily unskilled manual employment (Hartog and Vriend 1990). However, recent research by Tesser and Dronkers (forthcoming) suggests that these discrepancies are eroded in the second-generation as ethnic minorities have similar chances as the native population of being in a particular occupational class, except for access to the salariat which still remains closed to immigrant entry.

France

Due largely to declines in domestic birth rates and labour shortages, France has been an immigrant-receiving country since 1880 (Silberman and Fournier

forthcoming). Up until the end of World War One, immigrants, finding work in agriculture and the arms industry, originated – for the most part - from Belgium, Spain, Italy, Poland and Central Europe as well as French colonies in North Africa. The Great Depression (1929) slowed the immigrant flow but the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War impelled many political dissidents to escape to the South of France. In order to facilitate national reconstruction after World War Two had ended, successive French governments pursued a ‘populationist’ immigration policy by establishing a National Immigration Office with a remit to encourage European and specifically *not* North African immigration (Tapinos 1975). However, the numbers of immigrants from the *Maghreb* (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) continued to rise until the first oil crisis. Algerian independence (1962) encouraged the migration of French ‘Repatriates’ (individuals of French or European ancestry) and of *Harkis* (native Algerians who served in the French army). Two other major inflow populations from ex-French possessions affecting France in the 70s and early 80s can be identified. First, the political turbulence in Southeast Asia triggered by the American withdrawal (1975) encouraged the immigration of relatively large numbers of Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese of varying educational, occupational and social status. Second, a wave of comparatively unskilled sub-Saharan Africans from Senegal, Cameroon, Mali and Ivory Coast along with individuals from the French Antilles (Guadeloupe and Martinique) migrated to France. The former group originated from rural backgrounds and were artisans or craftsmen holding unskilled jobs in construction or the service industry whilst the latter often found work in government agencies and public hospitals (Silberman and Fournier forthcoming).

Aside from immigrants arriving from ex-French possessions, three other waves of immigrants to France can be identified. First, skilled Italians, Spanish and Portuguese (the largest group) began arriving in large numbers in the 60s and 70s to take advantage of France’s booming construction industry; many have established their own construction firms. At a lower rate, immigration from these countries continues today. Second, immigrants from the Near and Middle East comprise a large proportion of France’s total immigrant population. Turks and Yugoslavs began arriving in the 60s and 70s and were employed in unskilled jobs in the textiles industry, factories or small businesses. More recent East European arrivals include immigrants from Poland and Romania. Finally, Sri Lankans, Mauritians and Pakistanis have entered France in modest numbers since the 1970s. In 1973 state-sanctioned labour migration was halted but family reunifications, the number of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants continued to rise to such an extent that a general amnesty was called in 1981-2 (Tapinos 1975; Moulrier-Boutang, Garson et al, 1986).

Silberman and Fournier (forthcoming), using data from the latest INSEE (Institute National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques) ‘Formation Qualification Professionnelle’ survey (2003) conclude that first-generation male immigrants (except for Eastern Europeans) have slightly higher economic participation rates than local French whilst second-generation immigrants have lower activity rates (except for South and East Europeans who exhibit higher economic activity rates). First and second generation men have a level of unemployment which is almost twice as high as the indigenous French population: South Europeans fare best whilst Maghrebins and those from the Near East, Sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia do worst. In a pattern wide-spread throughout Europe, first-generation, and, to an even greater extent second-generation, male immigrants are more highly concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled work compared to the local French population, except for South

Europeans who are over-represented in skilled manual work. Southeast Asians and 'Repatriates' from North Africa however are well-represented in the salariat; a pattern that holds across first and second generation immigrants. In the petty bourgeoisie the following first-generation immigrant groups tend to fare well in starting up their own businesses: Turks, Lebanese and other Near Easterners, Southeast Asians and Maghrebins and South Europeans.

First and second generation female immigrants have very low economic activity levels, especially Near Eastern immigrants. Sub-Saharan women have higher activity levels than other immigrant groups. First and second generation women from the *Maghreb*, East Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa have a much higher unemployment rate compared to local French women (almost three times as high for the Maghrebin); South Europeans have a relatively low rate. Apart from 'Repatriates' who are over-represented in the salariat, all immigrant groups in the first generation are over-represented in lowest status jobs in the unskilled service sector. However, second-generation women appear to be faring better: South European and East Europeans are increasingly visible in professional and managerial employment. Second-generation Maghrebin women are still disadvantaged though only displaying an upwards occupational mobility trend as far as the routine non-manual class.

The United Kingdom

The most recent analyses of the Labour Force Survey estimate that 10% of the working age population (3.6 million) and 8% (4.8 million) of the total population in the UK are foreign born (Haque 2002). Since the late 1990s, net immigration on average has reached 150,000 per year; approximately 2.5 times as many people are entering the UK in 2002 as in 1971 (200,000 to 513,000) (Berkeley, Khan et al, 2006). Whilst emigrants had been leaving the UK since the seventeenth century and settling in Ireland, North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, the early twentieth century saw three distinct and numerically large groups of newcomers: white British arriving from the Empire (Commonwealth), Irish labour migrants and refugees from Eastern Europe and Germany (including large numbers of Jews) (Berkeley, Khan et al, 2006; Cheung and Heath forthcoming). Post-1945 the character of immigration changed considerably. Although Irish, Polish, those from the old commonwealth (highly-skilled Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders) and, increasingly, Western Europeans (following the UK's membership of the EU) have continued to immigrate in the latter half of the century, the number of 'visible' migrants (blacks and Asians) has outstripped white migration. Five groups of 'visible' migrants can be identified. First, black Caribbeans were expressly recruited after the Second World War in order to fill nursing shortages in the National Health Service and labour shortages in public sector jobs such as transport requiring unskilled employees. Second, South Asians from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh immigrated to take advantage of growing labour demand for unskilled work in the North of England's textile industry. In addition, modest numbers of South Asians found work in the medical profession or other highly-skilled occupations. Third, African Indians from Kenya and Uganda who were often highly-skilled, wealthy and spoke fluent English were either expelled or fled as a result of 'Africanisation' policies by East African governments following independence. Fourth, Black Africans from commonwealth countries - especially from Nigeria - entered the UK to pursue educational qualifications. According to Cheung and Heath's analysis, they were one of the most educated immigrant groups arriving in the UK. Finally, Hong Kong,

Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese found work originally in the catering and laundry sectors but increasingly were well-educated and highly-skilled.

Whilst the available literature is still embryonic, increasing interest has been paid to a category of 'new' immigrants entering Britain in the last 10 years. Contemporary migration, according to Robinson and Reeve (2006) is characterised by "smaller numbers of people from a wider range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds arriving from a diversity of locations that they have left for a variety of reasons (to escape persecution, to take up employment, to be near family members)" (Robinson and Reeve 2006, p. 8). Comparing modern-day migrants' experiences with those of the 1970s in terms of their conditions of exit, the characteristics of entrants and the characteristics of the receiving context, Berkeley, Khan et al. (2006) – using population trend data from the Office for National Statistics - conclude that there has been a proportional decrease in immigrants from both the Old and New Commonwealth, an increase in EU migration and a large growth in immigrants falling into the 'Other'⁵ and Middle East categories (from 31,000 in 1971 to 204,000 in 2002). The number of 'new' immigrants making asylum applications has also increased dramatically, hitting a peak of 84,100 in 2002, although a sizeable decrease has occurred since then on account of prohibitive government legislation (Berkeley, Khan et al, 2006). In addition, there is also some indication that 'irregular' migration to the UK from Eastern and Central Europe, China and South America has increased substantially in recent years, although reliable figures are hard to determine. There is, at present, extremely little research considering the labor market outcomes of these 'new' immigrants.

Analysing pooled data (1991-2001) from the General Household Survey, Cheung and Heath (forthcoming) report that male immigrant groups' economic activity rates compare fairly well with the native population. First-generation male Caribbeans, Indians, Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Irish, however, have high rates of economic inactivity, well above the UK-born. A large proportion of second-generation Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men are students. It is well known that immigrant unemployment rates are as high as twice that of the UK-born (Blackaby, Drinkwater et al, 1997; Karn 1997; Wheatley Price 2001). Pakistanis and Bangladeshis tend to fare particularly badly (Blackaby, Drinkwater et al, 1997; Dustman and Fabbri 2002); Cheung and Heath found that unemployment rose to over 25% for Pakistanis/Bangladeshis and second-generation Caribbeans. First and second-generation Caribbeans and Pakistani/Bangladeshis and first-generation Africans and Indians are more likely to be employed in either semi-skilled or unskilled manual work than native men. By contrast, second-generation Indians and Irish men are now more likely to reach employment in the salariat. A final additional trend to be noted is that first-generation Indian, Irish and Pakistani/Bangladeshi are over-represented in the petty bourgeoisie (Clark and Drinkwater 1998; Clark and Drinkwater 2000).

Female immigrant economic activity rates display some interesting trends. As with men, second-generation women are more likely than the UK-born to be students whereas the first-generation (particularly South Asians) are more likely to be economically inactive (Haque 2002; Dustman, Fabbri et al, 2003; Cheung and Heath forthcoming). Whilst first and second-generation Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women are more likely than native women to have a 'looking after the home' status, Caribbean women have a much lower rate (perhaps due to their original migration to

⁵ The 'other' category includes East Europeans, South and Central Americans, non-Commonwealth Africans, South-East Asians, Chinese, Japanese and others.

search for employment or the increasing frequency of women as heads of household). Caribbean women of both first and second generation have a much higher likelihood of reaching the salariat whilst a high proportion of first-generation Indian women are found in semi- and unskilled work.

New immigrant-receiving countries

Non EU-immigrants to the ‘new’ receiving countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece), which till the mid-1970s were out-migration countries, are forbidden from working in registered employment without a valid permit of entry and residence for working reasons. Nevertheless the vast majority of non-EU immigrants enter these countries without the proper documentation (Reyneri 2003). Four distinctive pathways into Southern Europe are possible. Immigrants:

- a) illegally cross the land or sea border hidden in trains, buses, cars and boats;
- b) enter on a short-term permit and then overstay without any authorization after its expiration;
- c) enter the country using false documents purchased in their home countries;
- d) arrive as asylum seekers but do not leave if their application is denied (Reyneri 2003, p. 118). Asylum-seekers and refugees, however, were quite few in comparison with those who entered the North and Center European countries.

Almost all the unauthorized immigrants managed to get a proper permit of stay subsequently availing themselves of one of the frequent mass regularization schemes: 6 in Spain, 5 in Italy, 3 in Portugal and 2 in Greece from 1986 to 2005, which interested nearly 4 million people.

It has been shown that both ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors in classical migration theory (Lazaridis and Poyago-Theotoky 1999) shape the frequency and character of ‘new’ immigrant movements; population booms, social, economic, political crises ‘push’ immigrants out of their native Third World countries and Eastern European states (the *‘flight for survival’* hypothesis) whilst growing prosperity, a thriving underground economy, poorly organized formal market and restrictive immigration policy exert a ‘pull’ on foreign migrants. (King and Rodriguez-Melguizo 1999; King 2000; Corkill 2001; Peixoto 2002; Ribas-Mateos 2002). In particular, the underground economy, well rooted in the South European countries, promoted the unauthorized immigration. As desperate asylum-seekers were very few, most were labour migrants trying to improve their conditions and they were deeply affected by information on what in their countries of destination they can find. Interviews showed that, before migrants left their countries of origin, they knew that Italy, Portugal, Spain or Greece were countries where it is easy to live and make money even without a residence permit, making it worth the hardships, expenses and risks to get around border checks (Reyneri 2003; Reyneri 2004b)

Italy

In little more than a decade Italy has transformed from a country of emigration to a nation dominated by immigration typically from Northern Africa (Morocco, Tunisia), Albania and former-Yugoslavia, and more recently from East European countries and South America. The surge in foreign workers entering Italy’s labour market – legally or illegally – however, has taken a radically different form to that of North-central European countries in the late 1950s and 1960s. Specifically, unlike Germany and other established immigrant-receiving countries, Ambrosini (1999) has argued that immigration has not been explicitly demanded by employers, not

perceived by the government, opinion-makers or the public as necessary for the economy and not regulated by agreements with the immigrant's country of origin. Consequently, immigration has been poorly managed and characterized by a lack of public intervention which has, Ambrosini (2001) argues, left the assimilation of foreign immigrants into the labour market to the 'spontaneous mobilization of social actors' who themselves facilitate the conditions for market exchange and reproduction (Ambrosini 2001, p. 62). The absorption of immigrant labour in Italy, it is argued, is best conceptualized as a dynamic phenomenon whereby employers, the Italian unemployed and immigrants searching for jobs interact in order to construct socially a local labour market. This conceptualization is an improvement of the overly-simplistic and static economically-dominated model which posits the labour market as determined primarily by labour demand and visualizes immigrants immediately taking up jobs not wanted by local Italian workers.

In the 1960s and 70s Italy was the only industrializing country (aside from Japan) which did not need to employ foreign workers to facilitate its economic boom using instead the illiterate and otherwise poorly educated peasants from the *Mezzogiorno* (the South of Italy) (Reyneri 2004b). Indeed, it was only when North-central European countries closed their doors officially to *Gastarbeiter* in 1973/4 that swathes of would-be immigrants began to approach Italy and other Southern European countries. Immigrants in this instance were unauthorized and found work in a 'second tier' labour market. Since then official calculations of Italian immigration have estimated that the number of immigrant employees from non-European Union countries increased from under 120,000 in 1991 to 420,000 in 2000 (Reyneri 2004b). It is extremely likely however that these figures are gross under-estimates of the true numbers of migrant workers because the data are based on employer-confessed social-security statistics (ISPN). For example, Bonifazi and Chiri (2001) calculate that between 1991 and 1997 the number of foreign-born employees was three times larger than Social Security Institute figures suggested. Based on work by Bonifazi and Chiri (2001), Anastasia et al. (2001) and Caritas (2002) it is probable that the true number of migrant workers in 2001 was roughly 650,000-700,000, or approximately 4% of all Italian employment. According to the first data from the labour force surveys, in 2005 their proportion augmented to over 6%.

Immigrants are not absorbed uniformly throughout regional labour markets but rather tend to converge in parts of the country where local labour is in short supply. Examining 'hire' data from employment services and territorial distribution data from the Social Security institute, Reyneri (2004b) found that the immigrant share of the official labour market grew most strongly in the North-East, Centre and Lombardy where labour demand from small-firm industry and urban and personal services was flourishing, but shortages of local labour were profound. By the end of the 1990s these three regions accounted for almost 75% of all registered 'hires'.

The types of jobs which immigrants are most likely to be engaged in has altered in recent years. Reyneri (2004b) comments that whereas once immigrants were concentrated in short-term and seasonal agricultural work or unstable employment such as street-vending, modern trends of employment indicate that migrants are now more likely have declared work, particularly in industry. For immigrants registered to work in 1997, 27% were employed in manufacturing industry (predominantly in metal-working and usually in small to medium sized firms); 30% in domestic work (almost all women from the Philippines, Peru, Sri Lanka, Central America and Eastern Europe); 20% in services (low-paid, low-status, low-qualification jobs in retail and restaurants); 16% in agriculture (usually low-paid seasonal harvesting or

livestock raising undertaken primarily by migrants from Morocco, Poland, Pakistan and India; fishing is undertaken by Tunisians and ex-Yugoslavs) and 7% in construction (dominated by immigrants from Morocco, Albania, the former Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe) (Reyneri 2004b). Of notable interest is the reduction in immigrant street-vendors since the mid-1990s, a trend sparked by the illegal immigrants' amnesty in 1990 which allowed many migrants to move to the industrial heartlands and find declared, regular employment. Nevertheless, street-peddling is still somewhat noticeable (especially to tourists in the summer months!) and is undertaken by Moroccans, Senegalese and, increasingly, Chinese. One final trend has been the modest (by the huge Italian standard), but increasing number of independent businesses such as restaurants or small shops and artisan practices owned and run by immigrants.

Immigrants are still more likely to be employed in short-term work (Caritas 2002) and earn, on average, 20% less than Italians. They are more likely to be employed as unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers (Reyneri 2004b). Under 3% of immigrants are employed in skilled blue-collar occupations and only 2% in white-collar work (Reyneri 2004b). No occupational up-grading is still ongoing; however, Reyneri (2004b) has argued that the number of jobs requiring technical skills such as machine operation, carpentry and welding have been increasingly filled by immigrants due to local native labour shortage. Also most of the highly educated migrants (who are quite many) are working in very unqualified jobs.

Although the family reunion process is started only very recently, the proportion of women is important because they are largely prevalent among migrants from several countries, mostly Philippines, South America and East-European countries. They migrated alone for working reasons and in Italy almost all of them work either as housekeepers or elderly caregivers.

Despite the increasing numbers of legally-sanctioned immigrants in declared employment following 5 immigrant-amnesties in 16 years, many foreign-born labourers are still working in the 'underground' economy, even when they possess a work permit. Notwithstanding significant methodological problems, Reyneri (2004b) estimates that between 1991 and 2001, the percentage of immigrant workers employed in the 'underground' economy never fell below 31%, peaking in 1994 at over 56%. The North-East and Central region have the lowest level of immigrants employed in the underground economy whilst the South, Lazio and Lombardy have the highest.

Spain

Until the 1980s immigration to Spain was negligible consisting mostly of wealthy, white, Christian and highly educated North-European and Latin American retirees and a small number of refugees and immigrants (Solé and Parella 2003). Since the mid-80s though, a 'new immigration' with a radically different character has appeared. Like Italy, most of the new migrants entered Spain not holding a proper permit of stay, which they managed to get only subsequently availing themselves of the frequent regularizations. Garrido (2005), using administrative registers found that the 'new' immigrants are from Morocco, Ecuador, Columbia and Romania and, increasingly, China. Official statistics estimate that the number of foreigners registering on local census lists has increased eight-fold between 1998 and 2002 (OECD 2004). In 2000, 1 650 000 legally-resident foreigners worked in Spain (4.7% of the total population) (OECD 2004); the true number of immigrants is likely to be much higher due to large undocumented migration.

Immigrants' insertion into the labour market in Spain has followed a number of patterns. First, for some while empirical research uncovered evidence of a dual-labour market whereby Spain employed large numbers of both skilled, highly educated professionals and managers from North-Europe, East-Europe and Asia and also a large number of poorly educated and unskilled workers (Corkill 2001). However, recent studies suggest that as the Spanish labour market fragments, the majority of new jobs that immigrants have access to are increasingly seasonal, temporary or fixed-term and the distinction between temporary and permanent work has become vague (Corkill 2001). Solé and Parella (2003), analyzing official data, conclude that over 76% of the 200,000 legally resident foreign workers in 2000 are concentrated in just five employment sectors: domestic service (26.4 per cent), agriculture (21.2 per cent), unqualified jobs in the hotel and catering sector (11.7 per cent), unskilled construction workers (9.4 per cent) and the retail sector (7.4 per cent), jobs which have the worst employment and pay conditions. Different groups of immigrants have tended to specialize in certain economic activities: Africans, Poles, Lithuanians and Romanians are heavily concentrated in construction and agriculture whilst Latin American and Asian women are usually employed in domestic service (Corkill 2001). Given these trends, Solé and Parella (2003) have argued that Spain's labour market is ethnically-stratified. Of particular interest too has been the finding that labour markets are increasingly likely to be segmented by age. Jiménez Alvarez (2000) for example found a number of Moroccans aged under 18 in the workplace, particularly in Andalucia.

Second, blossoming part-time and temporary work has increased the proportion of female immigrants particularly from Latin America (Dominican Republic and Columbia especially) (Corkill 2001). For instance, La Vanguardia (2000) found that women comprised only 35% of immigrants to Catalonia in 1995 but 50% in 2000, a trend mirrored across Spain. Whilst the majority of women are employed in officially-recognized jobs, approximately 20,000 women according to police estimates work as prostitutes, a figure representing 60% of the total prostitute population (El Pais 2000; Corkill 2001).

Third, there has been an explosion in the number of immigrants working in Spain's long-established 'underground' economy. Carrasco (2000), in a survey conducted in 1997, found that roughly 30% of non-EU immigrants worked in the 'underground economy', especially in industries such as textiles, clothing, leather and wine-making (Corkill 2001). Approximately 60-80% of Spain's fruit-pickers are illegal North African, Lithuanian, Russian and Ecuadorian immigrants (SOS Racismo 1999).

Portugal

In line with other Southern European countries Portugal, which is still an out-migration country, experienced a massive increase in immigration in the 1970s. The first wave of immigration occurred shortly after Portugal granted independence to its colonies. Around 500,000 *retornados* (people born in Portugal or of Portuguese descent who returned to their home country) hit Portugal between 1974 and 1975 (Peixoto 2002) along with significant numbers of foreigners from the former Portuguese-speaking colonies (PALOPs), especially Cape Verde. Since the 1980s three distinct immigrant trends can be identified. First, there has been an influx of low-skilled, poorly educated workers from Portugal's former colonies (especially from Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Angola). Second, since 1986 when Portugal joined the EEC, saw a large increase in foreign direct investment and European

structural funds and consequently experienced an economic boom, there has been an inflow of highly-skilled and professional immigrants from Europe and Brazil. Third, Portugal's economic expansion has facilitated a growing 'underground' economy staffed increasingly by illegal Eastern European workers. One study suggested at least 20,000 Ukrainians employed illegally in Portugal (Publico 2000). An analysis of data from the regularisation conducted in 2001 suggests around 50,000 illegal Ukrainians, Moldovans, Romanians and Russians although this may be a significant underestimate of the true figure (Peixoto 2002). The statistics show that traditional migrant sources (Portuguese-speaking Africans and Brazilians) are present but decreasing as a percentage of the total immigrant population (Peixoto 2002).

According to the literature (Franca 1992; Corkill 1993; Machado 1997; Baganha and Gois 1999; Eaton 2000; Mendoza 2000), the majority of male African-born immigrants from the PALOPs are employed in the construction industry and, to a lesser extent, in manufacturing as manual workers. Baganha et al. (2000) for example estimate that 80% of Cape Verdeans are hired as manual workers in the construction or manufacturing industries compared with just 20% of Europeans. Female immigrants from the PALOPs by contrast are overwhelmingly employed in domestic service (Esteves 1991; Machado and Perista 1997; Mendoza 2000). Regarding the large numbers of illegal male Eastern European immigrants, Portella (2000) argues that they are also employed primarily in the construction industry.

Skilled immigrants from Europe are mainly employed as managers and are protected from labour market fluctuations by the large multi-national corporations that they (usually) work for (Peixoto 2002). By contrast, skilled Brazilians are mostly employed in independent professional activities such as dentistry, engineering and architecture (Eaton 1999; Peixoto 1999).

Greece

Greece has not been immune to the wave of 'new immigration' sweeping Southern Europe. In 1991 there were 167,000 foreign residents, but in 2001 there were 800,000 (OECD 2004; Glystos 2005). Kasimis and Papadopoulos (2005) calculate that up to 10% of the total population (1.6% in 1991) and 15% of the economically active population in Greece are foreign migrants from Albania (52%), Eastern Europe and the Balkans (22%), Asia (14%) and the Middle East and Africa (12%) (Glystos 2005).

Greece started to receive a limited number of immigrant workers with valid work permits in the 1970s mostly from Africa and Asia. Simultaneously, many Greeks who had been working in Northern Europe returned home. From 1980 onwards, however, the character of migrant trends changed dramatically: immigrants flowed to Greece from formerly Communist Central and Eastern European countries especially Poland, Bulgaria and Romania (Cavounidis 2002). Since 1990, however, by far the largest migrant group has originated from Albania; statistics show that approximately 65% of all illegal immigrants who applied for residency in the Greek regularization process in 1998 were Albanians (Bulgarians and Romanians came second and third with just 7% and 4% of applications respectively) (Cavounidis 2002). Some of the immigrants from formerly Communist countries and Albania of Greek descent were eligible to reside and work in Greece legally, but most either entered the country illegally or entered legally but overstayed their work permits. Although there are no reliable statistics on the numbers of illegal migrant workers, some researchers have attempted to estimate the figure: Linardos-Rylmon (1993) calculated between 280,000 and 350,000 illegal immigrants in 1993; Lianos et al. (1996) put the figure above 350,000

in 1996; other more recent research has calculated between 450,000 and 600,000 illegals in Greece (Linardos-Rylmon 1995; Kontis 1996).

The experience of Greece differs in one only important respect from King's (2000) Southern European model of migration (which grouped Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece together). The principle features of this model when compared to the North European model are its illegality, the heterogeneity of migrant nationalities and high underemployment in receiving countries. By contrast, Greece has undergone a quite different immigration pattern: immigrants' source countries are almost exclusively the former Communist states of Eastern Europe that share a land border with Greece, with the majority originating overwhelmingly from Albania (Cavounidis 2002).

Research investigating the professional occupations of illegal immigrants in Greece is sparse. Notably however, Lianos (2001), using data from the Greek Employment Observatory (1999), found that 56% of illegal immigrants were unskilled and manual workers, 16.6% skilled workers in a technical profession and 10% skilled workers in agricultural, livestock production, forestry and fishing. This data may be somewhat biased however, based as it is on a response rate of only 40%. There is significant job segregation by sex: Lianos (2001) reported that most female illegal immigrants worked in the service sector, scientific and artistic professions, whilst Lazaridis and Poyago-Theotoky (1999) argued that women were more likely to be found in domestic service, as waitresses or seamstresses.

Illegal immigrants are an 'undocumented underclass' with non-existent rights (Lazaridis and Romaniszyn 1998), not benefiting from a written labor contract and earning a wage of between \$6 and \$30 a day for low-skilled or unskilled, dirty and often dangerous work depending on the season and region (Migration News 1997). It has been estimated that illegals cost an employer roughly half of what it would cost a local to fulfill the same job at the same level of productivity (Lianos, Sarris et al, 1995; Fakiolas 1997). Fakiolas (1997) argued that illegal immigrants substitute locals for the jobs that they do not want to take; there is no suggestion therefore that immigrants divest jobs from locals.

A typology of migration

On the basis of the above literature review it is possible to conclude this section of the paper by suggesting a typology of migratory flows in old and new receiving countries (see Table 1). Three dimensions have been taken into consideration for the creation of the schema: immigrants' *country of origin*, *method* of and *motive* for entry.

Table 1: Characteristics of migratory flows in old and new receiving countries

| | New receiving countries | Old receiving countries |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| New migrations | <p><i>Case A</i></p> <p>Largely unauthorised, then regularised throughout amnesties. Facilitated by 'push' and 'pull' factors.</p> <p>Firstly, into underground economy, subsequently into registered jobs.</p> <p>High proportion of women migrating alone and highly educated people.</p> <p>Unqualified manual jobs in agriculture, construction, manufacturing and personal services.</p> <p>Very large diversity in countries of origin. Mainly from North Africa, Eastern Europe, South America, China, ex-colonies (only for Portugal)</p> | <p><i>Case B</i></p> <p>Family reunification, refugees and asylum seekers from e.g. Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Kurds from South-East Turkey.</p> <p>Labour migrants from Eastern Europe taking low-skilled temporary, intermittent or seasonal jobs.</p> <p>Large diversity in countries of origin</p> |
| Old migrations | <p><i>Case C</i></p> <p>N/A</p> | <p><i>Case D</i></p> <p>Direct recruitment by firms in nationally sponsored strategies.</p> <p>Authorised employment in low- or unskilled manual labour usually in manufacturing or construction.</p> <p>Ex-colonies, Southern Europe, North Africa and Eastern Europe.</p> |

In old receiving countries, old-style immigration (case D) was characterised by immigrants originating from Southern Europe, North Africa and Eastern Europe who were directly recruited by firms following bilateral national recruitment strategies with countries such as Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey. They were ‘guestworkers’ finding legal employment in authorised semi or unskilled manual labour usually in the manufacturing and construction industries. In recent years however immigration to these same countries has been comprised mainly of family reunifications, asylum seekers and refugees together (more recently) with a number of labour migrants largely from Eastern Europe looking for low-skilled temporary, intermittent or seasonal jobs (case B). New migrations to new-receiving countries are characterised somewhat differently (case A). The underground economies in Spain, Portugal, Greece and especially Italy exert a large ‘pull’ on immigrants whilst population booms, social, economic and political crises ‘push’ Third World and Eastern European immigrants from their native countries. In this instance, immigrants are characteristically from a host country’s ex-colonies, North Africa or Eastern Europe and usually enter the country illegally.

Explaining immigrant labour market inequality: a micro approach

With few exceptions (Brazilians or highly-skilled European managers in Portugal for instance), immigrants to European labour markets suffer disadvantage in two respects. First, in terms of their labour market status they are more likely to be unemployed or inactive rather than legally employed. Second, when immigrants do work they are much more likely to be employed in jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, especially those that are *dirty, dangerous and demanding* (Abella, Park et al, 1995). This section of the paper outlines five alternative micro approaches advanced in the literature to explain these two trends.

The ‘capital’ perspective

The labour market disadvantage faced by new immigrants has frequently been explained either in a human or social capital framework. Human capital refers to an individual’s endowment of skills, abilities and job experience as well as other educational competencies. Since, according to neo-classical economic theory, employees are paid the value of their marginal productivity determined at least in part by their human capital endowment, immigrants who have fewer human capital resources will be paid less than those who are more highly educated or better skilled (Becker 1964; Mincer 1974). There are many reasons to suspect that immigrants may suffer from a paucity of human capital. First, sending countries are increasingly located in the third-world where average educational qualifications are often lower than those in the host (first-world) society. Furthermore, research has shown that educational certificates of achievement won in developing nations are more difficult to transfer to a first-world country than a diploma obtained in an advanced nation. Second, human capital is often country-specific (Borjas 1994a; Esser 1999). For example, language skills may be redundant if an immigrant moves to a country which speaks a different language to his mother-tongue. The act of migration may therefore lead to human capital’s devaluation; it is often not a perfectly portable resource (Chiswick 1978; Chiswick 1991; Carliner 2000; Friedberg 2000; Chiswick 2002). Moreover, both immigrants and their potential employers may be reluctant to invest in relevant country-specific human capital. Both parties may view the immigrant’s stay as short-term and may, reasonably, refuse to make investments that are not certain to

pay off in the future (Bonacich 1972; Offe and Hinrichs 1977; Heath and Ridge 1983; England 1992; Chiswick 2000; Dustman 2000).

The extent of an immigrant's social networks (the stock of their social capital) may play a vital role in securing employment in the host state (Granovetter 1973; Portes 1995; Lin 1999). Once an immigrant arrives in a new country his ability to find a job will often be dependent on the help of family and/or friends. Ethnically homogenous ties may secure for the immigrant jobs that are not accessible in the host country's mainstream labour market, or they may provide self-employment in niches or ethnic enclaves that workers in the mainstream economy do not occupy (Portes 1995). However, an ethnically homogenous social network may also provide some significant disadvantages for the immigrant: they may only provide information about jobs which are already in the ethnic community's domain; an ethnically homogenous network may not be as useful for job-seeking as ties to the indigenous population (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Immigrant selection and assimilation

Over time immigrants should assimilate into their host societies: they should learn the new language, acquire local education and training and understand how the host country's labour market functions (Chiswick 1978). The more dissimilar the institutional structures in the sending and receiving countries are however, the longer assimilation may take (Borjas 1994a). Chiswick (1978) found that immigrants to the USA who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s reached wage parity quickly with demographically comparable natives and even in some cases surpassed them. Theoretically, Chiswick explained this "better than perfect" assimilation by arguing that immigrants were not randomly selected but rather were some of the most able, skilled, motivated and ambitious individuals in the sending country. Borjas (1990, 1994) has argued that immigrant self-selection is not always positive. Rather, whether an individual chooses to immigrate is dependent upon the relative returns to his skills in his host and receiving country. Immigrants who move from more egalitarian countries to more unequal countries are more likely to be positively selected as they can expect to enjoy greater returns on their skills. By contrast, immigrants who move from unequal to more equal countries are likely to have been negatively selected for their skills since they expect that the welfare state will protect them. In addition, the geographical distance between sending and receiving countries has also been argued to affect immigrant skill selection: the greater the distance between origin and destination countries, the higher the costs of immigration (Borjas 1987; Jasso and Rosenzweig 1990). Consequently, only the more highly skilled immigrants would find, after a cost-benefit analysis, that the benefits of migration outweighed the costs. The selection of migrants may be affected by the way of entry, too. Recruited migrants may be even negatively selected (Heath and Cheung forthcoming), whereas unauthorised migrants could be supposed to be very positively selected because they have to face very high difficulties and costs to cross the national borders illegally.

Discrimination

Empirical studies frequently find that even after having controlled for human capital and other relevant socio-economic and demographic data, immigrants still confront wage penalties in the labour market, particularly if they are visibly distinct from the native population (Burstein 1994). The most common explanation posited for this is that immigrants face some form of discrimination, either directly if

employers choose to reward workers with equal productivities differently based on their ethnicity (Kalleberg and Sørensen 1979), or indirectly when the application of a 'colour-blind' approach nevertheless disadvantages certain ethnic communities (Heath and Cheung forthcoming). Both neo-classical economics and sociology/socio-psychology have advanced models to explain discrimination when it occurs.

Neo-classical economic models suggest that discrimination can only arise when the market is imperfectly competitive i.e. when there is some degree of market failure (Becker 1971; Arrow 1973). Four prominent theories of discrimination have been advanced in the literature. First, Becker's (1971) 'taste for discrimination' model suggests that employers, employees and customers may have a preference for certain ethnic groups predisposing them to discriminatory behaviour. Second, an 'error discrimination' approach contends that employers may calculate the true productivity of a worker incorrectly because of a lack of perfect information (England 1992). Third, similarly to 'error discrimination' statistical discrimination occurs when employers are lacking perfect information about an individual's productivity. In this instance though, employers rely on their estimation of the group's average productivity rates in order to decide whether to employ an individual and how much to pay her (Arrow 1972; Phelps 1972; Aigner and Cain 1977). Finally, when demand for labour is monopsonistic, employers may find it profit-maximising to pay different wages to workers from different ethnic groups if each group has a clearly distinguishable elasticity of supply (Madden 1973).

The sociological (e.g. Coenders 2001; Lubbers 2001) and socio-psychological paradigm (e.g. Duckitt 1992; Brown 1995), posits that individuals have a positive attitude towards their own group and a negative attitude towards out-groups, which often translates into negative actions towards members of that group (van Tubergen 2004a). In this framework, discrimination need not be overt; a preference *for* rather than *against* a particular group may be enough for patterns of disadvantage to become evident.

Ethnic or immigrant penalty

Although experimental evidence exists documenting discrimination in the labour market (De Beijl 2000), it is almost impossible to *prove* the existence of prejudice from survey data. Studies using survey data tend to *infer* discrimination when, controlling for all relevant variables available in the dataset, ethnic status has an independent effect on labour market success. A major problem with this inference is the fact that it is impossible to control for every single plausible variable. Various researchers therefore have suggested that it would be more appropriate to refer to the residual disadvantage that remains in an empirical analysis after controlling for as many variables as possible as an 'ethnic penalty' (Heath and McMahon 1997; Berthoud 2000; Carmichael and Woods 2000; Heath and Cheung forthcoming). The penalty may result either from discriminatory practices by employers or other sources. For instance, immigrants may pursue different labour market opportunities or investment strategies than the local population, especially if they expect to be temporary migrants (Heath and Ridge 1983). These 'sojourner' immigrants (Kalter and Granato forthcoming) may decide not to invest in human capital or long searches for higher-status jobs if job search costs are very high or they are unlikely to be resident in the country long enough to enjoy its rate of return (Kalter and Kogan 2003). Instead, they may choose jobs with immediate financial return even if it is low-status (Dustman 2000).

Labour market dualism

Dual labour market theory proposes that the labour market is split into two segments: primary or capital-intensive and secondary or labour-intensive (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Piore 1971; Piore 1979). The primary labour market provides stable, skilled jobs which are often complicated and require significant knowledge and experience. Employers invest in capital-intensive workers providing both job-specific and general training. By contrast, the secondary labour market is comprised of low-status, badly paid, dangerous or unpleasant jobs usually of an intermittent or seasonal nature. Employees endure poor working conditions, irregular hours and a very small chance of promotion. The native population avoid employment in the secondary labour market preferring instead the benefits of a job in the primary sector: higher status and wages, increased job security and the possibility of promotion. Employees have no choice but to hire immigrants (Molle and Zandvliet 1994; Castles and Miller 1998; Malheiros 1999; Veiga 1999; Stalker 2000; Wilson and Portes 2001) who are often attracted to wages which are higher than in the country of origin and care little about the 'status' of a job in a country with which they little identify. However, as immigrants remain in a country for longer, begin to feel that their social identity is determined by their destination nation and are joined by their families, they may be more interested in the status and security of their employment and be less inclined to take poorly-paid secondary segment jobs (Piore 1979).

Explaining cross-national differences

Cross-national research has attempted to provide a framework within which it is possible to compare the labour market outcomes of groups of similar immigrants. For instance, Kogan (2003) analysed the labour force participation and unemployment rates of ex-Yugoslavs in Austria and Sweden whilst Reitz et al. (1999) contrasted immigrants' access to employment and earnings profiles of immigrants in Germany and Canada. But most comparative research conducted so far has been plagued by various methodological limitations. First, the number of macro-cases/number of explanatory variables ratio is often unacceptably large; studies tend to use just two or three countries even though the number of macro-level explanatory variables is much greater (Kogan forthcoming). This makes testing competing theories extremely difficult, if not impossible (Lieberson 1991; Goldthorpe 1997). Second, macro-level variables are often not included in the formal statistical models leaving researchers unable to detect and disentangle which factors contribute to the differences in immigrant labour market outcomes. A notable anomaly to these criticisms is Van Tubergen's set of studies which use pooled data of 200,000 immigrants from 180 origins in 17 countries to suggest various macro-level factors which determine the labour market outcomes of immigrants including the racial composition of origin countries and the proportion of the immigrant group that is employed (van Tubergen, Maas et al, 2004; van Tubergen 2004b). Kogan's (forthcoming) report which analyses the labour market situation of immigrants in 14 countries and includes estimates for theoretically-relevant macro variable is also a noteworthy exception.

In attempting to elucidate explanations for the wide variety of immigrant labour market outcomes, previous cross-national analyses have highlighted the importance of immigration policy (Borjas 1990; Borjas 1993) or the structure and regulation of the labour market (Piore 1979; Castles and Kosack 1985; Sassen 1988; Sassen 1991). Whilst these studies have certainly added to our understanding of the mechanisms behind immigrant insertion into receiving labour markets, they are limited insofar as

they stress the importance and implications of each structural dimension alone without considering the possible synergies between them. However, three sets of academics have proposed richer frameworks which stress the interdependence of various factors in the economic integration of immigrants. In an influential series of papers, Portes et al. (Portes and Manning 1986; Portes and Böröcz 1989; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) have advanced models of immigrant insertion into the receiving labour market which take account of three macro-level factors: government policy, labour market demand and pre-existing ethnic community networks. Reitz's early work (1998) made an important theoretical contribution by proposing a model of immigrant insertion in the United States, Canada and Australia which took account of four institutional dimensions: (1) immigration policy and regulations, (2) labour market structure and practices, (3) educational system and (4) welfare regime. Modifying this list of components in his later work, Reitz (2002, 2003) proposed four features of the receiving society which would help to absorb immigrants successfully into the labour market: (1) pre-existing ethnic or race relations within the host population, (2) differences in labour markets and related institutions, (3) the impact of government policies and programs (immigration policy, policies for immigrant integration and policies for the regulation of social institutions), and (4) the changing nature of international boundaries as part of the globalisation process. Freeman and Ögelman (2000) emphasise government immigration policy and legislation, the structure of the labour market and its regulation and the welfare regime which together provide an institutional framework within which both the indigenous and immigrant population can make choices about their labour market behaviour.

Immigration policy legally establishes the numbers and characteristics of labour migrants, asylum seekers and refugees usually in accordance with a predetermined set of economic, political or social criteria forged by necessity or pre-existing ethnic prejudices. Policies vary widely and can take different forms: the liberal immigration rules in the post-war era designed to encourage semi- and un-skilled labour into the massive construction industries necessary to rebuild Europe or the more stringent policies evidenced today to combat growing flows of refugees, asylum seekers and illegal migrants. Whatever the immigration policy, it will simultaneously influence and be influenced by the native population's perceptions of and attitudes towards immigrants. Two sets of immigration policies are singled out by Reitz (2003) as particularly important in aiding immigrant labour market insertion. First, policies enacted by the government to aid the settlement and assimilation of migrants: language courses or professional training for example. Second, legislation or programmes aimed at fostering good relations between different ethnic groups: anti-discrimination legislation or equal rights provisions in employment, housing and other social services.

The structure of the labour market and its regulation is a vital institutional variable differing between states (Kogan forthcoming). For instance, labour markets in Europe vary according to the size of their illegal economy or secondary labour market (in dual labour market theory (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Piore 1971; Piore 1979)) characterised by unskilled, dangerous and poorly-paid employment. The extent and success of immigrant insertion is often determined by the relative sizes of these labour market segments; countries with a strong demand for secondary labour market workers 'pull' both legal and unauthorised immigrants to the state. In this situation immigrants are likely to find employment quickly. Kogan (forthcoming) identifies the degree of labour market flexibility as particularly important in the immigrant economic insertion process. She argues that strict employment protection legislation

which imposes high firing costs on the employer may be a deterrent in hiring immigrant workers as the potential cost of making a mistake in the hiring process leads to the statistical or error discrimination described above, and consequently to the nepotistic hiring of native rather than immigrant workers.

Finally, welfare states aim to modify the labour market outcomes of their citizens providing strategies for income redistribution (including tax credits), social services and assistance (health and pensions services, public education) and employment protection. Esping-Andersen's (1990) classic distinction between liberal, social democratic and corporatist-conservative welfare states may serve to explain immigrants' variety of experience in their labour market outcomes. Engelen (2003) distinguishes between two different types of institutional systems or 'syndromes'. The first includes countries falling into the 'liberal' welfare state mould (UK, Ireland). It is characterised by high market flexibility, weak and decentralised industrial relations and market-based social insurance. The second includes countries of social-democratic or corporatist-conservative persuasion (Sweden, Denmark and Germany, France, Belgium respectively) and is marked, in contrast, by rigid labour markets with high labour costs and either employer-based or universal social insurance. Kogan (forthcoming) argues that in the first 'syndrome' unemployment is likely to be less (due to the freer nature of the labour market) compared with countries falling into the second 'syndrome' where labour costs are higher. In addition, more egalitarian countries with larger welfare provisions may attract less skilled migrants believing that they will be insulated from unfavourable market movements. Immigrants to 'liberal' welfare regimes may be more skilled, confident of securing employment and a high rate of return to their human capital.

Conclusion

Research investigating 'new' immigrants in Europe is comparatively sparse and concentrates mainly on analysing descriptive statistics of migrants' labour market status (employed, unemployed or inactive) and occupation. Moreover, few studies adequately distinguish between old and new immigrant streams. The relatively new phenomenon means that there are few datasets with the appropriate variables available for researchers to use. Consequently, there are few studies which propose models seeking to *explain*, rather than merely describe, migrants' labour market experience.

Nevertheless, it is known that new immigrants to European countries are grossly disadvantaged in a highly segmented labour market. They are more likely to face high unemployment (but not in the new receiving countries) and more prone, if they find a job, to labour in poorly-paid, very low-skilled, seasonal or temporary work, unprotected by permanent contracts of employment or labour market regulations. Micro explanations suggest that immigrants' lack of human capital, their paucity of social networks or the discrimination and prejudice they face may explain their labour market disadvantage. But immigrants are not similarly disadvantaged in every host country. Arguments have been reviewed in this paper which seek to explain cross-national differences in migrants' economic success. Differences between country's levels of racial discrimination, anti-discrimination legislation, immigration policies, structure and regulation of the labour market, pre-existing ethnic community networks and nature of the welfare system all explain some of the variance in the 'warmth' of immigrant's welcome (Reitz 1998).

An important research question for the future is whether the second generation of 'new' immigrants to Europe will follow the same assimilation paths as the children of 'old' immigrants in established receiving countries. There are good reasons to expect inter-generational disadvantages to decrease. For example, country-specific and general human capital levels may increase by learning a new language fluently, immigrants' 'sojourner' attitudes may cease to influence their choice of jobs or, according to the 'contact hypothesis' (Allport 1954; Brown, Vivian et al, 1999), the greater the native populations' contact with ethnic minority groups, the lower the levels of discrimination. However, there are also various factors which may lead us to suspect that immigrants do not fully assimilate with the native population in the second generation and indeed beyond. Ethnic minority discrimination may persist or involuntary migrants may develop an 'oppositional culture' as a reaction against the host society (Ogbu 1978; Ogbu 1987) thus impeding their labour market integration. Without further research however patterns of, and mechanisms informing, social reproduction will continue to be poorly understood.

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SOCIAL CAPITAL IN EUROPE

➤ **Social Capital, Achievement and the Welfare State in 22 countries. A multilevel Study.**

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Introduction

People face a variety of risks during the course of their lives and they sometimes need assistance from others to sustain an acceptable standard of living. In most countries, welfare state provisions cover a portion of these risks. Welfare states are a form of institutionalized solidarity (Gelissen, 2000); they are funded through taxes and apply formal rules to redistribute resources in society. Although welfare states enable *formal* solidarity within society, they are met with criticism as well, for instance because they may decrease existing levels of *informal* solidarity between citizens (Van Oorschot & Arts, 2006). Initially, people found assistance through their informal social capital. When governments formalized some of these relationships between people, the level of formal social capital increased but it crowded out informal social capital. A second and opposing view emphasizes that formal provisions may provide structures in which informal social capital can flourish.

Earlier research investigating these opposing views focused on the effects of formal solidarity provided through the welfare state on informal social capital. A common feature of these studies is that formal solidarity is the explanatory variable and informal solidarity is the response variable. Using longitudinal or international comparative data allowed researchers to infer answers to the question whether formal solidarity has negative or positive effects on the level of social capital. Although an important issue by itself, it overlooks one important aspect, the instrumental value of social capital. Researchers' interest in the topic of social capital originates from the idea that people can use their social capital to reach certain goals (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1988), and in many studies a relationship was found between social capital and achievement (Portes, 1998; Lin, 2001). People with many social ties in a favourable configuration can use them to mobilize resources and to get ahead in society.

The question we ask in this paper is whether the instrumental value of social capital is affected by formal solidarity provided through the welfare state. Instead of focusing on the direct effect of formal solidarity on informal social capital, our analysis investigates the way in which welfare states moderate the relationship between social capital and achievement. Even if formal solidarity decreases, or increases, informal social capital, it may well be that social capital is still an important means for achievement under conditions of increased formal solidarity. If the generic importance of social capital is declining because of the welfare state, there should no longer be a relationship between social capital and achievement. In this paper, we investigate the effects of two basic kinds of social capital – ties with parents and ties with friends – on achievement in 22 countries.

⁶ This state of art report has been prepared within the Research Team on *Social Capital in Europe*.

Data and Method

Individual level data on social capital and achievement (subjective social class) are taken from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2001) provided country level data on welfare state effort.

The first part of the analyses deals with the measurement of social capital using factor analysis. Based on this analysis the distinction is made between ties with parents and ties with friends.

The dependent variable achievement is measured with *subjective social class* (ranging from 0 to 6). Two dimensions of *social capital* are measured: (1) parents (consisting of contact with father and contact with mother; and (2) friends (the number of the respondent's friends). At the individual level, the following control variables are added to the multilevel regression model: *age*, *gender* (0 = male; 1 = female); *marital status* (0 = not married; 1 = married); *educational level* (1 = none, still at school; 7 = university completed); job status (using a dummy for fulltime work), and whether the respondents lives in an *urban wor rural area* (1 = urban; 3 = rural). At the country level, the effect of welfare state effort is investigated. *Welfare state effort* is measured with the Total social expenditure per GDP.

The final dataset contains information about 27,542 respondents in 22 countries. Table 1 shows the countries in the study, the mean level of achievement, and the level of welfare state effort per country.

TABLE 1
Number of respondents and descriptive statistics by country

| Country | N | Subjective social class | Social expenditure/GDP |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Australia | 1,245 | 3.54 | 15.70 |
| United States | 1,146 | 2.97 | 16.50 |
| Austria | 954 | 3.85 | 26.20 |
| Hungary | 1,499 | 2.74 | 22.30 |
| Italy | 1,000 | 3.80 | 23.70 |
| Norway | 1,403 | 3.52 | 28.50 |
| Czech Republic | 1,137 | 3.19 | 18.80 |
| Poland | 1,181 | 2.88 | 25.10 |
| Russia | 2,000 | 2.74 | 10.40 |
| New Zealand | 1,065 | 4.13 | 19.20 |
| Canada | 1,019 | 3.16 | 17.70 |
| Japan | 1,319 | 3.81 | 14.10 |
| Spain | 1,181 | 3.07 | 22.00 |
| Latvia | 940 | 2.69 | 19.20 |
| France | 1,096 | 3.61 | 30.10 |
| Cyprus | 994 | 3.74 | 10.30 |
| Chile | 1,458 | 2.60 | 11.30 |
| Denmark | 1,196 | 3.69 | 33.00 |
| Brazil | 1,928 | 2.22 | 12.20 |
| Finland | 1,276 | 3.29 | 32.30 |
| Germany | 1,324 | 3.34 | 29.70 |
| Israel | 1,180 | 4.22 | 24.10 |
| Total | 27,542 | 3.25 | 20.52 |

Sources: ISSP2001; ILO (2001)

The dataset contains data at two different levels and therefore OLS regression is not applicable. To deal with the nested structure of the dataset, multilevel analysis is used.

Analysis

Method

The dataset contains information at the individual level (level 1) and the country level (level 2). Because of the hierarchical data structure it is not possible to use Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression analysis (see for instance DiPrete & Foristal, 1994). Multilevel modelling is suitable to investigate such datasets. In its general form, the multilevel model has a fixed part (the linear function of the independent variables) and a random part (in this particular case the unexplained variation at the individual level and the unexplained variation between the countries) (Snijders, 2003).

The effects of the welfare state on the relationship between social capital and achievement are examined using a hierarchical linear model that consists of 1 dependent variable (achievement measured with subjective social class), 2 independent variables at level 1 (contact with parents, contact with friends), 5 level 1 control variables (age, gender, marital status, educational level, and urban area), and 1 level 2 independent variable (welfare state effort). The level 1 variables are group mean centred (except the dummy variables and the dependent variable) and the level 2 variable is grand mean centred (see Kreft, De Leeuw & Aiken, 1995 for an overview of centring decisions in multilevel analysis); the most basic form of centring is used because there are no theoretical reasons to do otherwise.

The multilevel analysis is performed in four steps. First an empty model is computed (Model 0). The empty model is an unconditional model without independent variables and serves as a baseline by which the other models are evaluated. The control variables are added in Model 1 (the level 1 variables) and Model 2 (welfare state effort at level 2). The final models include the cross-level interactions between welfare state effort and contact with parents (Model 3a) and between welfare state effort and contact with friends (Model 3b).

The parameters in these models are estimated by the maximum likelihood method (Goldstein, 2003), the regression coefficients are tested by Wald tests (see also Snijders, 2003). The deviance between the models is used to evaluate the fit of the different models.

Findings

Table 2 shows the correlations among the individual level variables. Subjective social class turns out to be positively related to social capital.

TABLE 2
Correlations individual level

| | Mean | SD | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| 1. Subjective social class | 3.250 | 1.232 | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Parents | 5.768 | 4.731 | 0.091 ** | | | | | | | |
| 3. Friends | 6.6358 | 5.560 | 0.129 ** | 0.072 ** | | | | | | |
| 4. Age | 45.66 | 17.095 | -0.034 ** | -0.698 ** | -0.059 ** | | | | | |
| 5. Gender | 0.530 | 0.499 | 0.013 * | -0.029 ** | -0.032 ** | 0.006 | | | | |
| 6. Marital status | 0.400 | 0.490 | 0.089 ** | 0.205 ** | -0.005 | -0.184 ** | 0.053 ** | | | |
| 7. Educational level | 4.580 | 1.654 | 0.351 ** | 0.119 ** | 0.033 ** | -0.146 ** | 0.001 | -0.072 ** | | |
| 8. Job status | 0.335 | 0.472 | 0.114 ** | 0.029 ** | -0.008 | -0.163 ** | 0.141 ** | -0.404 ** | 0.173 ** | |
| 9. Urban – rural | 1.740 | 0.823 | -0.082 ** | -0.022 ** | 0.035 ** | 0.051 ** | -0.001 | -0.074 ** | -0.031 ** | 0.031 ** |

N = 27,542 respondents.

Sources: ISSP2001; ILO (2001).

† p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01

An overview of the multilevel analysis is provided in Table 3. The empty model (Model 0) shows that the achievement grand mean is 3.31. The intraclass correlation coefficient indicates that 18.08 percent of the achievement variability occurred between countries. By including the level 1 control variables (Model 1) the intraclass correlation drops to 15.34. The model improves after adding the individual level variables (Deviance = 25113.42, Df = 6). Contact with parent and contact with friends are both positively related to achievement ($b = 0.019$, $p < 0.01$ and $b = 0.014$, $p < 0.01$). Furthermore, the level of achievement is higher among older people ($b = 0.003$, $p < 0.01$), married people ($b = 0.085$, $p < 0.01$), people with a higher educational level ($b = 0.238$, $p < 0.01$), and people who have a fulltime job ($b = 0.107$, $p < 0.01$). People living in a rural area have a lower level of achievement than people living in urban areas ($b = -0.121$, $p < 0.01$). These results remain the same after the level 2 variables are added to the model.

Model 2 also includes the level 2 variable welfare state effort and improves the model slightly (Deviance = 2.90, Df = 1), the intraclass coefficient decreases to 13.40. Welfare state effort is positively related to achievement ($b = 0.024$, $p < 0.10$) and explains almost 2 percent of its variation, but its effect is moderate.

Model 3a and 3b test for the cross-level interaction between welfare state effort and social capital; Model 3a includes the interaction with contact with parents and Model 3b includes the interaction with contact with friends. For both models the conclusion holds that these interactions do not lead to better models (Deviance = 1.64, n.s. and Deviance = 0.42, n.s.) and both parameters are close to zero.

TABLE 3
Results of regression analysis of private versus public arrangements

| | (0) | (1) | (2) | (3a) | (3b) |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| COUNTRY LEVEL | | | | | |
| Social Expenditure/GDP (1) | | | 0.024 [†] (0.014) | 0.025 [†] (0.013) | 0.024 [†] (0.014) |
| INDIVIDUAL LEVEL | | | | | |
| SOCIAL CAPITAL | | | | | |
| Parents (2) | | 0.019** (0.002) | 0.019** (0.002) | 0.018** (0.004) | 0.019** (0.002) |
| Friends (3) | | 0.014** (0.001) | 0.014** (0.001) | 0.014** (0.001) | 0.014** (0.001) |
| Interactions | | | | | |
| (1)*(2) | | | | 0.001 (0.001) | |
| (1)*(3) | | | | | -0.000 (0.000) |
| CONTROL VARIABLES | | | | | |
| Age | | 0.003** (0.001) | 0.003** (0.001) | 0.003** (0.001) | 0.003** (0.001) |
| Gender (0 = male; 1 = female) | | 0.016 (0.015) | 0.016 (0.015) | 0.017 (0.015) | 0.016 (0.015) |
| Marital status (0 = not married; 1 = married) | | 0.085** (0.017) | 0.085** (0.017) | 0.086** (0.017) | 0.085** (0.017) |
| Educational level | | 0.238** (0.006) | 0.238** (0.006) | 0.240** (0.006) | 0.238** (0.006) |
| Job status (0 = not fulltime; 1 = fulltime) | | 0.107** (0.018) | 0.107** (0.018) | 0.101** (0.018) | 0.107** (0.018) |
| Urban – Rural | | -0.121** (0.010) | -0.121** (0.010) | -0.121** (0.009) | -0.121** (0.010) |
| Intercept | 3.310** (0.111) | 3.494** (0.108) | 3.490** (0.101) | 3.490** (0.099) | 3.491** (0.102) |
| -2loglikelihood | 85007.694 | 59894.279 | 59891.383 | 59889.746 | 59890.964 |
| Deviance | | 25113.415** | 2.896 [†] | 1.637 | 0.419 |
| Residual | 1.223** (0.010) | 1.060** (0.010) | 1.060** (0.010) | 1.053** (0.010) | 1.060** (0.010) |
| Intercept variance | 0.270** (0.082) | 0.192** (0.062) | 0.164** (0.054) | 0.160** (0.052) | 0.164** (0.054) |
| Intraclass correlation | 18.08 | 15.34 | 13.40 | 13.19 | 13.40 |

N = 27,542 respondents in 22 countries. Unstandardised regression coefficients are reported; standard errors are in parentheses.

Sources: ISSP2001; ILO (2001).

[†] p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01

These results suggest that there is a positive association between social capital and subjective social class, regardless of welfare state effort. It is concluded that (1) the (formal) welfare state does affect subjective social class moderately (people living in countries with a higher level of spending on social welfare report a higher level of achievement); (2) (informal) social capital affect achievement positively; (3) the (formal) welfare state does not crowd out (informal) social capital; and (4) it may be speculated that a reduction of (formal) welfare state effort may decrease the level of achievement but that this reduction is countered by (informal) social capital.

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NEIGHBOURHOOD

➤ *Urban Inequalities and Social Exclusion: Overview of recent researches and challenges regarding neighbourhood effects analysis.*

By Sylvain Pechoux, Centre Maurice Halbwachs, CNRS⁷

Introduction

This report is a reviewed and expanded version of a paper presented for the 1st workshop of the SOCCULT subgroup focusing on Urban Inequalities and Social Exclusion, which took place in Paris the 9th of June 2006. The aim of this report is to present a brief overview of recent researches regarding neighbourhood effect analysis, within several fields of social sciences but with an explicit focus on researches developed by European scientists and European research teams. Its second goal is to point out the challenges (both theoretical and empirical) regarding this research topic that the workshop will have to address since neighbourhood effect analysis is one element of its research agenda.

Regarding the fact that the international literature on this question is extremely extensive and that several good reviews have been recently published⁸, we chose to describe rapidly the state of the field in order to address more deeply the actual strengths and weaknesses of recent researches and to make propositions that could pave the way for the collective work in our subgroup.

After a first part which aim is to replace contextual analysis into its social and scientific context, we'll move to an overview of recent European researches dealing with neighbourhood effect analysis. The report will end with comments and recommendations for future research in the field.

Contextual Analysis into context...

For several decades and on a very large geographic scale, cities and metropolis have been witnessing fundamental changes as far as the structure of economy and the role of social state are concerned, leading to an accentuation of social inequalities within them. These social and economic transformations largely impact the social division of urban space with a digging of the gap between intra-urban territories, some of them becoming places where disadvantages tend to concentrate – or at least where some social and economic resources tend to disappear. From a social stake, the question of inequalities tends to move – in some way and for some commentators – to a geographic one. The social polarization of cities and the spatial concentration of poverty within them, have received lots of attentions from researchers and politics almost everywhere and especially in Europe and in the United States; that is attested by the exceptional amount of scientific literature on these questions. In the case of

⁷ This state of art report has been prepared within the Research Team on *Social exclusion and urban inequalities. Focus on neighbourhood effects: from identification to comprehension.*

⁸ Several good reviews have been recently published on this topic: cf. Small and Newman, 2001, Sampson, Morenoff, Gannon-Rowley, 2002, Dietz, 2002, Durlauf, 2004. References are available at the end of this report.

France⁹, many recent researches have dealt with this issue of social polarisation, with various results and interpretations, but at least one common conclusion: there is an aggravation of the mechanisms of urban divergence, at least at the two ends of the social scale¹⁰. As a consequence, the situation of the most impoverished neighbourhoods worsened during the two last decades, especially regarding social disruptions affecting their inhabitants (we can mention unemployment, monetary poverty, and school attainment for example). And this conclusion is true even in the neighbourhoods that received during that period of time the largest attentions from the national authorities in order to overcome their difficulties. The so-called “Zones Urbaines Sensibles” in France experienced a high turn-over of their inhabitants, with the specificity that those who are arriving in those neighbourhoods do not compensate in term of quantity the departures, and they also appear to be poorer than the one who leave¹¹.

Lots of researches and discussions have been carried out on the causes of the social polarization and the urban concentration of poverty, with a focus on social segregation as one of the main mechanism involved, beside the macroeconomic determinants like those highlighted by Saskia Sassen (1991) and beside the role of the housing market (both private and public) that is, by some way, linked to this question of segregation. At the core of the debate, is the interrogation about the advantages or disadvantages of social mix within the city as far as equal access to opportunity and life chances for every individual is concerned.

This is of course not only an academic debate since it has large political stakes, the first of it being the opportunity and the relevance of area based politics to challenge urban poverty. In order to choose between the two options of social politic designs, that are the option “people” versus the option “place”, commentators usually lament the lack of solid empirical basis to motivate one option or one other.

Those empirical basis should be found in the large corpus of researches focusing on the effects of the spatial concentration of poverty, that has also been witnessing an exponential increase in term of number of achieved researches for about twenty years, with a kind of consensus on the year nineteen eighty seven and the influential work of William Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, as a start point for the development of a new field of researches on those questions.

This field first developed in the United States with a focus on the so called “Neighbourhood effect” whose central question is “Do poor neighbourhoods make their residents poorer?” (Friedrichs, 1998) or to express it in a different way, “Do some neighbourhood characteristics have an impact on one’s life chance and social destiny, even when controlling for individuals characteristics of the residents that are known to intervene in the precariousness processes?”. This interrogation do not really date from the late eighties since explorations of the consequences of the socio-spatial organisation of the city is the core of Urban Sociology since its very beginning, as mentioned by the title of one of Douglas Massey’s article: “Back to the future, the re-discovery of neighbourhood context” (Massey, 1998). What is new however is the largely quantitative dimension of the researches that have been developed since then, using methods and data that were not common in the previous works. It is important to note that, beside the quantitative approach and deeply rooted in an academic tradition coming from the University of Chicago, numerous *Neighbourhood Case*

⁹ As an example among other but the conclusions are similar elsewhere in Europe.

¹⁰ See for example the conclusions of Edmond Préteceille regarding the situation of the Parisian metropolis (Préteceille, 2006).

¹¹ ONZUS, 2005

Studies have also been conducted, in an ethnographic spirit, by researchers that are often not the same as the previous. They produced important results as far as local social mechanisms are concerned. Some good reviews of some of those researches can be found in the two seminal volumes edited by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn; Greg J. Duncan and Lawrence Aber in 1997¹².

Many fields have been explored by neighbourhood effect researchers from different disciplinary background. For instance the influence of the residential context on children and adolescent development (Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993, 1997), the impacts of area characteristics on persistent poverty (Wilson 1987, Jargowsky, 1997), on deviant behaviours (Sampson et al. 1997, Morenoff et al. 2001), on school achievement (Duncan 1994), etc. Results are numerous and different from one research to one other depending of what sort of outcome is being considered but also for each outcome, depending of what data is used, what neighbourhood definition is retained, what contextual characteristics are selected, etc. The American literature generally has concluded that the neighbourhood environment makes a non-trivial, independent difference for a variety of outcomes (Friedrichs *et al.* 2003). Some researchers however deny it, arguing that most measured neighbourhood effects are biased for reasons that will be developed later. There is at least one certainty: if the residential context is to play a role in the production and reproduction of inequalities, it is a smaller one than the one played by individual or familial characteristics or macro-economic conditions (Brooks-Gunn *et al.* 1997, Jargowsky, 1997). Although somewhat weak and not yet fully understood, the neighbourhood effect hypothesis is still a central one in the American academic debate. The situation in Europe is quite different.

What about Neighbourhood Effect Analysis in Europe?

As far as Europe is concerned, the attention paid to the influence of the spatial concentration of poverty is more recent and do not concern all the European countries to the same degree. Indeed, the situation of urban exclusion and clustering of poverty in Europe is not comparable to the one observed in the American cities, especially in the black American ghetto that is the main focus of the researches conducted on neighbourhood effects in the United States. European researchers (at least some of them) are also aware of the dangers of the uncontrolled importation of concepts and debates from the United States, as Enzo Mingione (1996), Loïc Wacquant (1992) and some other have mentioned about the notions of “underclass” and “ghetto”. However, some researches have been conducted during the last few years, by sociologists but also by other social scientists: geographers, economists, political sciences researchers, or social epidemiologists.

Some of those researches have been developed in the frame of European Programs. Two of them can be spotted here, which were engaged around the year two thousand and that dealt with neighbourhood effect analysis even if, compared to the one just mentioned, their perspective was mainly qualitative.

- The program called URBEX that aimed to explore the spatial dimensions of urban exclusion and integration in Europe with a focus on eleven

¹² Brooks-Gunn J., Duncan G., Aber J.L., *Neighbourhood Poverty, vol 1. Context and Consequences for children, vol 2. Policy implications in studying neighbourhoods*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1997

European metropolis located in six different countries (Murie and Musterd 2004).

- And the program “Between integration and exclusion: a comparative study in local dynamics of precarity and resistance to exclusion in urban context” that focused on seven cities within seven European countries (Bertaux et al. 2001).

Those two programs aimed to emphasize neighbourhood processes (about what they produced interesting results) but they do not come within the framework of statistical identification, since the sample of neighbourhoods was very limited in each country.

Beside those programs, several researches have been published since the year 2000 in academic journals¹³. We will now expose some of the main results of a selected panel of research managed by social scientists from Great Britain, Germany, France, The Netherlands, etc.

Compared to the American results, most of the European researches concluded to the lower impact of neighbourhood characteristics within Europe to explain differences between individuals on several topics regarding social inequalities. That is consistent with the remarks concerning the difference of level in spatial concentration of poverty between the two continents. More precisely, some researchers have noted that the neighbourhood effect in Europe can be comparatively muted because of significantly different housing supply and social welfare systems that jointly limit the variation of neighbourhoods’ conditions and ameliorate or compensate for these differences through other support programs (Friedrichs *et al.* 2003). Musterd and colleagues also report the lack of available data to address those questions in Europe compared to the US (Friedrichs *et al.* 2003).

Neighbourhood effects on spatial mobility

Several European researches have focused on the question of the influence of one or several neighbourhood’s characteristics on the spatial mobility of households and individuals. This is an important topic in a context where politics are concerned by the residential instability in some neighbourhoods and especially the most impoverished, with a fear of – if not a “white flight” as highlighted by Wilson in the American Context – at least a “middle class flight” that is mentioned by many European urban scientist¹⁴ concerned by the “fragmentation” of cities. In order to shed light on this debate, Fougère et al. (2005) for the French case centred their attention on the estimation of the causal effect of household victimization on household spatial mobility. Using national data collected between 1997 and 2002 (but non longitudinal) they showed – at the city level – that medium and high income households are more likely to move after a property crime, while low-income households are more likely to move when at least one of their members has been assaulted. Even if not strictly focusing on “neighbourhood”, the approach of the authors (economists) is interesting due to the fact that they try to take into account the potential endogeneity of dependant and independent variables, that we will mention later as a dreadful challenge regarding neighbourhood effect analysis. The authors also mention that compared to the American researches, the degree of linkage between spatial mobility and delinquency is lower in the French case.

¹³ Two special issues of Urban Studies (2001) and Housing Studies (2003) have been published on the topic of Neighbourhood Effects Analysis with a special focus on European Researches.

¹⁴ For instance Jacques Donzelot (2003) and Eric Maurin (2004) for the French debate.

Neighbourhood effects on job opportunity, unemployment and social mobility.

Neighbourhood effects on job opportunities is one of the main topic of interest in the field, following the agenda proposed by Wilson for whom one of the main consequence of the isolation of the poor in poor neighbourhoods is the social and spatial distance to the employment sphere.

Economists have been engaged for a while in this subject around the spatial mismatch theory, first proposed by Kain in 1968 which argues that low-skilled minorities in the US inner cities experience poor labour-market outcomes because they are disconnected from suburban job opportunities. Lots of researches have been realized in Europe too by economists; we won't get here into details¹⁵.

Dutch geographers also embraced this topic of social mobility with a longitudinal analysis, by Musterd, Ostendorf and De Vos (Musterd et al. 2003.) aiming to measure the impact of neighbourhood in the dynamics of social mobility. Based on an enormous longitudinal panel (1/3 of the Dutch population), the research has concluded that in the Dutch context, the environment (characterized by its poverty level) has only a modest influence on the social mobility of households with a weak economic position. One interesting result of this research is the revelation of differentiated effects of neighbourhood's characteristics regarding the profile of individuals. It appears that the environment prove to have a more powerful effect on the social mobility (having a job in 1994 when being unemployed in 1989) of households with a stronger economic position. The probability that households with at least one paid job at the beginning of the research would still have a job at the end clearly decreases as the share of benefit-dependent households in the neighbourhood rises. The authors propose several possible explanations, one of them being that for the first category (weak starting position) the negative effect of their own welfare situation is far more determinative for future prospects than the composition of the environment. This research also rise an interesting element that we will develop later and that is not addressed so often within the field: the non uniformity of effects.

Several other studies have focused on the contextual dimensions of employment / unemployment, as in the French case where several authors have highlighted the effect of place of residence on access to job or length of unemployment (Choffel, Delattre, 2003, Dell'Era *et al.* 1996). The explanations are numerous, some rely on labelling and stigmatisation processes whose impoverished neighbourhoods suffer from, as are the "Zones Urbaines Sensibles" in France.

Neighbourhood effect on school achievement

Because of the main role played by education in the mechanisms leading to the production and reproduction of inequalities, school achievement has been a major concern of scientists in the field of neighbourhood effect analysis¹⁶. Many researches have been realized on this aspect, some being summarized in the review published by Breen and Jonsson (Breen and Jonsson 2005). The main conclusion is that even when the issue of choice of place of residence is taken into account (cf. selection bias), recent researches highlight the impact of environment on school achievement.

This is the case of the research achieved by Dominique Goux and Eric Maurin (2004) which focused on performance at school with a dependant variable that is the repetition of a grade in the elementary school. In order to isolate a "proper neighbourhood effect" they used several instrumental variables to challenge the

¹⁵ The reader could refer to the survey written by Gobillon, Selod and Zenou (2005).

¹⁶ and extensively "contextual effect analysis" since in that case maybe more than in others, the other contexts that are family and school must also be taken into account.

endogeneity issue (see later), and their conclusion is that the estimated neighbourhood effects are significant and almost as large as the direct effect of parental education.

Neighbourhood effect on health

Health (physical and mental) is a main concern of neighbourhood effect analysis with a profusion of interesting results with a very high degree of methodological sophistications. Some of the major conclusions of this field – mainly occupied by social epidemiologists – have been reviewed by Kawachi and Berkman in their volume *Neighbourhoods and Health*. (2003). The relevance of neighbourhood effects on health outcomes throughout the life cycle has been largely demonstrated from infant mortality and low birthweight, to childhood asthma, adult infectious diseases, and disability in old age. One major interest of the field and more specifically of the work of Lisa Berkman or Ana Dietz-Roux is to emphasize the role of social networks and social capital as far as health is concerned, and by doing so, having a look to the consequences of several neighbourhoods characteristics (both urbanistic and social) on the development of social networks. Great Britain, France, Sweden and other European countries are pretty much represented within the international literature in Public Health on those questions.

Researches focusing on social mechanisms

Other recent European researches addressed more specifically the key question of social mechanisms contained in the “black box of neighbourhood effects” (see later). Friedrichs and Blasius (2003) among others, attempted to test the Wilson’s hypothesis in several impoverished neighbourhoods of Cologne (Germany). They elaborated an interesting research design in order to test the impact of distressed neighbourhoods on the acceptance of deviant behaviour by their residents. They concluded of an impact of some neighbourhood characteristics (poverty level and socio-economic position of the residents) on the acceptance of deviant behaviour, even when individual variables are controlled. But in contrast, the assumed impact of exposure to neighbourhood on deviant norms, they measured by time spent in the neighbourhood and the total network size, are supported only in bivariate but not in multivariate analyses.

After this short and far from exhaustive review, we would like to address some questions that arise from this field of research – which is by some way still in its beginning – and to expose a selection of the challenges, both theoretical and methodological that are needed to be discussed if we want to gain clarity in the web of causation that lead to the reproduction of social inequalities.

Selected topics and challenges regarding Neighbourhood Effect Analysis

Much of the literature on neighbourhood effect has been methodological with some good reasons (some bad too), the first of this good reason being the very existence of an impact on life course of individual caused by their place of residence – and by it only (that is the stake of “Identification”), and the second being the question : “How much does the residential context explain of the measured differences between individuals regarding different topics like, let say, chance of being unemployed” ? (that is the stake of “Measurement”). Less has been done however to answer the question “How does this work?”, that mean “what are the social processes that can explain that the characteristics of the neighbourhood one lives in are not neutral regarding his or her social destiny, health or whatever?”

Neighbourhood effect analysis is only one part of a larger research agenda concerning social mechanisms and the influence of the various contexts in which an individual is embedded. Those other social contexts that can have no strict ‘spatial’ dimension are family, school, company, meso-level social network, city, region, state or whatever. All are moreover well known to intervene in a way or in another in the mechanisms of production and reproduction of social inequalities. Furthermore, it appears that, on the question of the social mechanisms involved, as on the questions of qualification of the context or identification and measurement of the effects, considerations are very similar. That’s why the points that will be developed now can be viewed as non strictly “urban” concerns nor “poverty” ones.

A- What is a neighbourhood?

The first point to think about as far as neighbourhood effect analysis is concerned is the notion of neighbourhood itself. Even if this point is often a blind spot in contextual analysis research – because neighbourhood is more often defined by default as the smallest administrative tract where census data are available – it is by many way a crucial moment of the research. To define and to measure neighbourhood (which is the first step of neighbourhood effect analysis) demand to face three interlinked problems:

- 1) conceptualisation of the notion of neighbourhood,
- 2) drawing of the pertinent geographic boundaries,
- 3) determination of the relevant contextual characteristics to retain.

Resorting to the long history of urban sociology can help to conceptualise what is a neighbourhood and what dimensions of it can be important to take into account in our analysis. Several separate and complementary dimensions have been proposed to conceive neighbourhoods such as: geographic/physical space, social space, set of relationships, set of institutions, economic unit and symbolic unit. As Burton and colleagues (1997) we can also think of it alternatively as sites, perceptions, networks and culture. We will not develop here each of these dimensions, but we have to keep them in mind for the considerations about mechanisms.

The second main question regarding neighbourhood conceptualisation is the drawing of pertinent neighbourhoods' boundaries. This is a difficult question since it depends of many elements:

- What is the scale to which the social process under investigation is supposed to occur: is it the building, the block or a larger space? Indeed, we do not always know in advance what is the optimal scale even with the use of ethnographic investigations. Statistical tools exist to test multiple hypotheses regarding the scale of effect, like spatial analysis method used by geographers and epidemiologists (Chaix et al. 2006).
- Saying that the proper neighbourhood definition is the one where the neighbourhood process involved is supposed to occur, leads to several conclusions. Depending of the outcome of interest, the pertinent boundaries can be:
 - those of the everyday-experienced neighbourhood or those of the expanse of personal networks (like for social capital based processes). Here we face the challenge that the pertinent definition of neighbourhood vary from an individual to another and from one outcome to another...
 - administrative or institutional boundaries, that can here make no sense at all for the residents but can be pertinent if we are to observe the impact of an area based politic or of an health care provision area, for example
 - a geographical definition if physical processes are of interest, let say environmental hazards,
 - etc.

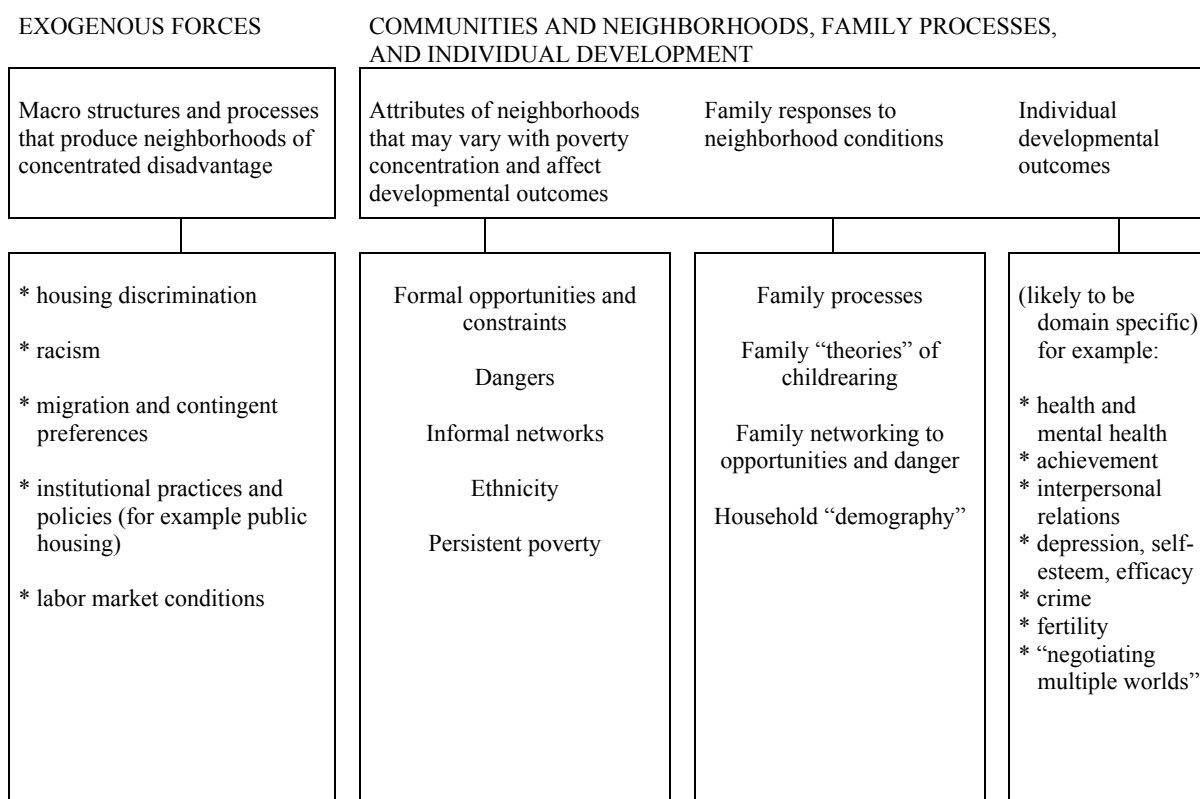
The third point concerning neighbourhood definition is related to the choice of appropriate contextual data. This should be the goal of a specific report since in front of contextual data lots of our usual statistical tools designed for individual measurement appear to be inappropriate (Raudenbush and Sampson 1999). It is also a crucial stage of the research on which rely a large part of the quality of analysis and on which some of the debate between researchers are focussing since the question is to choose indicators of area-handicaps, poverty, risk factors for social exclusion, etc. On this point also, researchers are often dependant of the availability of pre-existing data but some researches, among the most recent, pay attention to the production of the neighbourhood characteristics in order to operationnalise at best the "neighbourhood processes" under study. Data can be collected exhaustively at the scale of the neighbourhood (like census data), they can also be aggregated individual data coming from surveys, systematic social observation of neighbourhoods as Sampson and his colleagues have developed, etc. Moreover, as in our own researches where we develop an hypothesis of a role played by the dynamics of neighbourhoods, collection of descriptive data can be thought in a longitudinal spirit: not only characteristics of the context at one time is then interesting but at several points in time.

B – What kind of neighbourhood processes / social mechanisms inside the “black box of neighbourhood effects”?

Considerations about neighbourhood's conceptualisation help to think about the social mechanisms behind neighbourhood effect. Surprisingly they have not received so much attention compared to the question of measurement. Most of the hypothesis

here come from (or have been confirmed by) ethnographic works. When trying to open the “black-box”, several elements can help to classify the various processes.

- 1) The processes can be searched inside the neighbourhood boundaries or outside them. We can think here of the role of peer group influence as far as school dropout is concerned that can be both and intra or extra neighbourhood influence depending on the spatial characteristics of the social network. Part of the effect of reputation of the neighbourhoods on discriminations for job attainment can be considered to be an extra-neighbourhood effect as it rely on perception and attitudes of actors located outside the neighbourhood.
- 2) Similar example can be used with the second distinction between objective characteristics and perceptions. Neighbourhood with large proportion of unemployed can exert an effect on access to job opportunity due to the lack of weak ties for instance. But the increase of unemployment level can also affect the image of the neighbourhood developed by its residents. We found in our own researches that perception of neighbourhood decline was quite importantly correlated with psychological distress (Péchoux, 2005).
- 3) The distinction between direct and indirect effect seems evident but is really challenging in practice. It takes us back to the question of the multiple contexts as this schema shows with the mediating effect of family.

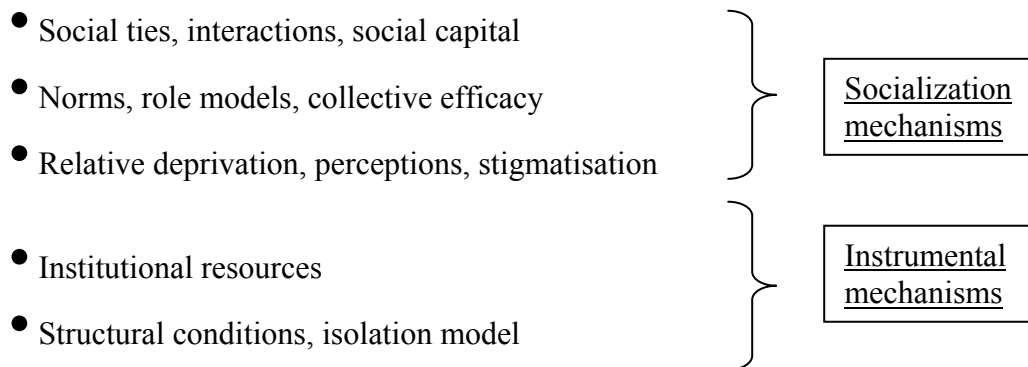


Source: Gephart, Brooks-Gunn (1997).

- 4) Some other distinctions could be made like the one opposing short term processes to middle term or long term, etc.

Along those lines and closely linked to some of the neighbourhood dimensions that have just been mentioned, a few neighbourhood processes have been highlighted by various work. They have been reviewed by Jencks and Mayer (1990) among others and are summarized in the following figure. Some refer to “socialisation mechanisms” were social interactions (good or bad) are of prime importance in direct or indirect causal pathways. The others refer to “instrumental mechanisms” which describe how individual agency is limited by neighbourhood conditions (poor quality of school in deprived area for example). Beside the interrogation on their plausibility, the challenge here is the operationalization so as to be able to reveal those mechanisms in quantitative studies.

Commonly addressed neighbourhood level mechanisms



Some more methodological questions and challenges must be addressed to overcome the limits and often justified critics addressed to neighbourhood effect analysis.

C- The selection bias challenge:

The selection bias, also known as omitted variable bias is a substantial problem in neighbourhood effect analysis that has been well documented by the work of Manski (1993) among others. It refers to the fact that individuals and households are not randomly assigned between the neighbourhoods and that there may be unobserved characteristics of individuals or households that influence both their choice for a place of residence and the outcome of interest. The most basic selection issue, which is closely linked to the segregation topic, is that certain types of parents who have certain (unmeasured) motivations and skills related to their children’s upbringing will move to certain type of neighbourhoods. Any observed relationship between neighbourhood conditions and child outcomes may therefore be biased because of this systematic spatial selection process, even if all the observable characteristics of parents are controlled. The selection process can also be more complicated because indirect or dependant of several variable, thus really hard to conceptualise. The

direction of bias (upwards or downwards) is a subject of heated debate where conclusions are uneasy to draw.

Several approaches are available to overcome the selection bias that are:

1) Random assignment experiment as are the programs *Moving To Opportunity* or *Gautreaux* in the United States. The difficulty is that it is fairly difficult to implement and particularly costly (eighty millions of dollars for MTO), to say nothing of ethical problems...

2) Econometric modelling based on non-experimental data that are for instance sibling studies that rely on samples of family in order to isolate for every child a pure neighbourhood effect, the family effect being fixed, or studies that use instrumental variables that may not be correlated with the unmeasured parental characteristic. All the difficulty being here, the availability of longitudinal data with a sufficient amount of family that moved sufficiently in the first case, the finding of an available variable that meets the criteria in the second case.

D- Non linear neighbourhoods' impact:

Another challenge concerning both the demonstration of neighbourhood processes and their operationalization through statistical modelisation is the possibility that the effect is non-linear, that means that the effect will not appear progressively as the neighbourhood characteristic change but will emerge after a threshold is crossed, for instance only after a critical point in the concentration of poverty. Typically, neighbourhood processes like collective socialisation or contagion are known to follow non-linear development and to be sensitive to thresholds effects. The difficulty that arises is that we therefore need to have in advance clear ideas of what kind of neighbourhood process is involved before being able to identify it by an adequate modelisation.

E- The non uniformity of effects

One other hypothesis regarding the shape of the effect that is not really often discussed in the literature is the non-uniformity of the effect. By non-uniformity we mean the fact that all residents in a neighbourhood will probably not respond in the same way to the contextual characteristics taken into account. Here again, ethnographic studies are fundamental to both generate hypothesis and try to go deeper into the mechanisms involved. For instance in our own researches, we discovered that when focusing on the impact of neighbourhood stigmatisation and perceived decline of neighbourhood conditions, only some individuals responded positively to those characteristics (as far as occurrence of mental health problems was concerned). Those individuals appeared to be (that was our research hypothesis) the most disaffiliated ones (unemployed, recent immigrants, single parent, etc.), those for which urban ethnography mentioned the crucial importance of neighbourhood as part of the identity when the other traditional identity vectors (being a worker, being a husband or a wife, a father or a mother etc.) collapsed. Sensitivity to the degradation of neighbourhood image appeared so to be different within residents of a same neighbourhood (Péchoux, 2005). Attention should be paid to the non-uniformity of effects because no significant contextual effect can be found on the entire sample, but hiding important ones affecting sub-samples.

F- Taking into account other contexts?

One other challenge already mentioned is the challenge of proper identification and of disentangling neighbourhood effects from other contextual effects (family or school for example). Doing so is fairly uneasy but can be achieved by the use of some particular multilevel statistical models especially suited to modelling neighbourhood clustering and variation, sometimes known as HLM for Hierarchical Linear Model. Their main principle is to respect in the modelisation the hierarchical structure of the data (individual as level 1, family as level 2, neighbourhood as level 3, etc.) with the introduction of error terms for each level that allow to quantify the amount of variance related to each of them.

The general equation of multilevel models with random constant and slope (introduction of the interaction between individuals and context) can be written as follows:

$$y_{ij} = \alpha + \beta x_{ij} + u_j + \gamma_j x_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

$$\text{where } (e_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma_e^2), u_j \sim N(0, \sigma_u^2)) \\ \text{and } \gamma_j \sim N(0, \sigma_\gamma^2)$$

G- Artificial isolation of neighbourhoods

Artificial isolation of neighbourhood is also a key point in the way that when taking into account one neighbourhood with defined boundaries, we often treat it as an isolate, whose residents are considered to be limited in their social life by those boundaries. That is of course not true in most of the cases and by doing so we also forget that an individual living close to the boundaries can be more influenced by the adjoining neighbourhood than by the neighbourhood under study. This challenge is the one of spatial interdependence among neighbourhoods. Spatial analysis as previously mentioned can help to face partially this difficulty by introducing a spatial term in hierarchical models in order to take into account distance-dependant correlations.

H- The question of causality:

The question of causality is the most evident but also perhaps one of the most challenging one, not on a conceptual point of view but as far as availability of suitable data is concerned. Most of the studies reviewed, especially the older ones, rely on cross-sectional data. Strictly speaking it is also incorrect to speak in those cases of contextual “effect” since the more that can be demonstrated is correlation between characteristics of neighbourhood and the topics of interest, let say health problems for instance. Even if we sometimes have strong intuitions of the direction of causality, concluding of the existence of a causal pathway is going too far. In order to bypass these strong limitations, longitudinal data are needed; some become available in several European countries like in Italy or France for instance.

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ANNEX
Research Teams financed during the first period of the network.

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

❖ **Research Team:** *Ethnic educational inequality in comparative perspective*

Coordinators

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❖ **Research Team:** *New immigrants in the European countries. Occupational structures and insertion in the labour market*

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❖ **Research Team:** *The role of the public sector*

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NEIGHBOURHOOD

❖ Research Team: *Social exclusion and urban inequalities. Focus on neighbourhood effects: from identification to comprehension*

Coordinators

Tony Fahey (ESRI), Serge Paugam (CNRS)

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