

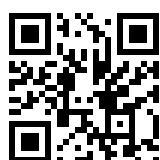
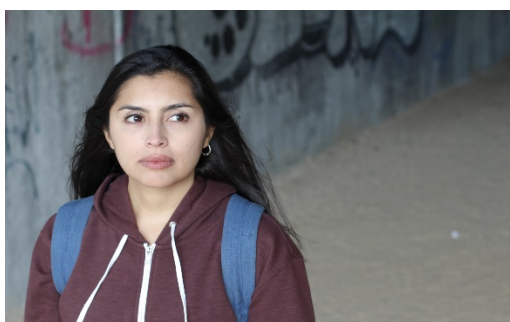
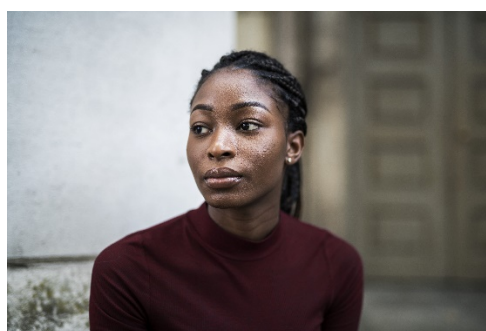
STUDY

Requested by the FEMM committee



# The socioeconomic position of women of African, Middle Eastern, Latin American and Asian descent living in the European Union

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# The socioeconomic position of women of African, Middle-Eastern, Latin-American and Asian descent living in the European Union

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## **Abstract**

This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the FEMM Committee, provides an overview of the social situation and level of integration of second- and third-generation migrant women. This topic is analysed using specific indicators, namely, residential conditions, family patterns, labour-market integration, and health outcomes.

This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CILS</b>	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study
<b>CILS4EU</b>	Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study in Four European Countries
<b>COVID-19</b>	Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)
<b>EC</b>	European Commission
<b>ECRI</b>	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
<b>EP</b>	European Parliament
<b>ERDF</b>	European Regional Development Fund
<b>ESF +</b>	European Social Fund Plus
<b>ESS</b>	The European Social Survey
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EU-LFS</b>	European Union Labour Force Survey
<b>EU-SILC</b>	European Union Survey on Living Conditions
<b>EU MIDIS II</b>	Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey
<b>EU4HEALTH</b>	European Union for Health
<b>FRA</b>	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
<b>MS</b>	Member State
<b>OECD</b>	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>PISA</b>	Programme for International Student Assessment
<b>SHARE</b>	Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe
<b>TIES</b>	The integration of the Second Generation project
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Background

When examining the situation of second- and third-generation female migrants in the European Union, major challenges are encountered. Comparable quantitative data covering all EU Member States on women (and men) from second-generation migrants by ethnic groups and countries is not systematically available. Furthermore, existing information from international studies and the scientific literature on the living conditions and degree of integration of this group does not cover the conditions of all women (and men) from second generations in all EU-27 countries by different origins.

However, the available information points to some interesting issues. Second-generation migrant women and men experience disadvantages in education, employment and health. They live in urban areas at risk of geographical ethnic segregation and are more likely to make marital choices within their ethnic groups and follow the traditions of their ethnic groups, especially if they are from specific origins (African and Asian) or practise a particular religion (Islam). There are several factors explaining these differences, disadvantages and forms of segregation. Those include explicit and implicit discrimination enacted by the hosting societies at individual and institutional levels, as well as gender and ethnic stereotypes related to the culture of origin.

In this study, the conditions of integration of second- and third-generation migrant women are assessed using specific indicators to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the topic. The indicators are: education achievements and perspectives of the target population; the geographical polarisation and segregation of these women in both urban and rural contexts; family and marital patterns; labour-market integration and work-life balance strategies; the general conditions of health of the target population; and the levels and habits of access to reproductive rights.

Two preliminary sections introduce the main study content. The first one provides basic concepts related to the issues investigated in this study. More specifically, definitions of integration and transnationalism in the available literature are examined and a definition of the second and third generations of immigration is proposed. The second introductory section analyses in detail the systematic lack of data concerning the target population of this study, suggesting reasons which might explain this information gap, and describes relevant attempts to provide reliable statistical evidence.

### Aim

The aim of this study is to provide a thorough description of the state of the art of scientific research and literature dealing with integration drivers and conditions of second and third generations of migrant women – with a non-EU background – in the EU Member States.

### Main findings

Comparative research shows that the educational outcomes of children with a migrant background in the EU are not as good as natives' outcomes. Gender differences in education in the EU for the whole population of students are well known and gender differences clearly emerge in the achievements of pupils in reading (with girls at an advantage) and mathematics (with boys obtaining better results). It is also well known that early school leaving is more frequent among boys than among girls. Academic results reveal that gender gaps in the education performance of second-generation minorities are often wider compared to those recorded in the majority population of the same age group and educational level, which show disadvantages but rarely differ in direction. The results also indicate that the gender gaps are similar for the various second-generation ethnic groups and mirror those of the

majority population. Highly selective educational systems and poor intercultural sensitivity among school personnel have a negative impact on educational outcomes of ethnic minorities.

Data on residency and living conditions by gender and ethnicity is lacking. The only available data concerns living conditions and the degree of urbanisation of the foreign population living in the EU, especially in comparison with the native population. The scarce indications available, however, point to forms of residential segregation of ethnic minorities and non-EU migrants, who appear concentrated in urban areas with high population density. This is a topic increasingly analysed by academia and the subject of policy debate in Europe. Residential segregation can compromise social cohesion in cities as well as individuals' educational outcomes, civic participation and opportunities in terms of access to and integration into the labour market. Gender-disaggregated data in this field is almost non-existent and information concerning the residential and spatial segregation of second- and third-generation migrant women is scarce. The available scientific literature and policy documents mostly focus on the housing and living conditions of first-generation migrants and protection status holders.

The marital choices of migrants and ethnic minorities – cohabitation, marriage and divorce – as well as the timing of childbirth have been a particular subject of attention as they are considered a pivotal benchmark for integration. Marriages are often perceived by the migrant family as a tool to strengthen social relations in the country of origin and, at the same time, as a useful tool for the family of the spouse in the country of origin, as they offer the opportunity for one member to migrate via the 'family reunification procedure' (such marriages are defined as transnational intra-ethnic marriages).

Gender roles and religious traditions are considered of crucial relevance in explaining marriage and fertility choices as well as women's labour market participation that in turn result in women's economic independence, households' income and living conditions.

People with a non-native background in the EU face specific challenges and barriers in access to the labour market. A worker's birthplace, or that of the worker's parents, has a massive impact on working life. Second-generation migrants (except those of EU origin) have worse employment performance compared to the native population in most EU Member States. Female migrants generally show lower employment rates compared to men, despite their better educational achievements and this is true even among those who have tertiary qualifications. Women are more likely to find poor-quality jobs in more vulnerable sectors with more stressful working conditions.

Ethnic minorities are shown to have worse health outcomes compared to EU populations, especially when it comes to cardiovascular disease and diabetes. Also, health problems are observed that might be consequences of their living conditions. The lack of specific training among health professionals is a crucial barrier which hinders the access of ethnic minorities to healthcare systems. Migrant women in particular need culturally competent healthcare providers to ensure equitable, high-quality and informed care (especially maternity care). Second-generation immigrant women are generally found to have lower fertility levels than their parents' generation, especially if they keep strong personal ties with the native population or when their partner is well educated. But this pattern is not always valid, and does not apply to specific ethnic subgroups or national contexts.

## Policy recommendations

- Statistical data on living conditions of second-generation migrant women is lacking. To address this lack of information, several initiatives need to be undertaken. First, the European Parliament and the Council should call on the Member States to fulfil their responsibility in producing comparable and reliable data. Then, the Parliament should call on the Commission and in particular its Directorate for Statistics (Eurostat) to support national statistical authorities in designing data protection protocols for individual sex-disaggregated data on ethnicity. As there is resistance

against data collection on ethnic minorities by national and local stakeholders, any initiatives to strengthen the protection and integration of ethnic minorities by the Parliament and the Commission would be welcome, and could possibly involve the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in its capacity as intermediary with representatives of national stakeholders. These initiatives could result in a clearer definition of migration policy of the EU as well as strengthening the protection of ethnic minorities in Member States.

- Empirical evidence leads to the conclusion that various factors can influence the educational achievements at the intersection of gender and ethnicity. These factors should be addressed concurrently in order to obtain improvements. Some of these factors are: gender stereotypes about children including second-generation girls; contrasting forms of implicit and explicit discrimination that may prevent second-generation children from obtaining good achievements; the need to promote multiculturalism and cultural exchanges among pupils; and the need to reduce selectivity in educational systems (between vocational and academic paths), as this choice discourages minority ethnic groups from educational achievements.
- Towards all these aims the Parliament and the Council should call on the Member States to take action in favour of educational models that promote integration of minority ethnic groups, including second-generation migrants, more effectively. The Erasmus + Programme is a good opportunity: stakeholders in the Member States (including schools and individual citizens) could take to exchange good practices on multiculturalism in education and good practices in addressing different forms of discrimination. The Commission could intervene in its implementation to promote this opportunity.
- Awareness-raising and capacity building for educational personnel is also needed. Both initiatives should assume an explicit and strong commitment to gender equality. To promote them the Parliament could call on the Commission to closely monitor the implementation of the Rights and Values Programme, the European Social Fund + (ESF +) , and the Next Generation EU Fund. Finally, the Parliament could call on the Commission, the Council and the Member States to undertake more initiatives towards coordination of educational policies, awareness-raising initiatives and capacity-building for school personnel in order to promote integration of ethnic minorities with a simultaneous commitment to gender equality.
- The segregation of second-generation migrants can be counteracted by adopting purpose-designed housing policies that implicitly introduce indirect forms of price control over housing rental fees. Social housing should aim at favouring a multi-ethnic social context with majority and minority ethnic groups proportionally represented. As social housing is often a responsibility of regions and local governments, the Parliament should call on the Member States for stronger coordination of social housing policies at the national level with a view to achieving these objectives. The Parliament could also call on the Commission to closely monitor actions for social housing at regional level within the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) with a view to working against the phenomenon of spatial segregation.
- The existing EU framework for supporting work–life balance should be carefully tailored to meet the needs of families of second-generation migrants. Women from this group are at a higher risk of losing their jobs with the birth of their children and, more generally, because their position in the labour market is extremely uncertain. To address this, the Parliament should urge the Member States to fully implement the work–life balance policies. This should include early childhood education and care (ECEC), which is not only necessary for work-life balance but also for supporting a successful educational path for the children of first-, second- and third-generation migrants. The Commission can act in its full capacity in this respect and promote effective policies including for ECEC that take into account both ethnicity and gender equality.
- Regarding labour participation and employment, the European Union institutions, in particular the Commission, should support the adoption of effective measures for promoting labour market

participation of second-generation migrant women. This can be done through the monitoring of the European Semester process and the implementation of ESF+. To this aim, the Parliament through its activity of surveillance could call on the Member States to effectively implement appropriate measures and initiatives.

- Coordinated measures to address the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic have proven that coordination in health policies is crucial for the wellbeing of all populations living in the European Union. The Parliament could urge the Council and the Member States to enhance cooperation in health policy, particularly in the area of preventive health, for instance as regards cardiovascular diseases and diabetes. These initiatives should include all the resident populations and could be supported by the European Union for Health (EU4Health) Fund. Initiatives to enhance the capacity of health systems' personnel to provide tailored assistance to ethnic minorities – in particular to ethnic minority women – could be encouraged within the existing financial instruments (ESF +).

## 1. SECOND-GENERATION CONCEPT DEFINITIONS

- Second-generation migrants is the commonly adopted definition for descendants of migrants who are often born and acculturated in the country where their parents have settled. It was first introduced in Europe in the early 1970s. However, the definition is questioned by some scholars and stakeholders as it uses the term 'migrant' to refer to someone who has never migrated.
- Integration indicates the non-linear and multidimensional process of reciprocal cultural adaptation between the host population and groups of migrants and their descendants. It relates to the affective, behavioural and cultural changes occurring at the individual level due to contact between groups of migrants and their descendants and the host population.
- Transnationalism is another key concept, pointing to the conditions of groups of migrants and their descendants in the host society, since they typically maintain both material and symbolic ties with the country of origin over time and generations.

### 1.1. Introduction

Before analysing the most relevant indicators of the social integration of second- and third-generation migrant women, it is important to provide a theoretical framework of concepts, as well as definitions concerning the second and third generations of immigration.

### 1.2. Concepts related to second-generation migrants

#### 1.2.1. Integration or assimilation?

The cultural identity of individuals accessing another culture changes as a result of 'continuous first-hand contact' with the individuals of the hosting culture.<sup>1</sup> These changes can be of three types: affective, behavioural or cognitive. When focusing on how cultural identity changes, two different concepts have been adopted in this field of study to define the process by which migrants become acquainted to the host society and how their descendants are included in the society: assimilation and integration.

Typically, assimilation in the European tradition assumes a negative meaning as it is conceived as a process by which individuals abandon their original culture and knowledge and adopt that of the hosting society. Integration has more positive connotations. It is viewed as a form of adaptation to the host society. Integration develops through the increasing ability of newcomers to resort to the inventory of knowledge of the host culture and to introduce their knowledge into that larger inventory. At the same time, by this process newcomers are able to take on social roles as defined by the hosting society and coordinate their actions with the action of natives on the basis of the knowledge shared within the host societal culture.<sup>2</sup>

From this perspective, integration is not linear and determined. The specific characteristics of the society of arrival can hinder or create differences in the process, due to for instance the level of discrimination. In the United States context, scholars<sup>3</sup> define assimilation and integration differently

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<sup>1</sup> Ward (2001): 412.

<sup>2</sup> Soeffner and Zifonun (2008).

<sup>3</sup> Drouhot and Nee (2019).

and privilege the use of assimilation, which in their view is free from the race-related references that integration implies in the specific US society.<sup>4</sup>

Given the European scope of this study, the term integration is preferred. Integration is conceived as a complex and multidimensional process, with socioeconomic (in terms of outcomes), relational (marital and relational patterns) and cultural (feeling of belonging) dimensions.<sup>5</sup> The erosion of differences between immigrants and the native population is gradual and both groups are capable of maintaining or eliminating such differences. It is a mutual process of convergence.<sup>6</sup> When analysing integration, a focus on the individual path can be assumed. It gradually leaves behind ethnic and ascriptive identities, and allows for advancement in the society of the country of residence, especially in the local labour market.<sup>7</sup> This process has been summarised as 'from peddler to plumber to professional'.<sup>8</sup>

Some researchers distinguish between structural and socio-cultural integration.<sup>9</sup> Structural integration relates to levels of education and labour market positions, whereas socio-cultural integration relates to less tangible features, such as language competence, feelings of belonging and informal contact with the majority.

Finally, another pair of concepts can be used when discussing integration: ethnocentrism, where only one culture and social context (either origin or arrival) is taken as the reference point, and cultural relativism, where both cultures and social contexts (the origin and the arrival) are considered.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2.2. Transnationalism

Transnationalism<sup>11</sup> is another important concept relating to migration. It is used to indicate that migration is not linear. It is not just about a one-way move from one place to another, leaving everything behind. It is instead a lengthy process, 'characterized by a regular toing and froing between the country of origin and the receiving country'.<sup>12</sup> The ethnic group in the host society (no matter the country of birth) maintains strong relations with the country of origin. Migrant families and their individual members become themselves the link between the two realities. This diaspora, this individual and group experience, can be said to have a homeland orientation maintaining 'material and symbolic ties'<sup>13</sup> with the country of origin.<sup>14, 15</sup> Within this process, they experience a third reality with its constraints and resources, clear expectations on individuals' roles and obligations emerging from social relations.

Social networking is essential to maintain the link with the country of origin where migrants are endowed with high social prestige gained through migration, no matter the real achievements and social position obtained in the country of arrival. Migrants are morally obliged to keep and cultivate

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<sup>4</sup> For these authors, assimilation is a convergence process between the majority and minority groups where both groups are endowed with agency.

<sup>5</sup> Wimmer (2013).

<sup>6</sup> Drouhot and Nee (2019).

<sup>7</sup> Lessard-Phillips, Fibbi and Wanner (2012).

<sup>8</sup> Foley (1999).

<sup>9</sup> Klok et al. (2020).

<sup>10</sup> Cultural relativism is the idea that a person's beliefs, values, and practices should be understood based on that person's own culture, and not be judged against the criteria of another.

<sup>11</sup> Vertovec (2009).

<sup>12</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007): 276.

<sup>13</sup> Grossman (2019): 10.

<sup>14</sup> Grossman (2019).

<sup>15</sup> Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004).

contacts in the country of origin, as their migration plans often are part of a strategy shared with their relatives who remained there. Individuals' migration might be the starting point of migration chains<sup>16</sup> where one migrant, once settled in a host country, supports, in turn, other relatives in migrating and settling down.

### 1.3. Second and third generations of immigration

The concept of 'second generation' in migration studies was introduced to label the offspring of parents who migrated to a country where their children were then born and/or raised. This concept is useful not only to define a subgroup of the population, but also to point out that this subgroup might have specific characteristics and needs that are somehow different from those expressed by the first generation of immigration, thus requiring specific investigation and policies. If a rigid definition is adopted, the second generation only includes those persons who are born in the country of immigration.

A wider definition of second generations, however, can include also those who migrated with their parents to the country of residence at a very young age, undergoing the socialisation and educational process in the country of immigration. The adoption of this wider definition of second generations is aimed at taking into account some issues that are deemed crucial to comprehensively understand the integration process of this subgroup of the population,<sup>17</sup> namely that very young children will allegedly have: i) very limited memories of their pre-migration experiences, ii) received their formal education in the country of immigration of their parents, and iii) been socialised in the new societal context, including learning the majority language without a particular accent.

The concept of second generations was originally developed in the United States, in the academic context. The United States has experienced a long history of immigration and it has for a long time reflected in its legislation and policies on immigration the idea that children of immigrants – the second generation – undergo a socialisation process that ties them to the native population far more than to the countries and culture of origin of their parents. It represents the foundation of the *jus soli* principle in citizenship regulations and of the strong belief in national belonging. If no other barriers (such as discrimination, segregation and social isolation) hinders the process, children of immigrants who are born and raised in the country of immigration will feel part of their neighbourhood, city, region and country, and their childhood and life memories will be closely connected to the social environment they grew up in.<sup>18</sup>

This approach explains why US researchers and policymakers clearly distinguish the second generation of immigration not only from the first generation, but also from the so-called '1.5 generation', that is those persons who migrated with their parents in their adolescence or at school age. However, the distinction between the 1.5 generation and the second generation is far less relevant from the legal point of view in the EU Member States, and this is reflected by the lack of scientific research on these concepts.<sup>19</sup>

The category of second-generation immigrants was introduced in Europe in the 1970s, to refer to the right of former guest workers to reside permanently. This was the case of Italians in Switzerland and Turks in Germany as well as of the increasing immigration of Black and Asian Commonwealth citizens

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<sup>16</sup> MacDonald and MacDonald (1964).

<sup>17</sup> Schneider (2016).

<sup>18</sup> Schneider, Chávez, DeSipio and Waters (2012).

<sup>19</sup> Schneider (2016).



to the United Kingdom (UK).<sup>20</sup> European research mostly focuses on the different integration challenges and outcomes of persons with a migration background. However, the different migration histories and paths – as well as the colonial past – led to national differences in migration studies in Europe. For instance, French research generally avoids explaining features of native-born citizens using their ethnic background. This approach results in a lack of research on discrimination suffered by native-born persons on the grounds of their ethnic background. However, this approach also contributes to avoiding associating native-born citizens with ethnic (and racist) stereotypes and this is also one of the reasons why data collection on ethnicity is opposed by stakeholder representatives in several European countries.<sup>21</sup> The UK is an example of a country where ethnic background is considered together with the country of birth for the identification of second-generation migrants, making ethnicity a non-problematic issue in the context of UK research.<sup>22</sup>

At a later stage, migration studies introduced an additional category of definition: the *2.5 generation* of immigration, which is the offspring of the 1.5 generation of immigration. Consequently, the *third generation* would include the children of the second generation.<sup>23</sup> However, according to some scholars,<sup>24, 25</sup> members of the third generation can hardly be called migrants, since their social connectedness with the country of origin is mostly associated with their parents' and grandparents' memories and transnational connections.

Each approach to formulate a definition comes with its own methodological challenges. For instance, children arriving to the country of immigration at the age of 8 or 16 will all be defined as 1.5 generation. However, their socialisation and integration process in the country will present relevant differences and challenges. Another example concerns marital patterns. Many second-generation adults marry partners from the country of origin of their parents. Their potential children can be classified as both second- and third-generation immigrants, depending on which parent is considered.

According to some,<sup>26</sup> the concept of a second-generation migrant can be a marker of exclusion, since it underlines the fact that this subgroup of the population is conceived as not belonging to the country where its members were born and grew up. Second-generation people are still considered foreigners, non-native and, indeed, immigrants, even when they have acquired the citizenship of their country of birth.

On a final note, the concept of second-generation migrants has been criticised by stakeholders and scholars, as this term inappropriately identifies individuals who have never migrated and who were born and bred in the 'host' country.<sup>27</sup> The authors of the present study acknowledge this view but adopt the term as it is commonly used in migration research.

#### **1.4. Second-generation women in the EU: a data issue**

The living conditions of second-generation migrants in the EU, their everyday lives and life cycles are shaped by the intersection of gender and ethnicity. However, due to the lack of data disaggregated by

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<sup>20</sup> Chimienti et al. (2019).

<sup>21</sup> Simon (2003).

<sup>22</sup> Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2010).

<sup>23</sup> Schneider (2016).

<sup>24</sup> Klok et al. (2020).

<sup>25</sup> Levitt and Jaworsky (2007).

<sup>26</sup> Wihtol de Wenden (2005).

<sup>27</sup> Schneider (2016).

sex and ethnic groups covering all EU Member States, it is not possible to draw a complete picture. In the following section, the issue of this knowledge gap is presented.

## 2. DATA COLLECTION ON SECOND AND THIRD GENERATIONS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE EU: THE STATE OF THE ART OF THE EXISTING DATABASES

- Migration and integration are two different phenomena. Migration regards the flow of people across territories while integration focuses on the process by which newcomers get acquainted with a culture and a society that is new to them. EU-27 data on migration has substantially improved in the last decade but gathering data on integration is still under development.
- Data on integration exists and is produced but is not available by gender and ethnic groups. The lack of data on integration is related to the difficulties in collecting information on migrants' descendants (second and third generations) as data collection by ethnicities is not conducted in several EU Member States and therefore European Union comparable gender data for single ethnic groups is not available.
- Eurostat does provide relevant data from regular surveys, particularly the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) and the European Union Survey on Living Conditions (EU-SILC). Both these data sets, however, are not able to properly fill the knowledge gap for several methodological reasons.
- Scholars make use of data collected through academic social research (often focusing on a few or specific ethnic minorities) or data collected for other purposes (particularly data from OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) on children's education). This data, however, is not able to provide a complete picture.
- Data collection by ethnicity is a controversial issue in several EU Member States, due to historical, cultural and linguistic reasons. In some cases, legal issues have allegedly even been raised (privacy protection or the risk of incurring some forms of discrimination). However, there are several good examples of countries (for instance Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom), where data of this kind is produced and data protection issues have been overcome.

### 2.1. EU comparable data from official statistical sources

#### 2.1.1. Statistics on migration and integration: different focus and data

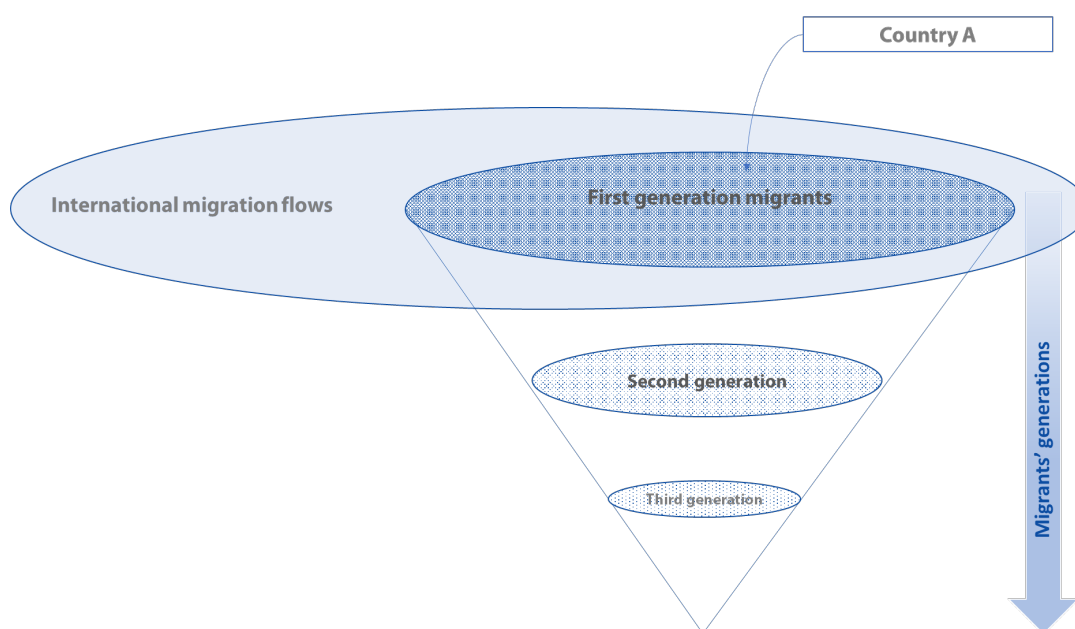
When measuring the migration phenomenon, two alternative standpoints can be assumed. The research may focus either on the flowing of migrants in and out of a given geographical (administrative) area (region/country), or on their settlement process in a given geographical (administrative) area (region/country). In the first case, the focus is on migration and the aim will be to measure the dynamics of migration by counting people entering or leaving the area (considering for instance the different geographical area of origin). In the second case, the focus is on integration and data collection will try to capture how the characteristics of the newcomers converge over time with the characteristics of the hosting population so that they are integrated in the host society.

Integration, however, is a very complex phenomenon which regards migrants of the first generation as well as their descendants (second and third generations). From a statistical point of view analysis of this process becomes more difficult with the succession of generations.

From a statistical point of view, capturing the phenomenon of integration for first-generation migrants appears viable as this group can easily be identified within the population through the characteristics of the birthplace or nationality. By contrast, for descendants of migrants (second and third generation)

data collection is hindered by the process of finding out the nationality of the host country and by the fact that second-generation migrants are by definition born in the host country. Figure 1 shows how, over generations, the cohort of migrants' descendants that statistics can capture using nationality as a discriminating characteristic diminishes. In this case, as in several EU Member States, ethnic belonging is not taken into account in demographic data collection, the process of integration appears difficult to analyse, the related issues are difficult to diagnose, and policy options are hard to design.

Figure 1: Information available on integration across generations of migrants



Source: Authors' own elaborations

### 2.1.2. Measuring migration flows in the EU

Since 2007, when the European Parliament passed a regulation on migration statistics,<sup>28</sup> there has been needed improvement in data collection and harmonisation across the EU Member States on statistics in this area. The Commission and its agencies have played a pivotal role in this. Eurostat has been coordinating data collection on migration across the EU Member States and now the EU can rely on a comparable data set on migration flows. In 2016, the Commission established its Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography (KCMD)<sup>29</sup> to provide scientific evidence for EU policymaking (the European Agenda on Migration) focusing on global developments and their impacts on the EU in the medium to longer term. To complete the picture, since 2018 the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the Commission has produced a yearly publication, the *Atlas on Migration*,<sup>30</sup> that collates harmonised and validated

<sup>28</sup> European Union (2007).

<sup>29</sup> The Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography (KCMD) is a virtual entity providing scientific support to policy partners through both knowledge production and knowledge management activities. See [https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/migration-demography\\_en](https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/migration-demography_en)

<sup>30</sup> See the Joint Research Centre dedicated website: [https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/atlas-migration\\_en](https://knowledge4policy.ec.europa.eu/atlas-migration_en)

international data on migration flows (including on demography and asylum) to support informed policymaking in the area.

### 2.1.3. Measuring migrants' integration in the EU

Progress on integration statistics has been recorded since 2010 when the set of indicators on migrants' integration was adopted following the Zaragoza Declaration of the European Ministerial Conference on Integration.<sup>31</sup> These indicators refer to information on foreign citizens and foreign-born women and men. Since 2010, Eurostat has increasingly made available a range of migrant integration statistics<sup>32</sup> published in books<sup>33</sup> and regularly updated them in its database.

The most recent data on integration made available by Eurostat was published at the beginning of 2021.<sup>34</sup> It refers to the Zaragoza indicators and to a set of supplementary indicators. It is all available online on a dedicated section of the Eurostat online database.<sup>35</sup> All indicators are grouped into four thematic areas: employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship. They aim to collect information related to the four areas of integration commonly studied in scholarly literature: economic, political, social and cultural<sup>36</sup> The large majority of the indicators provided is disaggregated by sex. See Box 1 for the full list of indicators.

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<sup>31</sup> EC (2010).

<sup>32</sup> Huddleston, Niessen and Tjaden (2013).

<sup>33</sup> OECD (2015); OECD (2018a).

<sup>34</sup> Eurostat (2020).

<sup>35</sup> See the Eurostat database dedicated section: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/migrant-integration/data/database>

<sup>36</sup> Gońda, Pachocka and Podgórska (2020).

## Box 1: Eurostat indicators on integration by sex available in the database

- Income distribution and monetary poverty
- Living conditions
- Material deprivation
- Health status
- Health determinants
- Healthcare
- Distribution of the population by educational attainment level
- Early leavers from education and training
- Participation rate in education and training
- Distribution of the population by educational attainment level
- Young people neither in employment nor in education and training
- Employment (national regional and quarterly data)
- Activity rates (national regional and quarterly data)
- Unemployment (national regional and quarterly data)
- Self-employment (national regional and quarterly data)
- Residents who acquired citizenship as a share of resident non-citizens by former citizenship
- Recent immigrants
- Active recent immigrants
- Recent immigrants in employment

Every 7 years, the ad hoc module on migration for EU-LFS adds new information to the database.

Source: Eurostat migration dedicated database.

Despite substantial progress in data collection, the available data is still limited. The only disaggregated data that can be used as proxies for ethnicity are citizenship and country of birth. Unfortunately, neither the first characteristic (born outside the EU) nor the second (third-country nationals) are able to fully capture integration for the second generation. Citizenship may change over time and therefore is not fully adequate to clearly identify both first- and second-generation individuals. Similarly, second-generation children are born in the host country and therefore the place of birth is not fully adequate to identify this group either.<sup>37</sup>

Eurostat makes efforts to complete the overall picture on integration using the EU LFS and the EU SILC survey<sup>38</sup>. But filling in the gaps of systematic data collection for migrant integration in several EU Member States is difficult (see Box 2 for more information).

<sup>37</sup> Fassman (2009).

<sup>38</sup> The two most complete regular, updated and comparable data survey on socioeconomic conditions implemented in all EU Member states and EFTA countries.

## Box 2: Eurostat survey including data on integration

EU-LFS and the EU-SILC do not ask about racial and ethnic origin, colour or descent. They do not capture descendants of immigrants, Afro-Europeans, Muslims and the Roma across the EU.

Source: Eurostat migration dedicated database: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/migrant-integration/data/database>.

Furthermore, as highlighted by the European Court of Auditors<sup>39</sup>: *'data on the migrant population is not always harmonised, indicators are not always reliable, and the different groups of migrants cannot be identified. This is mainly because the Zaragoza indicators use information from EU-wide standardized sample surveys that do not cover all migrants and are likely to have a low response rate from migrants'*.

There are problems when analysing integration for all migrants but the major issues concern integration of second and third generations as these groups are not easily identifiable from a statistical point of view when information on ethnicity is missing.<sup>40</sup>

What is currently available is not enough to explore the different factors related to the process of integration of newcomers in a society. It is currently widely agreed in the literature, either from the field of integration and assimilation or from antidiscrimination studies, that ethnicity and culture/religion do influence the prospects of societal integration.<sup>41</sup>

### 2.1.4. The process of integration: how the statistical gap is filled

To capture the differences in the process of integration across societies (see Section 1.2.1), more information on the population, disaggregated by ethnicity, is needed. However, reliable data disaggregated by ethnicity and particularly disaggregated by gender is not available in several EU Member States.<sup>42</sup>

To make up for the lack of official data, data from specific surveys (for instance, academic research or international data collected for other purposes such as data on education collected by the OECD) is used to analyse the phenomenon of integration of and discrimination against migrants (including their descendants) in EU Member States. However, the data is not sufficient as it is not comparable and reliable. Often the relevant surveys are not repeated over time with regularity.<sup>43</sup> In most cases, they focus on young generations, particularly on children and their education, as this is unanimously considered the main entrance for integration in the host country.

The following Box 3 includes a non-exhaustive list of relevant official documents on data availability on integration of migrants (including their descendants).

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<sup>39</sup> European Court of Auditors, (2018: #43)

<sup>40</sup> Farkas (2017) in a report for the EC pointed out that in half of the EU Member States the issue of data collection on ethnicity was still completely not addressed in 2018.

<sup>41</sup> Fibbi, Midtbøen and Simon (2021).

<sup>42</sup> Farkas (2017).

<sup>43</sup> Ahmad-Yar and Bircan, (2021).

## Box 3: Relevant official documents

The **Zaragoza Declaration**, adopted in April 2010 by EU Ministers responsible for immigrant integration issues, called for a pilot project on indicators taking into account the national contexts, the background of diverse migrant populations and different migration and integration policies of the Member States, and reporting on the availability and quality of the data from agreed harmonised sources necessary for the calculation of these indicators. It also stressed the importance of the promotion of evaluation mechanisms at local and regional level.

See: <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/declaration-of-the-european-ministerial-conference-on-integration-zaragoza-15-16-april-2010>

The Commission Communication of 20 July 2011 on the **'European Agenda for the Integration of Third Country Nationals'**, which focuses on enhancing the economic, social and cultural benefits of migration in Europe and on achieving immigrants' full participation in all aspects of collective life.

See: [https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/documents-register/detail?ref=COM\(2011\)455&lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/transparency/documents-register/detail?ref=COM(2011)455&lang=en)

The Commission Communication of 18 November 2011 on **'The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility'**, which sets out the Commission's adapted policy framework on migration as part of a renewed Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM).

See: [https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/eu-policy/communication-global-approach-migration-and-mobility-gamm\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/eu-policy/communication-global-approach-migration-and-mobility-gamm_en)

The EC has adopted an **Action Plan on the integration of third-country nationals** on 7 June 2016, which provides a comprehensive framework to support Member States' efforts in developing and strengthening their integration policies, and describes the concrete measures the Commission will implement in this regard.

See: <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/europe-integration-action-plan-of-third-country-nationals-launched>.

Source: Authors' research.

## 2.2. EU comparable data from academic research

Alternative sources for data on second-generation migrants are provided by databases produced by academic research. The most relevant are detailed in the next subsections.

### 2.2.1. TIES

The Integration of the Second Generation (TIES), started in 2003, is a European comparative survey focused on children (second-generation migrants) from Turkey, Morocco and the former Yugoslavia in eight European countries and from 13 cities. It was conducted in 2007–2008 on a sample of 10,000 respondents aged 18 to 35 years. It is the largest survey on second generations in Europe. The sampled population was resident in the following cities: Amsterdam and Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Brussels and Antwerp (Belgium), Stockholm (Sweden), Paris and Strasbourg (France), Berlin and Frankfurt (Germany), Zurich and Basel (Switzerland), Vienna and Linz (Austria), and Madrid and Barcelona (Spain). The survey does not cover all ethnic groups.

In this survey, a narrow definition of second-generation migrants was adopted by including in the sample only persons born in the country of immigration. The advantage of using this narrow definition of second generations is basically a methodological and sampling one allowing researchers to work



with clearly defined categories (such as the country of birth of both respondents and their parents) when designing the sample and extracting data.<sup>44</sup>

### 2.2.2. SHARE

The Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE)<sup>45</sup> is a multidisciplinary data set, containing information on the country of origin and detailed sociodemographic characteristics of the interviewees (50 years and older) and their children since 2004 until today. Data is obtained from qualitative interviews: 480,000 in-depth interviews with 140,000 people aged 50 or older from 27 EU countries plus Switzerland and Israel have been conducted. SHARE is the largest pan-European panel study providing internationally comparable longitudinal micro data.

### 2.2.3. 2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe

The "2000 Families: Migration Histories of Turks in Europe" project explores migration processes and the multigenerational transmission of social, cultural, religious and economic resources, values and behaviour. The research focuses on Turkish migrant and non-migrant families, their members in European countries and those who did not migrate to European countries or returned to Turkey. It involves survey interviews with approximately 6,000 family members across three generations. The database covers Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

### 2.2.4. OECD PISA database

PISA is the Programme for International Student Assessment from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). PISA measures 15-year-olds' ability to use their reading, mathematics and science knowledge and skills to meet real-life challenges. The PISA questionnaires collect information on student's economic, social and cultural backgrounds but few countries collect them and make them available.<sup>46</sup>

### 2.2.5. CILS4EU

Following the example of the prominent "Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study" (CILS) that was conducted in the United States, the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in Four European Countries (CILS4EU) was launched. It has collected information on a cohort of 18,000 teenagers in schools between 2010 and 2012, aged 14 in the year 2010, in four European countries: Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and England.

### 2.2.6. The European Social Survey

The European Social Survey (ESS) is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since its establishment in 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples of people.<sup>47</sup> However, 'ESS does not capture descendants of immigrants from second generation up, Afro-Europeans, Muslims and the Roma'.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips (2012).

<sup>45</sup> Bordone and de Valk (2016).

<sup>46</sup> Piacentini (n.d.).

<sup>47</sup> Farkas (2017).

<sup>48</sup> Farkas (2017): 18.

### 2.2.7. Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey

The Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II) was conducted by the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union in 2015–2016 to collect comparable data in all 28 EU Member States. Its focus was on discrimination and hate crimes and it was conducted on a sample covering all EU Member States. EU-MIDIS II was the second edition, the first (EU-MIDIS) was conducted in 2008. The report does not provide data disaggregated by generations and sex.

## 2.3. Recent trends of second generations in the EU-27 Member States

As described above, official detailed data disaggregated by ethnic groups is not available for all EU countries. For the limited number of EU Member States for which data is available, its reliability is limited as it is administrative data collected for other purposes. The only data available with EU-27 coverage by sex only distinguishes residents with citizenship different from the hosting country, EU citizenship or no EU citizenship, and residents born outside and inside the EU. Since 2014, Eurostat has added a regular module to the data collection of the Labour Force Survey, the 'Labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants', to be implemented every seven years. This module is currently under implementation as of 2021.<sup>49</sup> The data currently available is briefly reported under the relevant sections of this study.

Data disaggregated by countries of origin of people of second generation living in EU Member States was made available in 2018 (OECD and Eurostat 2018).<sup>50</sup> The information provided focuses only on youth<sup>51</sup> and is not disaggregated by sex. Still, this data shows some of the magnitude of the phenomenon. The full data set provided by OECD is available in Annex I. According to the report, across the EU around 45% of second-generation births (native-born) from two immigrant parents are of European parentage (including non-EU countries), 27% African and 24% Asian. In Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and German-speaking countries, most are born to parents from Europe. In France, over two thirds are born to parents from Africa. Nearly half of all those foreign-born who arrived in an EU country under the age of 15 come from elsewhere in Europe, roughly 30% from Africa, and 15% from Asia. While only 3% of the native-born among immigrants EU-wide are of Latin American or Caribbean origin, four times that share (13%) arrived from the subcontinent as children.

Most immigrant parents of native-born offspring were born outside the EU. In some EU countries with longstanding immigration from core immigrant regions of non-EU origin – like France and Africa and the Baltic States and Russia – the percentage of immigrant offspring who are native-born and have at least one EU-born parent is below 20%.

There have been major changes over the past decade among native-born children of immigrants in the EU in relation to the regions of parental origin. Relatively more children are now native-born to parents who immigrated from Asia. Fewer are born to parents from Europe. It is about the same number for those who originate from the rest of the world (Africa and Americas). The overall share of native-borns with two immigrant parents, of whom at least one was born in the EU, decreased from 26% to 21% of the immigrant offspring population. In comparison, the share of native offspring of mixed native-born

<sup>49</sup> More information can be found at EC (2019).

<sup>50</sup> OECD (2018d).

<sup>51</sup> In the publication, the young population (ages 15–34 years) with migrant backgrounds is divided into four categories: a) native-born with two foreign-born parents (also referred to as 'immigrant offspring' or native-born with foreign-born parents); b) native-born with mixed background (i.e. one native- and one foreign-born parent); c) foreign-born who immigrated as children (arrived in the host country before the age of 15); and d) foreign-born who immigrated as adults (who were 15 or older at the time).

and EU parentage has increased by 3 percentage points to represent nearly half of the offspring of mixed backgrounds.

## **2.4. The controversial issue of race-blind official statistics: a lever to tackle racism or a missed opportunity?**

In 2007, a report issued by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) of the Council of Europe highlighted that in most European countries, including the majority of the EU Member States, there was a lack of detailed quantitative data and objective information on the living conditions of ethnic minorities and migrants.<sup>52</sup> This information gap was an obstacle to policymaking in this area, as informed decisions could rely only on anecdotal evidence.<sup>53</sup>

Since then, improvements have been recorded in the EU-27 Member States, thanks mainly to the intervention of the European Parliament which adopted a regulation on migration statistics in 2007<sup>54</sup> and the subsequent actions undertaken by the Commission, particularly by Eurostat. In the framework of statistical cooperation with national statistical institutes in the Member States the statistical directorate of the Commission worked towards the implementation of the 2007 regulation with a view to achieving uniformity of definitions (coherent with the UN agencies' definitions) and regularity in data collection.

However, there are limitations. There are no clear restrictions on the applicable estimation methods adopted, there are exceptions in the definitions applied in different countries, and there is a two-year delay in publication due to the lengthiness of homogenisation of procedures. Despite these limitations, the EU can now rely on cross-country comparable databases including EU Member States and countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Data produced is gender-disaggregated and refers to demography, asylum and migration management issues as well as to some aspects of the integration and inclusion process in the host country, such as employment, education, health, social inclusion and active citizenship.

However, after 14 years of implementation, the limitations of the 2007 regulation and the related data produced are now emerging. While its merit was that it established common basic standards for data collection on migration in the Member States,<sup>55</sup> the focus on statistics on the dynamic aspects of the migration phenomenon (the flow of migrants in and out the host countries) does not allow for fully capturing the many and diverse implications of the integration or inclusion in the host country of individuals and communities<sup>56</sup> and their descendants, nor does it allow for including the phenomenon of open or subtle implicit forms of discrimination<sup>57</sup>.

On the one hand, the statistics produced do not cover the complex reasons for migrating, as only a few choices are offered, nor do they allow for the adoption of a proper multifaceted intersectional approach

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<sup>52</sup> Simon (2007).

<sup>53</sup> Fassman (2009).

<sup>54</sup> European Union (2007).

<sup>55</sup> The regulation is concerned with the 'compilation of Community statistics on: (a) immigration to and emigration from the Member State territories, including flows from the territory of one Member State to that of another Member State and flows between a Member State and the territory of a third country; (b) the citizenship and country of birth of persons usually resident in the territory of the Member States; (c) administrative and judicial procedures and processes in the Member States relating to immigration, granting of permission to reside, citizenship, asylum and other forms of international protection and the prevention of illegal immigration'.

<sup>56</sup> Ahmad-Yar and Bircan (2021).

<sup>57</sup> Fibbi, Midtbøen and Simon (2020).

in data analysis, as the different grounds of possible discrimination are not fully explored. On the other hand, most Member States are not able to produce data on second generations' living conditions even though commentators state: 'Eurostat needs to provide equality data on the basis of racial and ethnic origin to the same extent it provides data on grounds such as sex, age and disability'.<sup>58</sup> Available information on the population does not distinguish by ethnicity, race and religion.

There are several reasons for the lack of information, including historical, cultural and linguistic issues. In some cases even legal issues have been raised to justify the situation<sup>59</sup>. Sometimes, public authorities point to alleged legal obstacles related to privacy or risk of discrimination in collecting ethnic data. However, there are different studies showing that this is not really the case. In countries where the fight against ethnic discrimination is taken more seriously (for instance Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom) data of this kind is produced. Meanwhile, commentators point out that data protection issues can be overcome.<sup>60</sup>

The obstacles to the processing of sensitive data is thus less a matter of law in the strict sense than of the context in which the aims of combating racism and discrimination are being assessed. The problem is more a lack of awareness of the role played by statistics in actions against discrimination than genuine legal obstacles.<sup>61</sup>

The availability of statistical monitoring data on the living conditions of women and men belonging to specific ethnic groups are urgently needed to design and implement appropriate policy measures, including anti-discrimination policies. Relevant to note is that second-generation women and men, girls and boys often are European citizens already or are about to become so, sooner or later. So they deserve to receive adequate attention. Statistics are a means to know the reality of the situation and implement adequate policies in respect of the fundamental rights principles enshrined in the EU treaties.

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<sup>58</sup> Farkas (2017): 45.

<sup>59</sup> Simon (2007).

<sup>60</sup> Farkas (2017).

<sup>61</sup> Simon (2007).

### 3. EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND CAREERS OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATIONS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE EU

- Researchers have traditionally investigated the role of the school system in the integration process of the second and the following generations of young migrants. The role of education does not have a single dimension. More factors interact in this process, including the institutions in the country of residence, implicit and explicit discrimination, social interactions, and communities of origin. All of these must be considered to achieve a comprehensive understanding of educational paths of the target population of this study.
- Comparative research shows that the educational outcomes of children with a migrant background in the EU are not as good as natives' outcomes. In some Member States, these differences are explained in terms of socioeconomic differences whereas in other Member States other factors are mentioned, such as proficiency in the host country language, the social context of schools, the acculturation process and the role of multiculturalism in supporting more effective integration.
- Gender differences in education in the EU for the whole population of students are well known. Gender differences clearly emerge in the achievements of pupils in reading (with girls outperforming boys) and mathematics (with boys showing better achievements than girls). It is also well known that early school leaving is more frequent among boys than among girls. Academic results reveal that gender gaps in the education performance of second-generation minorities are often wider compared to those recorded in the majority population of the same age group and educational level. This shows there are disadvantages but they rarely differ in direction. The gender gaps are similar for the various second-generation ethnic groups, mirroring that of the majority population.
- Three relevant theories have tried to explain the variations in gender gaps in education, which could be combined for more reliable comprehension. First, the 'socialisation of gender roles' theory suggests that children acquire gender stereotypes and norms that prevail among their closer social contacts. Second, the theory of 'differentiated female returns from education' relates to the family's role in influencing choices about girls' education. A third approach points to 'selectivity of migration' as a cause of these variations. According to this last theory, a positive attitude towards the values of the host society prevails among migrants either because they are the most educated and/or the more open to host countries' values and beliefs. They are therefore more inclined to promote education among girls.

#### 3.1. Education and second generation migrants: theories

Classical sociological theory on migrant integration assigns a prominent role to schooling.<sup>62</sup> It is through schooling that migrants get acquainted with the host culture and define and redefine their social and individual identity (acculturation process), cumulate human capital (knowledge and skills), build their social capital, and then gradually improve their position in the host society, overcoming class divides. This is the so-called linear model of integration, where human and social capital are pivotal. According to this model, ethnic 'penalties' are expected to be 'progressively offset as education levels rise, elevating the newcomers to the conditions of the natives and reducing the social distance

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<sup>62</sup> Alba and Nee (1997).

between groups'.<sup>63</sup> The model was aimed at explaining the integration of migrants in Western societies, specifically migrants in the United States, and also explained how second-generation migrants, who typically enjoy the opportunity to enter the host country educational system at a young age, display better educational outcomes compared to first-generation migrants.<sup>64</sup>

This linear model of migrants' integration, however, presents several limitations. Here three main critiques corresponding to different approaches developed by scholars in the European context can be identified. First critique: the model does not account for the role of the institutions in the hosting country, in particular the educational system,<sup>65</sup> in favouring or hindering the integration process.<sup>66</sup> Second critique: the model does not account for discrimination in its hidden and explicit forms (the role of gate-keepers in the hosting societies can be played by institutions in a subtle manner or by individuals in an explicit manner), hindering the integration of ethnic minority groups.<sup>67</sup> Finally, a third, more radical critique can be raised about the underlying ethnocentric and nationalistic assumptions made<sup>68, 69</sup> when focusing on 'integration in the destination context' rather than on the migratory pathways: when reference is made to the country rather than to the individual social context of origin and arrival (both hardly coincide with the notion of country); and when the pasts of individuals and their life stories are neglected while the focus is solely on what happened after migration. In addition, ethnocentrism prevents scholars from considering the role of the human and social capital obtained by migrants independently from the arrival context and from what they cumulated before they left their context of origin or even continued to build in relation to it during their migration experience.<sup>70</sup>

The first critique corresponds to the development of the school integration context typology.<sup>71</sup> This approach keeps the optimistic standpoint about the role of education in migrants' integration although it raises doubts about the neutrality of the education institutions in the hosting country which may hinder the process. This theory makes an effort to explain why second-generation pupils obtain systematically poorer educational achievements compared to pupils from the hosting countries. In this vein, among several other results, the mechanisms of 'tracking' of students in pre-defined distinct educational paths for vocational schools or university was identified as one important obstacle to second-generation pupils' progresses in their education.<sup>72</sup>

The second critique corresponds to an antidiscrimination approach which questions the attitudes of the hosting society as a whole (individuals and institutions) towards newcomers and their descendants. It focuses on the so-called process of ethnicisation enacted at first by institutions of the host country and then by natives, which hinders acculturation,<sup>73</sup> thus preventing newcomers from fully integrating in society.<sup>74</sup> Ethnicisation hinders the full integration of newcomers in the host society from the

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<sup>63</sup> Fibbi, Midtbøen and Simon (2021): 8.

<sup>64</sup> De Paola and Brunello (2016).

<sup>65</sup> Ward (2001).

<sup>66</sup> Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2012).

<sup>67</sup> Fibbi, Midtbøen and Simon (2021).

<sup>68</sup> Guveli et al. (2016).

<sup>69</sup> Fitzgerald (2012).

<sup>70</sup> Zuccotti, Ganzeboom, and Guveli (2017).

<sup>71</sup> Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2012).

<sup>72</sup> Baysu, Alanya and de Valk (2018).

<sup>73</sup> Ward (2001).

<sup>74</sup> Fibbi, Midtbøen and Simon (2021).

schooling stage onwards. For example, if the attitudes of teachers and peers towards second-generation pupils prevent them from attaining results as good as those attained by natives.

The third critique corresponds to a focus on the dissimilation process from the cultural context of the origins rather than on the assimilation process to the arrival context,<sup>75</sup> to better understand the processes of inclusion of migrants.<sup>76</sup> The questions here are whether and how the process of abandonment of the culture of origin takes place and how it progresses. The comparative perspective is not only focused on the destination country but also on the origin country. It is not only on second-generation children but also on their parents and grandparents. Thus, the picture obtained is more complete and allows a more global view on educational attainments and on the migration phenomenon as a whole.

For all the approaches – the linear approach of integration, the antidiscriminatory approach and the dissimilation approach – the focus on achievements in education of migrants' descendants is essential to explore the connection between migrants and their host societies and the consequences for individuals, groups and societies as a whole.

### **3.2. Educational achievements of second-generation children in EU-27 Member States**

Second-generation children do not obtain achievements comparable to native children. These results emerge from an analysis of OECD-PISA data and from the academic literature. The results are presented in the following two subsections.

#### **3.2.1. Results from OECD-PISA data**

As a whole, the educational outcomes of children with a migrant background in the EU are not as good as natives' outcomes.<sup>77</sup> For instance, the share of early school leavers is higher among youth (aged 18 to 24) who are third-country nationals than among host-country citizens. OECD-PISA data (from 2015) points to worse educational achievements on average among second-generation children compared to natives, though sex-disaggregated data is not reported.<sup>78, 79</sup> These differences are in some Member States (like Denmark and France) explained to a large extent by socioeconomic differences whereas in other Member States (like Finland, Austria, Belgium and Portugal) it is not possible to identify specific factors. However, participation in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) seems to effectively support integration. According to OECD PISA data from 2018 across the EU, 77% of all children in immigrant households attended some type of preschool education and care compared with 81% among children in native households. Attendance rates among the children of immigrants are highest in Portugal, Belgium and Luxembourg, at over 90%. Gaps are much wider in Slovenia and France, where the children of immigrants are at least 10 percentage points less likely to attend early education. Finland stands out as the only country where they are in fact more likely – by a full 10 percentage points – to go to preschool than the children of the native-born.

Children of immigrants especially profit from attending formal childcare and pre-school services and continue to reap the benefits far beyond early childhood. Comparisons of the PISA reading scores of

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<sup>75</sup> Considered as a by-product of a nationalistic approach, based on ethnocentrism.

<sup>76</sup> Guveli et al. (2016).

<sup>77</sup> Eurostat (2016a).

<sup>78</sup> De Paola and Brunello (2016).

<sup>79</sup> OECD (2018c).

15-year-old students with immigrant parents and similar socioeconomic backgrounds show that those who attended preschool consistently achieve higher scores. Across the EU, the benefit of preschool is 55 points among the native-born children of immigrants – roughly equivalent to 1.5 school years. The corresponding benefit among native-born children of natives is 23 points (half a year of schooling). In Germany it is as high as two years among children of immigrants and 1.5 school years among their peers with native-born parents.

### 3.2.2. Academic analysis of educational achievements of second-generation migrants across ethnic groups

Academic researchers have examined data to identify the causes of the differences in educational performances between second-generation migrants and the population with a native descent. Among the various factors, proficiency in the host country language appears to be very relevant.<sup>80</sup> Other authors, assuming a psychosocial approach, focus on the social context of schools and on integration as a process, and identify explanatory factors of educational achievements in the sense of school belonging and the attitudes towards school. Multicultural policies, in particular, appear to support immigrant students to 'draw on their ethnic culture as well as the mainstream culture' to get the resources they need for better attainments. A cross-country comparative study<sup>81</sup> analysed Belgium and Finland as the countries most supportive to multiculturalism, Italy and Portugal as moderately supportive, and Denmark and Slovenia as not supportive. The results highlight the role of multiculturalism in supporting more effective integration.

Considering single ethnic groups, several studies on the Turkish minority showed variations across different countries in the educational disadvantage of second-generation pupils.<sup>82, 83, 84</sup> Turkish second-generation pupils in France and Sweden achieve very positive educational results: low early school leaving and a high share of individuals attaining third level degrees. But in Germany, Belgium and Austria, pupils from the same ethnic group and generation show the opposite results.

Another study of different ethnic groups was conducted in Italy,<sup>85</sup> on the expectations about education of second-generation pupils. It points to interesting differences among ethnic groups with pupils with Chinese, Moroccan, Macedonian and Indian backgrounds showing lower academic ambitions than all other groups and natives.

A French longitudinal research<sup>86</sup> compares second- and third-generation children's educational careers from primary school to tertiary-level education. It shows that children from Turkey and Africa have lower academic achievement than children of natives of the same social background, while the opposite is true for second-generation children from Southeast Asia and China.

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<sup>80</sup> Dustmann, Frattini, Lanzara (2012).

<sup>81</sup> Schachner, He, Heizmann and Van de Vijver (2017).

<sup>82</sup> Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2012);

<sup>83</sup> Baysu, Alanya and de Valk (2018).

<sup>84</sup> Zuccotti, Ganzeboom and Guveli (2017).

<sup>85</sup> Minello and Barban (2012)

<sup>86</sup> Ichou (2013).



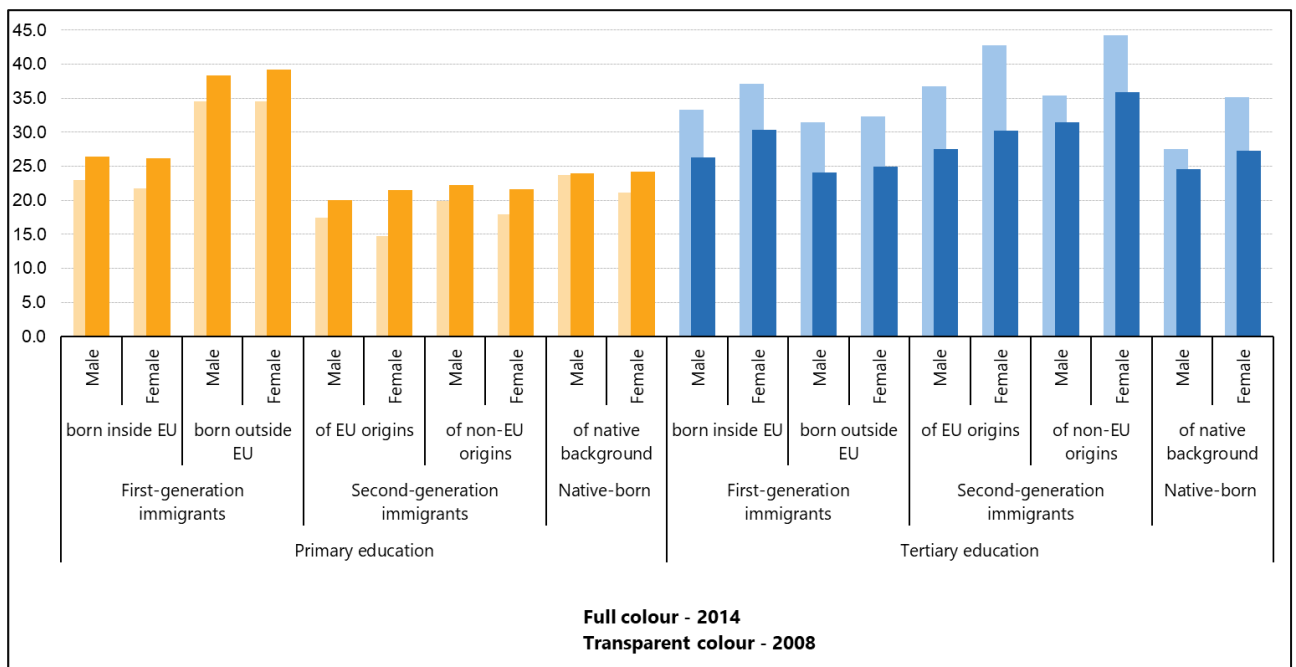
### 3.3. Eurostat and OECD data on gender gaps in the education of second-generation migrants

The situation in the Member States as regards gender gaps in the education of second-generation migrants is indicated through data from the Labour Force Survey collected in 2014 (an update is currently ongoing) and from the PISA OECD study.

#### 3.3.1. Eurostat data from 2014

Published data analysis by sex from the EU-LFS regular module conducted in 2014 refers to the highest level of education attained, pointing to higher attainment of women compared to men in the age group 25 to 54 over all educational levels. Focusing on tertiary attainment level, the difference is 'greatest among second-generation immigrants (6.1 pp for those of EU and 8.9 pp for those of non-EU origin) and lowest among first-generation immigrants born outside the EU (0.8 pp)'.<sup>87</sup> This result confirms results obtained in a previous similar survey conducted in 2008 showing for both women and men an increasing trend in the attainment for primary education and a worsening trend in tertiary education (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Proportion in total population of people in primary and tertiary education by migration status, migration background and sex, 25 to 54 age group, 2014, %



Source: Eurostat 2016.

Unfortunately, higher qualifications do not result in better jobs. Female tertiary graduates from second generations are 'more likely than their male counterparts to accept jobs for which a tertiary degree is not required'.<sup>88</sup> This is true for first-generation and second-generation immigrants though with a different magnitude. It is interesting to note that women are more aware than men of the phenomenon of overqualified workers. This is probably related to their higher educational level.

<sup>87</sup> Eurostat (2016a).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

### 3.3.2. Analysis of the OECD-PISA data

Gender differences in education in the EU for the whole population of students are well known. For instance, the EU-PISA study<sup>89</sup> which compared PISA data from 2015 and 2018 across the EU confirms gender differences in achievements of pupils in reading and mathematics. Girls strongly outperform boys in reading and boys slightly outperform girls in mathematics.<sup>90, 91, 92</sup> It is also well known that early school leaving is more frequent among boys than among girls.<sup>93</sup> This is confirmed by other studies such as research conducted in Italy<sup>94</sup> using 2005–2006 data which found that girls from second generations have higher educational goals than their male counterparts.

In Germany a study was conducted on national PISA data on early adolescents belonging in majority to the second or successive generations, with the sample mirroring the overall ethnic composition of German migration (71 countries of origin). However, it presented gender results without applying any ethnic disaggregation. The research investigated the reasons why boys show more difficulties than girls in adjusting to the mainstream social context and are more likely to 'lag behind their female age mates in academic achievement'<sup>95, 96</sup> as gender differences among pupils with a migrant background appear stronger. It revealed that in similar conditions, girls and boys show similar outcomes but that boys perceive forms of discrimination in the social context more often, which leads them to assume a weaker mainstream orientation in their acculturation process (getting acquainted to the culture of the hosting society) and therefore to having more behavioural problems.

Three questions arise. First, do results for the second-generation immigrant pupils differ by gender in the same direction as for the whole population of students? Second, is there any difference in the gender gap across ethnic groups? And third, do these differences across ethnic groups follow the same pattern recorded in the country of origin?

To answer the first question, scholarly results reveal that gender gaps in education performance of second-generation minorities often differ in magnitude from those recorded in the majority population of the same age group and educational level showing disadvantages, but rarely differ in their direction and that the gender gaps are similar for the various second-generation ethnic groups, mirroring that of the majority population<sup>97</sup>.

To answer the second and the third questions, variations in the gender gap across ethnic groups within the same country emerge, but results are mixed when these gender gaps are compared to the conditions in the country of origin. Some scholars found that gender gaps in the hosting country mirror to some extent the situation of the country of origin.<sup>98</sup> Other studies reveal that for specific ethnic groups, the gender gaps are to the advantage of women in the hosting countries while the gap is reversed (advantage of men) in the country of origin.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> EC (2019).

<sup>90</sup> EC (2018).

<sup>91</sup> EC (2019).

<sup>92</sup> Hippe and Jakubowski (2018).

<sup>93</sup> Eurostat (2019).

<sup>94</sup> Minello and Barban (2012).

<sup>95</sup> Feliciano (2012).

<sup>96</sup> Schachner, Van de Vijver and Noak (2016): 2.

<sup>97</sup> Fleischmann and Kristen (2014).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Bayrakdar and Guveli (2020).

### 3.3.3. Gender gaps in education by ethnic groups

In 2014 an intersectional and cross-country analysis of the educational achievements of second-generation migrants by gender and ethnic groups was conducted for several countries including EU Member States Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden.<sup>100</sup> It shows very interesting findings by ethnic groups, as can be seen below in Table 1. Other cross-country comparative studies, while considering both ethnicity and gender in the analysis, either do not disaggregate the final results by ethnicity<sup>101</sup> or adopt gender as an explanatory factor but do not show results comparing ethnicity to gender and country of residence<sup>102</sup>. For this reason, those studies did not produce relevant data for this current study.

Table 1: Educational achievements by gender, ethnic group and country

	African origin	Middle Eastern origin	Latin American origin	Asian origin
Academic achievement	Women show a higher level of achievements compared to their male counterparts across all countries of residence included in the study, with the exception of the Netherlands where the gender difference is not significant. African women in Finland have a significantly smaller female advantage in grades than do women in the ethnic majority population, while in Sweden, North Africans have a larger advantage.	Women show a higher level of achievements across countries of residence, with the exception of the Netherlands where the difference in academic achievement for women and men is not significant. Women from the West Asian minority in Sweden have significantly smaller advantage over men in grades when compared to the majority female population.	Women show a higher level of achievements compared to their male counterparts across all countries of residence included in the study, with the exception of the Netherlands where the gender difference is not significant. Women from the Chilean minority in Sweden have significantly smaller advantage over men in grades when compared to the majority female population.	Women show a higher level of achievements compared to their male counterparts across all countries of residence included in the study, with the exception of the Netherlands where the gender difference is not significant. Asian women in Finland have a significantly smaller female advantage in grades than do women in the ethnic majority population.
Upper secondary education: academic track or vocational?	A female advantage for the choice of the academic track is found in all countries. Women of African origins (particularly North Africa) in France show a	A female advantage for the choice of the academic track is found in all countries. A larger female advantage is found in Sweden.	A female advantage for the choice of the academic track is found in all countries.	A female advantage for the choice of the academic track is found in all countries.

<sup>100</sup> Fleischmann and Kristen (2014).

<sup>101</sup> Schachner, Van de Vijver and Noak (2016).

<sup>102</sup> EUROSTAT (2018); OECD (2018); EC (2018); EC (2019).

	African origin	Middle Eastern origin	Latin American origin	Asian origin
	significant advantage compared to their male counterparts in continuing full-time education.	Turks are the only group where girls were less likely to be in academic tracks than boys.		
Completion of upper secondary education	France and Sweden show a female advantage across all ethnic groups larger than that found in the majority population. In Belgium and the Netherlands, the advantage is the same as in the majority population but the Netherlands shows a smaller gap than other countries.	France and Sweden show a female advantage across all ethnic groups larger than that found in the majority population. In Belgium and the Netherlands, the advantage is the same as in the majority population but the Netherlands shows a smaller gap than in other countries.	France and Sweden show a female advantage across all ethnic groups larger than that found in the majority population. In Belgium and the Netherlands, the advantage is the same as in the majority population but the Netherlands shows a smaller gap than other countries.	France and Sweden show a female advantage across all ethnic groups larger than that found in the majority population. In Belgium and the Netherlands, the advantage is the same as in the majority population but the Netherlands shows a smaller gap than other countries.
Completion of tertiary education	In Belgium, female advantages go together with ethnic penalties among all second-generation groups. In the Netherlands, a female disadvantage is found.	In Belgium, female advantages go together with ethnic penalties among all second-generation groups. In the Netherlands, a female disadvantage is found. In Sweden, a female advantage is replicated in the ethnic group of Iranians but the advantage is significantly smaller than in the majority population. The Swedish results refer to enrolment, not the completion of tertiary education. In the Netherlands, the ethnic penalty is only significant for	In Belgium, female advantages go together with ethnic penalties among all second-generation groups. In the Netherlands, a female disadvantage is found.	In Belgium, female advantages go together with ethnic penalties among all second-generation groups. In the Netherlands, a female disadvantage is found. In Sweden, the majority population shows a female advantage in the completion of tertiary education, and this female advantage is even larger among second-generation East Asians. However, the Swedish results refer to enrolment, not the completion of tertiary education.

	African origin	Middle Eastern origin	Latin American origin	Asian origin
		the Turkish second generation; in light of the female disadvantage found here, this is a case of double female disadvantage.		

Source: Comments reported in the text of Fleischmann and Kristen (2014). ). The original study includes more details.

Several studies focused on the achievements of the Turk minority in different European countries (including EU-27 Member States) as this was one of the largest minorities in the EU prior to Brexit. Some of these studies report interesting gender-disaggregated results. The TIES study conducted between 2007 and 2008 in 15 European cities in 7 countries (for more details, see Paragraph 2.2.1) found no significant gender differences in the school outcomes of second-generation Turkish pupils, but found that in the city of Antwerp Moroccan females were doing significantly better than Moroccan male pupils. By comparing this result to previous results for the 1980s, the authors concluded that females have reached equal educational positions.<sup>103</sup>

The most recent and comprehensive scholarly gender analysis,<sup>104</sup> compares the results of Turkish ethnic groups in several Member States with the results of their peers in the country of origin. Turkish women in Europe are more likely to have tertiary education than their male counterparts. This result applies especially to second generations. The study compares the European sample to a matching sample in Turkey and finds that men in Turkey show higher educational levels than women. Across migrant generations, women's educational performance gradually improves (from the first to the second generation) by firstly catching up and then overcoming their male counterparts in the host countries.<sup>105</sup>

### 3.3.4. Mechanisms causing variations in gender gaps in education in ethnic minorities

Analysis of both gender and ethnic groups has been conducted, showing very interesting but mixed results as there are many factors involved. Relevant differences emerge by countries of destinations and ethnic groups<sup>106</sup> and gender is a relevant factor of differentiation.<sup>107</sup>

Several theories have been elaborated to explain the variations in gender gaps in education. Three theories seem particularly credible and are sometimes adopted in combination, as a more complex interpretative model.

First, the 'socialisation of gender roles' theory suggests that children acquire gender stereotypes and norms that prevail among their closer social contacts (the family of origin and the school<sup>108</sup>) and therefore the gender-biased expectations on children's abilities and relevant attitudes condition the actual abilities and attitudes children develop. Where the parents' influence is dominant, second-generation children show results that differ from those of the hosting society, while reproducing to

<sup>103</sup> Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2012).

<sup>104</sup> Bayrakdar and Guveli (2020).

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Crul, Schneider and Lelie (2012); Baysu, Alanya and de Valk (2018).

<sup>107</sup> Guveli et al. (2016).

<sup>108</sup> The family, the schools these children attend, their learning conditions and the peers with whom they interact.

some extent those of the country of origin. Where the institutions' influence prevails, second-generation pupils show results closer to those of native children.

Second, the theory of 'differentiated female returns from education' relates to the family's role in influencing choices about girls' education. This factor creates a difference in the expected returns from female education between origin and destination countries. The opportunities of improving the socioeconomic conditions of the family would operate as an incentive to abandon the traditional gender role models and embrace the role models of female emancipation (education and labour market participation).

A third approach points to 'selectivity of migration' as a cause of these variations. According to this theory, a positive attitude towards the values of host society prevails among migrants either because they are the most educated and/or the more open to host countries' values and beliefs. Therefore they are more inclined to promote education among girls.

## 4. GEOGRAPHICAL POLARISATION OF WOMEN

- Comparable data across the EU-27 on residency and living conditions by gender and ethnicity is lacking. Information concerning the residential and spatial segregation of second- and third-generation migrant women is scarce, with scientific literature and policy documents mostly focused on the housing and living conditions of first-generation migrants and protection status holders. The only available gender-disaggregated data provides some useful suggestions on the situation of second-generation migrants in EU Member States but concerns migrants' descendants as a whole without distinguishing them by ethnic groups.
- There is a clear preference of all migrants including second-generation migrants to live in large cities, while natives from native parentage show a homogeneous distribution across large cities, towns and rural areas. This is likely to be related with the perception of more employment opportunities. Within urban areas, segregation is higher in towns than in large cities.
- In 2013 the overcrowding rate and the housing cost overburden rate were added to the Zaragoza integration indicators. According to 2016 EU-SILC data, third-country nationals – a subgroup that can also include second- and third-generation migrants who have not obtained the nationality of the country of residence – are three times less likely to be homeowners. They have suffered a relevant housing cost overburden rate increase from 2013 to 2014 and are still exposed to discrimination in access to the housing market, thus reinforcing segregation and undermining social and spatial inclusion.
- Residential segregation of ethnic minorities and non-EU migrants is a topic increasingly analysed by academia and the subject of policy debate in Europe. Residential segregation can compromise social cohesion in cities as well as individuals' opportunities in terms of access to and integration into the labour market, educational outcomes, and civic participation. The reasons for segregation of ethnic minorities and the immigrant population are mostly economic factors (housing prices, position in the labour market, location of job opportunities), demographic factors (suburbanisation and ageing process), and ethnic motivations (informal networks of mutual support).
- Segregation in cities is an often-investigated issue. However, segregation can occur anywhere and is, therefore, also visible in small towns and rural settlements. A recent study found that the highest levels of residential segregation are recorded in minor urban areas, compared to larger metropolitan areas. Another study revealed a relationship between spatial segregation and the fertility behaviour of second-generation women, pointing to the influence of exposure to a native normative environment during childhood on fertility behaviour.

### 4.1. Where do these women live? Urban and rural contexts of second and third generations of women

As stressed in other sections of this study, there is a systematic lack of EU-27 comparable data and information concerning the living conditions and residential localisation of second- and third-generation migrants.<sup>109</sup> This information gap is even more severe if breakdown by gender and ethnicity is considered. This is a very relevant knowledge gap that does not allow for proper policy design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation in any policy area, including urban planning. Available

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<sup>109</sup> However, data on the foreign population – defined as not citizens of an EU Member State who may have migrated into their country of current residence or may have been born there – may also include third-country citizens born in the EU, thus allowing for the definition of this subsample as second-generation migrants.

data on the overall conditions provides some suggestions on the conditions of second-generation migrants in the EU including but not specifically on women.

In 2011 Eurostat released statistical data describing the living conditions of first- and second-generation migrants in the EU. This data includes information on housing conditions and overcrowding on second- and third-generation migrants not distinguished by ethnic groups. In 2008, 19% of nationals and 27% of foreign citizens residing in the EU faced a shortage of space in their housing. When it comes to third-country nationals, 31% of them lived in overcrowded housing. The largest overcrowding rate differences between the foreign and national population (20 percentage points and more) were noted in Slovenia, Austria, Greece, France, Portugal and Estonia. In almost all Member States, overcrowding was closely connected to a low income level.

In 2016,<sup>110</sup> Eurostat released explanatory statistics on first- and second-generations of migrants in the EU, including data on the degree of urbanisation. The report stressed the tendency of the immigrant population to settle in urban environments where labour markets are larger and infrastructure (e.g. hospitals, schools, universities and commodities) is better consolidated. In 2014, about 61.3% of immigrants of non-EU background were living in cities as opposed to 24.7% in towns and 13.9% in rural areas. A little more than half of each generation (56.3% of the first generation and 53.1% of the second generation) was settled in cities. This preference is even more glaring if the native-born EU population is considered. At the EU level, the native-born population with a native background is distributed more or less proportionally across the three areas, with only a very slight preference for cities (38.5% in cities, 30.5% in towns and 31% in rural areas).

Segregation in cities is an often-investigated issue but data by single ethnic group is not available. This is because migrants settle mostly in urban areas. According to recent data,<sup>111</sup> non-nationals in Belgium represent 33% of the population in Brussels but just 11% of the national population. Of Munich's population 38% has a migrant background compared to 20% in the whole of Germany. Moreover, about half of the city of Rotterdam is composed of allochthonous people (a person living in the Netherlands but born in a foreign country and who had at least one parent also born abroad) compared to 21% in the Netherlands as a whole. Such a high incidence of ethnic minorities has resulted in pressure on municipal authorities to respond to these groups' needs by introducing specific policies and measures that are different from those adopted at the national level.

However, segregation can occur anywhere and is, therefore, also visible in small towns and rural settlements, as pointed out by some recent studies.<sup>112, 113</sup> In fact, a recent research found that the highest levels of residential segregation are recorded in minor urban areas, compared to larger metropolitan areas.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, according to researchers in the field, residents of large cities show more positive attitudes toward immigration.<sup>115</sup> Contrarily, outside large cities and in rural areas, residents are more likely to consider immigrants as threats and to support restrictive immigration

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<sup>110</sup> See Eurostat. EU immigrant population by degree of urbanisation. Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=First\\_and\\_second-generation\\_immigrants\\_-\\_statistics\\_on\\_main\\_characteristics&oldid=473453#EU\\_immigrant\\_population\\_by\\_degree\\_of\\_urbanisation](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=First_and_second-generation_immigrants_-_statistics_on_main_characteristics&oldid=473453#EU_immigrant_population_by_degree_of_urbanisation)

<sup>111</sup> Gebhardt (2014).

<sup>112</sup> Lichter, Parisi and Taquino (2012).

<sup>113</sup> Östh, Malmberg and Andersson (2014).

<sup>114</sup> Benassi et al. (2020).

<sup>115</sup> Brownstein (2016).



policies or to agree only to policies that permit immigration from neighbouring 'culturally compatible' countries.<sup>116, 117</sup>

The reasons for this difference in the approach to ethnic minorities and immigration can be grouped into two explanatory categories:<sup>118</sup> i) the contextual effect, which implies that residents of big cities are more exposed to high population density environments and to immigrants, and this may make them more likely to have positive immigration attitudes, and ii) the compositional effect, which focuses on the type of people that generally live in big cities, as opposed to small towns and rural areas. In this respect, highly educated people and professionals might opt for big cities, and these subjects are considered to be more likely to have positive attitudes towards immigration. Moreover, the compositional effect also matters in terms of people with pro-immigration attitudes being more likely to opt for big cities with cultural environments and attitudes that suit their preferences.

In 2013, the overcrowding rate as well as the housing cost overburden rate (i.e. the population share living in households that spend more than 40% of disposable income on housing) were added to the integration Zaragoza indicators<sup>119</sup> agreed by Member States in 2010. In 2016,<sup>120</sup> the Commission, based on EU-SILC data, reported that third-country nationals – a subgroup that can also include second- and third-generation migrants who have not obtained the nationality of the country of residence – were three times less likely to be homeowners. Moreover, they had suffered a relevant housing cost overburden rate increase from 2013 to 2014 and were still exposed to discrimination in access to the housing market, which negatively impacted their already disadvantaged position, reinforced segregation, and undermined social and spatial inclusion.

## 4.2. The situation within urban contexts: marginalisation and segregation of the target population

Residential segregation can be defined as the strong presence of a social (or ethnic group) in specific spatial units together with a relatively low presence in others.<sup>121</sup> It is the projection of social structures and inequalities – such as socioeconomic position, education, housing and political representation – onto space.<sup>122</sup> Residential segregation reflects the increasing socio-spatial inequalities in European cities and their impact on the possibilities for fostering social cohesion.<sup>123</sup>

Residential segregation of ethnic minorities and non-EU migrants is a topic increasingly analysed by academia and the subject of policy debate in Europe, both at the national<sup>124</sup> and at the subnational/local level.<sup>125</sup> The aim of these studies is mostly to assess which factors influence the

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<sup>116</sup> Gest (2016).

<sup>117</sup> Ford and Goodwin (2014).

<sup>118</sup> Maxwell (2019).

<sup>119</sup> EC (2010).

<sup>120</sup> See European Web Site on Integration (2016).

<sup>121</sup> Massey and Denton (1988).

<sup>122</sup> Cassiers and Kesteloor (2012).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> See for instance: Andersson et al. (2018).

<sup>125</sup> Some examples: Musterd and van Kempen (2009) and Musterd et al. (2015).

polarisation of ethnic communities in specific spatial units, and the impact of this segregation on the urban fabric and on the social inclusion of such groups.

Residential segregation can compromise social cohesion in cities<sup>126</sup> as well as individuals' opportunities in terms of access to and integration into the labour market,<sup>127</sup> educational outcomes<sup>128</sup> and civic participation<sup>129</sup>.

According to the research in this field, the reasons for segregation of ethnic minorities and the immigrant population mostly refer to three categories:<sup>130</sup> i) economic factors relating to housing prices, the position of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the labour market and the location of job opportunities, ii) demographic factors concerning the processes of suburbanisation and the ageing of the native populations, and iii) factors related to ethnic motivations for concentration in specific areas, such as the necessity to rely on informal networks of mutual support. Moreover, segregation can result in an increase of the visibility of specific areas and, consequently, to the possible stigmatisation of such areas which can hinder the integration of the dwellers. This is connected to the so-called "neighbourhood effect",<sup>131</sup> which is the impact of segregation on the expectations, opportunities and living conditions of residents.

National-level analysis is crucial to capture the effect of macro-variables – such as welfare regimes and housing policies – on residential segregation. In a 2007 study, researchers compared patterns of segregation in 16 European countries clustered depending on different welfare regimes. The study concluded that welfare policies are pivotal to determine segregation.<sup>132</sup> More specifically, cities in 'corporatist welfare systems' have the lowest levels of spatial segregation because of their 'unitary' or 'integrated' rental systems. In contrast, cities in 'liberal welfare states' have the highest degree of segregation due to a dualist rental system.<sup>133</sup>

The availability of housing and opportunities for different ethnic minority groups to consequently have access to housing are important drivers of ethnic segregation. The social rental sector is not equally distributed across urban space.<sup>134</sup> This can result in ethnic segregation due to the fact that migrants are overrepresented in lower socioeconomic strata and that groups with a low socioeconomic status are overrepresented in the social rental sector. In this respect, ethnic and socioeconomic segregation often overlap, meaning that ethnic minorities or migrants are clustered in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and experience deprivation.<sup>135</sup> If public policies and societal trends are investigated at a micro-level, discrimination at the societal level in the labour market and in the housing market can result in residential segregation. Moreover, ethnic minorities often rely on their community in terms of networks and preferences, and this pattern might influence residential choices. Thus, ethnic communities that

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<sup>126</sup> Cassiers and Kesteloor (2012).

<sup>127</sup> Andersson (2004).

<sup>128</sup> Andersson and Malmberg (2015).

<sup>129</sup> Kühn (2015).

<sup>130</sup> Galeano and Bayona-i-Carrasco (2018).

<sup>131</sup> van Ham et al. (2012).

<sup>132</sup> Arbaci (2007).

<sup>133</sup> Dualist rental systems are ones where public housing is restricted to low-income households, whereas social housing competes with private renting in unitary rental systems. Andersson et al. (2018).

<sup>134</sup> Musterd et al. (2015).

<sup>135</sup> Costa and de Valk (2018).

exchange and share culture, religion and language are more inclined to also share information on housing and job opportunities.<sup>136</sup>

As stressed in the other sections of this study, information concerning the residential and spatial segregation of second- and third-generation migrant women is scarce, with scientific literature and policy documents mostly focused on the housing and living conditions of first-generation migrants and protection status holders. As reported in Section 5.1, available statistics mainly focus on the incidence of the immigrant population in urban settings, compared to both the native population and rural settings.

Evidence suggests that migrants who settled decades ago slowly started to get embedded in new cultural and continuously changing environments. Moreover, economic and social indicators reveal that the gap between former immigrants and those who settled in cities generations ago – as guest workers or proceeding from rural contexts – is declining, thus pushing segregation down.<sup>137</sup> One recent study focusing on residential segregation of ethnic minorities in some Belgian cities,<sup>138</sup> pointed out that non-European migrants in deprived conditions are concentrated in specific neighbourhoods characterised by bottom-quality dwellings from the residual private rental market. According to the research, these are the same neighbourhoods where non-European labour migrants from the first migration waves settled, meaning that these neighbourhoods continue to attract new migrants over the decades.<sup>139</sup>

Another recent study<sup>140</sup> attempted to consider residential segregation as an explanatory factor for fertility differences between native and migrant women. The study suggested that the magnitude of these differences might be influenced by the strength of exposure to a native or non-native normative environment, measured as the population composition of an individual's childhood community. In this respect, the researchers investigated whether migrant fertility differences decreased if second-generation migrant women had spent their childhood residing in a community that has a predominantly native population.

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Musterd and van Kempen (2009).

<sup>138</sup> Costa and de Valk (2018).

<sup>139</sup> Sleutjes, Ooijevaar and de Valk (2019).

<sup>140</sup> Wilson and Kuha (2018).

## 5. FAMILY AND MARITAL PATTERNS OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATIONS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE EU

- There is no official EU-27 comparable data on second-generation migrant women by ethnic minority groups. However, the marital choices of migrants and ethnic minorities – cohabitation or marriage – have been a particular subject of attention in academic literature as they are considered a pivotal benchmark for integration.
- The available literature identifies two different typologies of marital unions involving migrants: intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic. Inter-ethnic unions are unions between someone from a native background and someone from an ethnic group. Inter-ethnic marital unions are considered a positive sign of integration in the host society. Intra-ethnic unions are between two people from the same ethnic group. Intra-ethnic marriages are deemed an indicator of poor integration, as they could be a strategy to preserve the culture of origin (particularly the religious tradition), hindering the integration process. This categorisation, however, does not capture the complexity of marital choices across generations (second and third generations of migrants' descendants).
- In the framework of transnationalism, marriages can be viewed by the migrant family as a tool to strengthen the social relations in the country of origin and, at the same time, a useful way for the family of the spouse in the country of origin for one family member to migrate via the 'family reunification procedure'. Several studies reveal that transnational inter-ethnic marriages are more common among ethnic groups with Islamic religious traditions (for instance, Turkish, Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian, Punjabi Sikh, Pakistani and Albanian) than among ethnic groups with Christian religious traditions.
- Gender differences are of crucial relevance in transnational marriages. These differences are due to gender roles as defined in every society and with individual agency<sup>141</sup> within this role. Religious traditions in defining gender roles are often considered an important topic to investigate when it comes to transnational marriages, since observed patterns<sup>142</sup> can be found in transnational marriages and religious affiliation. A study conducted in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden shows that men opt for transnational marriage with poorly educated women while women choose highly educated men for the same purpose.
- However, research on Turkish second-generation migrants has also pointed out that the phenomenon of transnational intra-ethnic marriage is declining due to the progress of integration, individualisation and the major risks of these marriages failing compared to inter-ethnic marriages in the community of the host country.
- Another relevant topic is fertility. A study points out that among second-generation women from Morocco, Turkey, the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname living in the Netherlands the inter-generational transmission of preferences for the timing of the first marriage and motherhood is strong and that religious traditions and education affect it.
- Several empirical studies covering the labour market and education, have adopted marital choice (inter-ethnic, inter-ethnic transnational and intra-ethnic) and/or the timing of marriage and childbirth as indicators of integration. They show that for second-generation women of Moroccan and Turkish origin in Belgium, the educational and career disadvantages prior to childbirth are the causes of labour market abandonment after maternity.

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<sup>141</sup> In social sciences agency indicates the capacity of individuals to act independently making their own choices. Agency is shaped by structure (recurrent patterns of normative behaviours/institutions) and therefore is defined in opposition to this concept.

<sup>142</sup> Patterns indicates regularities in individuals and social behaviours.

- Finally, concerning divorce, a recent study from Belgium reveals that divorces have doubled in the last 15 years with local intra-ethnic marriages showing the lowest divorce rate (among Turks and Moroccans), mixed marriages the highest, and transnational marriages in the middle position.

## 5.1. Introductory concepts

Migration gives rise to very complex constellations of ethnic groups in modern societies. Poor integration among these groups is considered a threat to social cohesion. Therefore, integration is conceived as a desirable policy objective by policymakers and adopted as the main interpretive lens by scholars in this field of research. Integration is sought in all aspects of individuals' lives and communities' behaviours. Marital choices (cohabitation or marriage) have been a particular subject of attention as they are considered a pivotal benchmark for integration.<sup>143</sup> The formation of families of second-generation migrants has been the subject of several sociological studies, as the process of integration is supposed to develop and expand across generations.<sup>144</sup>

The literature identifies different typologies of marital unions involving migrants: intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic. The inter-ethnic marital unions are considered a positive sign of integration in the host culture and society while the intra-ethnic marriages would point to poor integration as they would be a strategy to preserve the culture of origin (particularly the religious tradition) and in turn would also hinder the integration process.

However, this categorisation does not capture the complexity of marital choices across generations (second and third generations of migrants' descendants) as different points of view can be assumed in analysing them.<sup>145</sup> For instance, two partners from two distinct ethnic groups who were born and bred in the same hosting country (second generation) might be considered a couple of different origins or a mixed couple or defined as an interethnic couple. Another example: when second-generation descendants marry people from the country of origin, these marriages are defined as intra-ethnic and sometimes are also further identified as intra-ethnic and transnational (see Section 1.2.2).

In the framework of transnationalism, as described in Chapter 1 of this study, marriages are viewed by the migrant family as a tool to strengthen social relations in the country of origin since these relations are weakened by distance.<sup>146</sup> At the same time, transnational marriages are also convenient for the family of the spouse in the country of origin, as they offer the opportunity for one member to migrate via the 'family reunification procedure'.

## 5.2. EU-27 comparable data analysis

To introduce the topic, Eurostat data from 2014<sup>147</sup> is presented (see Section 2 for more details), referring to:

- Native background households
- EU background households
- Non-EU background households
- Mixed background households.

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<sup>143</sup> Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2007).

<sup>144</sup> Eggebø, and Brekke (2018).

<sup>145</sup> Castles (2010).

<sup>146</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007).

<sup>147</sup> See Eurostat (2016b).

Information by ethnic groups is not included (as detailed in Section 3).

The data shows that the large majority of immigrant households, 76.3%, includes only native-born adults, 9% refers to households with EU migration origins and another 9% is composed of households with non-EU migration origins. The remaining households, almost 5%, are of mixed background. Among households with at least one adult with foreign origins, 40% are households with adults of EU origins, another 40% are households with adults of non-EU origin, and the remaining 20% of households are of mixed origin.

Second-generation immigrant adults represent 17.9% of 'non-EU background households'. The 10% of 'non-EU background households' consisted of first- or second-generation immigrants with a non-EU background. The 'second-generation immigrant households' make up the largest proportion of 'single adult households', 71%, while the largest proportion of 'couples with children' (46.2%) is found among households of mixed background. The largest proportion of 'single adults without children' (53.2%) is noted among 'second-generation immigrant households', who are likely to be younger.

Around half of 'mixed households' in the EU includes only native-born adults, so in practice they are second generation. 'Long-term settled households' (i.e. 10 years and over) is the most prevalent category among households including both first- and second-generation immigrant adults (83.6%).

Unfortunately, the data available is not sufficient to draw a comprehensive picture of the situation of families of second-generation immigrants in the EU-27 by ethnic group and gender. The remaining part of Section 6 will include a review of the available academic literature.

### 5.3. Transnational marriages

Gender-relevant differences emerge when it comes to the relations among the transnational spouses already at the engagement stage. These differences are due to gender roles as defined in every society and with the individual agency within this role.<sup>148</sup> If a woman lives in a patriarchal culture where the gendered division of labour (men are the breadwinners and women are responsible for family care) still prevails, marrying a second-generation man and moving to the host country can appear to her to be an opportunity to enjoy more freedom. For her spouse, the marriage can be seen as guaranteeing a wife with lower expectations about equality and a partner who will preserve the patriarchal traditional culture within the forming family (future third-generation children), despite the more egalitarian models prevailing in the host society.<sup>149</sup>

For men of the country of origin, marrying a second-generation woman can represent the opportunity to migrate and so improve his social position in the country of origin, while for the woman, marrying a man from the country of origin can offer the opportunity to set the power balance within the couple in her favour.<sup>150</sup> Sometimes, the expectations of the two spouses in this type of transnational marriage are too different, resulting in marriage disruption or even in cases of domestic violence. Finally, religious traditions in defining gender roles are often considered as an important topic to investigate when it comes to transnational marriages, since observed patterns can be seen in transnational marriages and religious affiliation.

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<sup>148</sup> Pessar and Mahler (2003).

<sup>149</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007).

<sup>150</sup> Apitzsch (2018).

Transnational marriage is more common among second-generation men and women from countries of Islamic tradition, while it is rare among ethnic communities' members from countries of Christian tradition.<sup>151, 152, 153</sup> This type of marriage is viewed as problematic for the integration process in the host country, as marrying a partner who is a first-generation migrant takes the second-generation partner as well as the whole new family a step back in the integration process.<sup>154</sup> In addition, these marriages are often considered 'arranged' by relatives or even confused with 'forced marriages'.<sup>155</sup> In some countries, they can simply be a way to bend immigration regulations. Given all these assumptions, this type of marriage is seen by institutions in several European countries as a negative development.<sup>156, 157,</sup>  
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A study on Turkish, Moroccan, Tunisian, Algerian, Punjabi Sikh, Pakistani and Albanian migrant communities in Belgium<sup>159</sup> found that motivations for transnational marriage include parents' expectations about preserving culture and religious tradition and that therefore intra-ethnic marriage is favoured. This is accompanied by the 'dissatisfaction with the image of potential partners' living in the ethnic community of the host country (conditioned by stereotypes: girls are too emancipated and men are too lazy and poorly educated) as 'opposed to an idealised image of partners living in the country of origin'.<sup>160</sup> However, the research found that despite this strong conditioning, individuals still enjoy freedom of choice by developing their personal strategies.

Another Belgian study,<sup>161</sup> on the Turkish minority, revealed that these marriages are declining in number and not only because of the more restrictive regulations on family reunifications that were introduced in Belgium and other European countries at the end of the first decade of the millennium,<sup>162</sup> but also as a result of a change of perspective in the partners' choices. This change is triggered by several converging conditions. First, 'awareness of the problems and risks involved in transnational marriages' among young Turkish Belgians, regardless of gender and educational attainment. Second, premarital relationships make transnational marriages less attractive because young people may already have found a local co-ethnic partner by the time they reach a marriageable age. And third, the increasingly minor role of the parents in the partner choice of their offspring gives children the chance to choose a partner according to their own preferences'.<sup>163</sup> Local marriages are also favoured as they give more opportunities for upward social mobility and offer a more balanced distribution of power within the couple.

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<sup>151</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007).

<sup>152</sup> González-Ferrer (2010).

<sup>153</sup> Carol, Ersanilli, and Wagner (2014).

<sup>154</sup> Casier et al. (2013).

<sup>155</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007).

<sup>156</sup> Beck-Gernsheim (2007).

<sup>157</sup> Casier et al. (2013).

<sup>158</sup> Liversage, A. and Rytter, M. (2015).

<sup>159</sup> Casier et al. (2013).

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.: 469.

<sup>161</sup> Van Kerckem et al. (2013).

<sup>162</sup> The authors stress this aspect as it renders the regulation a worthless threat to human rights.

<sup>163</sup> Van Kerckem et al. (2013): 1030.

## 5.4. Marital choices of second-generation migrants as integration indicators

Several empirical studies covering the labour market, education, timing of marriage and childbirth have adopted marital choice (inter-ethnic, inter-ethnic transnational and intra-ethnic) as the main indicator of integration. Some examples are reported in this section.

### 5.4.1. Labour market participation

Studies conducted in Denmark<sup>164, 165, 166</sup> highlight the relationship between marriage and integration, showing that both inter-ethnic couples (a second-generation individual who marries a native) or intra-ethnic couples among second-generation individuals living in the same country are better integrated into the labour market than transnational inter-ethnic couples. This research shows that children from the first two types of marriages obtain better educational results than children from couples of the third type.

A study conducted in Belgium investigated how second-generation women from Morocco and Turkey are affected by marriage and childbirth in their labour market participation, and compared these results with similar first-generation migrant women and Belgian origin women.<sup>167</sup> The study indicates that socio-demographic characteristics and educational and career disadvantages prior to childbirth are the causes of the larger increase in inactivity rate among women from the second generation (which is, however, inferior compared to that of first-generation migrant women) compared to Belgian origin women after childbirth.

### 5.4.2. Children's education

The educational results of children of Turkish-born couples have been studied in Germany.<sup>168</sup> According to this analysis, children born from inter-ethnic marriages obtain better results compared to children born from intra-ethnic transnational marriages where the mother is a first-generation migrant. The latter show the worst educational performance. The study draws attention to the economic and social resources the family can access and the parents' language skills, which appear as the main causes of these educational outcomes. However, the relation between inter-ethnic marriages and integration is not linear. Inter-ethnic marriages might be undermined by prejudices and discrimination which these type of families are more prone to experience. This may trigger tension and conflicts among family members and even hinder the integration process of family members in society.<sup>169, 170</sup>

Other studies on Turks and Moroccans, including an international comparative study covering Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden,<sup>171, 172</sup> indicate that second-generation men from these ethnic groups are more likely to marry women from the country of origin when they are poorly educated, while women with similar characteristics (second-generation Moroccans and Turks)

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<sup>164</sup> Çelikaksoy-Mortensen and Aycan (2006).

<sup>165</sup> Çelikaksoy and Aycan (2007).

<sup>166</sup> Çelikaksoy and Aycan (2016).

<sup>167</sup> Kil et al. (2018).

<sup>168</sup> Becker (2011).

<sup>169</sup> Leen Sterckx (2015).

<sup>170</sup> Rodríguez-García (2015).

<sup>171</sup> González-Ferrer (2010).

<sup>172</sup> Carol, Ersanilli, and Wagner (2014).



are more likely to marry men from the country of origin when they are well educated. In both cases, religiosity seems to play an important role in the partner choice.

#### 5.4.3. Timing of family formation

Another perspective on family formation investigates preferences about its timing. A study was conducted in the Netherlands on young boys and girls from Morocco, Turkey, the Antilles and Suriname about their timing preferences for girls to leave their home, the future marriage of girls, and the timing of children's births.<sup>173</sup> This study explored how attitudes of parents can influence children's preferences and how the preferences of each group differ from those of Dutch young people, assuming this gap as an indicator of integration. The study concluded that transmission occurs between parents and children, showing that integration is a slow process. The transmission of preferences across generations is stronger for the timing of women's marriage and entry into motherhood, while it is weaker for women's age to leave the parental home. The study also investigated the factors that influence this pattern of preferences and concluded that education and religion affect it. 'Children from highly educated families and children from non-religious families prefer to postpone marriage and parenthood compared to children from families with little educational attainment and strong religious involvement'.<sup>174</sup>

The study also provides demographic data on the real preferences of adults as mirrored in their actual behaviour, revealing that Turks and Moroccans marry and have children at a younger age than Dutch young adults, while women from Suriname and the Antilles rarely get married and their age at marriage is higher than natives. The age of women from these ethnic groups at childbearing is lower compared to natives but higher than that among Moroccans and Turks. Parents in all ethnic groups prefer 'older ages for leaving home and younger ages for marriage and childbearing than their children'.<sup>175</sup> There is lower agreement between non-native parents and children than between native Dutch parents and children about the age for a woman to leave the parental home. The opposite was found about woman's age at marriage. There was consensus between parents and children belonging to the same ethnic group on the preferred ages for women at childbearing.

The study also found ethnic differences in timing preferences. Compared to Dutch adults, Turkish and Moroccan young adults indicate older ages for women to leave the parental home and much younger ages for women's marriage and entry into motherhood. The differences between native Dutch and Surinamese and Antillean young adults are smaller, with the exception of the age of motherhood. Compared to their parents, young generations from all ethnic groups prefer a later age for marrying and having children.

In a later study, the authors further expanded their research for the Moroccan and Turkish ethnic groups in the Netherlands using the Dutch data set from the survey TIES (see Section 2.2.1).<sup>176</sup> They investigated how social integration affects marital and childbirth choices of young second-generation people by considering the impact of different kinds of social relations: the parent-child relation (already analysed in the previous research) and the child-peer relation. Furthermore, they distinguished between weak and strong types of social relations so as to differentiate the type of influence that acquaintances on the one hand and close friends on the other might have on second-generation

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<sup>173</sup> De Valk And Liefbroer (2007).

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.: 203.

<sup>175</sup> De Valk And Liefbroer (2007): 198.

<sup>176</sup> Huschek, Valk and Liefbroer (2011).

youth<sup>177</sup> as regards the timing of cohabitation and marriage and childbirth. The results of the study for both ethnic groups show that 'contact with non-co-ethnic peers affects union formation choices both through strong and weak ties'.<sup>178</sup> Having many Dutch native friends and among them some very good friends in secondary school influences the age of cohabitation and marriage, while weak ties do not have any impact. This is especially the case for Turkish second generations while Moroccan second generations appear less influenced by strong ties with native peers. Some individual characteristics also especially impact Turks (being a man, young, well-educated and with a highly educated mother). For both ethnic groups, cohabitation instead of marriage and a partner from another ethnic group (including Dutch natives) is more probable among second-generation youth with stronger ties with Dutch natives. Weak ties have some influence on the timing of first unions and marriage but not on the choice between marriage and cohabitation or on the ethnicity of the partner. Educational achievement is also a factor that affects marital choices, particularly for girls. The higher their education the longer they delay marriage.

However, the study is not able to disentangle the direction of the relation. Do young people have different attitudes about marital choices because they have strong ties with Dutch natives, or is it the other way around?

#### 5.4.4. Divorce

A study on divorce among second generations of Turks and Moroccans was conducted in Belgium, revealing very interesting results about second generations' propensity to divorce.<sup>179</sup> The study differentiated on the one hand between transnational marriages, local intra-ethnic marriages and mixed marriages with someone with Belgian or other Western-European citizenship, and on the other hand between first- and second-generation migrants and gender. Results pointed to a doubling of divorces in these communities between 2004 and 2019. The authors identified several possible causes: the individualisation process which eroded the importance of marriage as an institution, the increase in divorce rates in the countries of origin, and an increase in the labour force participation of women (which especially applies to Moroccan women).

In addition, the researchers noticed that 'local intra-ethnic marriages have the lowest divorce levels, mixed marriages the highest, and transnational marriages are found in a middle position'. The authors explain the results for mixed and transnational marriages with the different 'cultural traditions' that partners have and the stability of local intra-ethnic marriages with 'cultural similarities' and 'parental support'. Gender differences emerged for mixed marriages. Men from both ethnic groups in mixed marriages were more likely to divorce than women in similar conditions.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Granovetter (1983).

<sup>178</sup> Huschek, Valk and Liefbroer (2011): 798

<sup>179</sup> Dupont et al. (2020).

<sup>180</sup> Dupont et al. (2020): 634.

## 6. EMPLOYMENT

- Similar to the other policy areas, employment data disaggregated by sex and ethnic groups is not available and the results discussed refer to available literature and studies.
- A 2019 Eurofound study on migrants reveals that second-generation migrants from non-EU Member States have worse employment performance than natives, while this is not the case for second-generation migrants from EU Member States. Women show the lowest employment rates (below 45% in 6 Member States) even if they show higher levels of education compared to their male counterparts.
- Second-generation migrants outperform first-generation migrants in the quality of their work, although they are more likely to be in stressful occupations and to work on precarious contracts (for both women and men) than natives. Their probability of working in the public sector is equal to that of natives with native parentage. Second-generation women are more likely than natives to couple their first job with a second job to obtain sufficient earnings.
- Different forms of discrimination are experienced more commonly (by 5% according to Eurofound) by second-generation migrants (especially men) than by natives with native parentage although the risk of being discriminated against is half compared to their parents.
- Language proficiency (especially reading and writing) might be an issue for labour market participation on an equal footing for second-generation migrants compared to natives with native parentage.
- When ethnic groups and gender are considered, North African origins and Asian women migrants are the most disadvantaged subgroups, and their descendants (second and even third generations) continue to show these disadvantages. Both men and women have a higher risk of unemployment (those of Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese ethnicity in the countries where these ethnic groups are more present).
- There is no consensus about the impact of the reasons for migrating on labour market achievements of migrants' descendants. Some studies point to an advantage of asylum seekers compared to economic migrants, others point to a disadvantage.
- The impact of parenthood on second-generation migrant women's employment is still an area that is not investigated. A Belgian study reveals that these women are less likely to continue working after motherhood and that this is due to the lower attachment of women to work before becoming mothers. The authors call for policies to foster more involvement of second-generation women in employment.

### 6.1. The situation of labour-market integration of second and third generations of migrant women in the EU

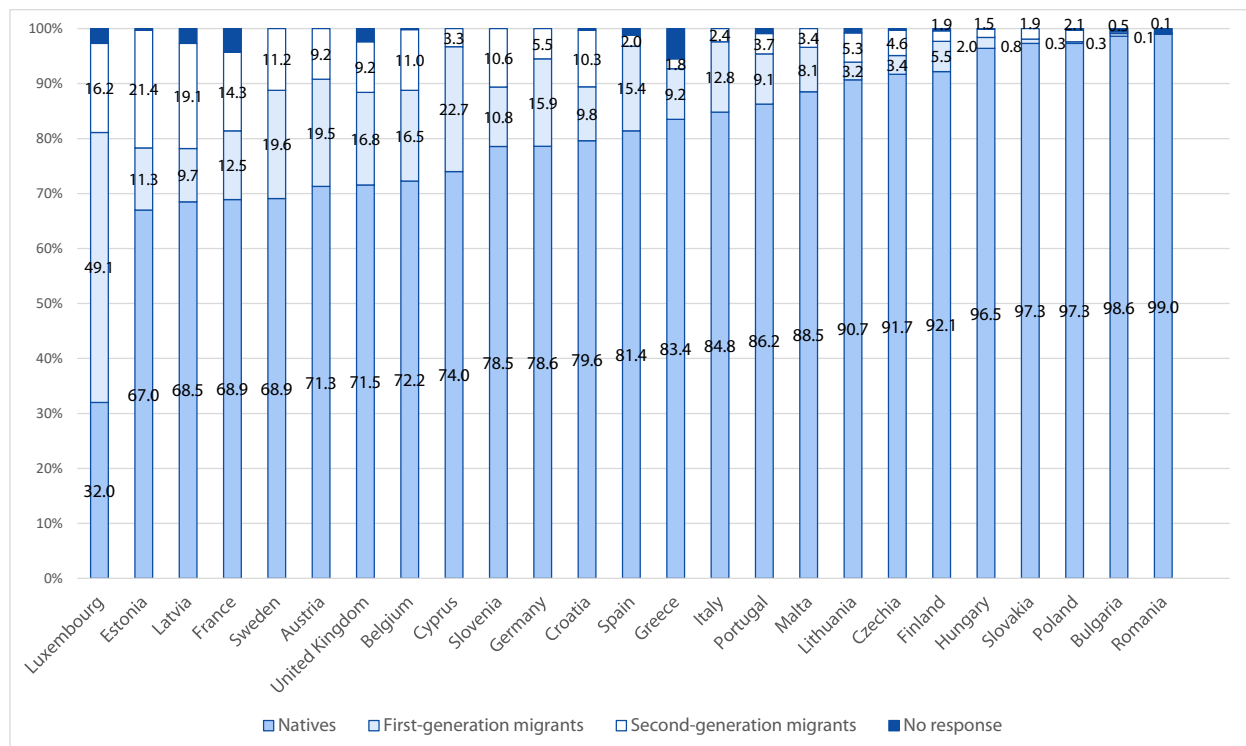
As with the other policy areas investigated in this study, there is a lack of comparable data disaggregated by sex and single ethnic minority groups across the Member States related to the situation of labour-market integration of second and third generations of migrant women in the EU.<sup>181</sup> Therefore, the analysis presented here is not systematic but is based on existing available literature.

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<sup>181</sup> As already mentioned data provided by Eurostat are not disaggregated by ethnic groups (see Section 2.1.3).

Occupational integration is the process by which the migrant population becomes similar to the native one in the employment field in terms of the types of the jobs they obtain within the occupational structure.<sup>182</sup> According to Eurostat data, in 2014, 6% of individuals of working age had a foreign or mixed background (including second-generation migrants). The distribution of workers with a foreign background was roughly equal by sex, with a slight predominance of women. Looking at data including all workers with a foreign background, Luxembourg had the highest share of residents who are either first- or second-generation migrants (65%), followed by Estonia (33%), Sweden (31%), Latvia (29%) and Austria (29%). First-generation migrants outnumber second-generation migrants in all Member States (where such data is available), with the exception of Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, France, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia.

Figure 3: Breakdown of working-age population by migration status, by MS 2014 %



Source: Eurofound 2019:

People with a non-native background in the EU face specific challenges and barriers in access to the labour market. A 2019 Eurofound study<sup>183</sup> suggested that the individual's birthplace, or that of the worker's parents, has a massive impact on working life. More specifically, first-generation migrants perform better in terms of employment (meaning they have higher employment rates) compared to the native population in half of the Member States. This is because the main goal of the decision to migrate to the EU is connected to the necessity to find a job in Europe. Contrarily, second-generation migrants have a worse employment performance compared to the native population in most Member States. However, this is not true for second-generation migrants of EU origin, whose employment rate is the highest in the EU. In 21 Member States, second-generation migrants report lower employment rates than natives, in 10 of them the gap is over 10 percentage points.

<sup>182</sup> Ballarino and Panichella (2017).

<sup>183</sup> Eurofound (2019).

In terms of a gender-sensitive analysis, employment rates are higher for male compared to female migrants, regardless of their migration generation, and this is consistent with the overall gender segregation of the EU labour market. According to Eurofound, the lowest employment rates are among female second-generation migrants in some countries. In 6 out of the 23 countries where such data is available – Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain – the employment rates of female second-generation migrants are below 45%. Second-generation migrant women experience additional disadvantage in matching their qualifications and the level of labour market integration, and they have lower employment rates than their male counterparts even among those with tertiary qualifications.

However, if the focus is switched from the employment rate to the quality of work, second-generation migrants are reported to outperform the first generation. They are more likely to obtain high-skilled, better-paid jobs, and are overrepresented in management (especially if men are considered) compared to the native population and the first generation. Moreover, second-generation migrant workers are also close to native workers in other aspects, such as the rate of employment in the public sector. First-generation migrant men are highly represented in construction whereas second-generation migrant men are overrepresented in other services. Female workers with a foreign background are highly represented in the commerce and hospitality sectors. Second-generation female workers are also slightly more likely to be found working in transport and education. First-generation female migrants are overrepresented in the private sector (74% are private-sector workers compared to 66% of female second-generation migrants and 65% of native women). They are also less likely to work in the public sector, 18% compared to 27% among the second generation and 27% among native women.

Eurofound stressed that gender influences the distribution of the first- and second-generation migrant workers across occupations. In particular, first-generation male and female migrants are both strongly overrepresented in elementary occupations. In the second generation, however, male migrants are overrepresented in higher-status occupations (managerial and professional jobs and technicians) and are also more likely to work in service and sales jobs. Second-generation female workers are similar, being slightly overrepresented among managers and service and sales workers.

Another element considered by the 2019 Eurofound study is the employment status of first- and second-generation workers. First-generation migrants more often work in non-standard employment that is a job that is not permanent and full-time. Male first-generation workers are overrepresented among workers with fixed-term contracts (15%), female first-generation workers are overrepresented among those with 'other or no contract' (14% compared to 8% of female natives). The amount of male second-generation migrant workers working with 'other or no contract' is two times the share of male natives in this category (13% compared to 7%) while the proportions are similar among second-generation women and native women, respectively. In general terms, the proportions in different employment and contractual statuses of second-generation migrants are more similar to those of native workers, with the few exceptions outlined above.

If the quality of jobs is considered, first-generation migrant workers are overrepresented in active manual and poor-quality work. Conversely, second-generation migrant workers are overrepresented in high-flying jobs and under-pressure jobs and underrepresented in poor quality and smooth-running jobs. In other words, although the second generation continues to struggle with labour market integration, the quality of the jobs they have access to tends to be better than for the first generation.

Moreover, workers with a foreign background are more likely than natives to have a second job due to insufficient earnings in the first one. Among female workers, both first- and second-generation migrants are more likely to report having a second job than native women (8% of natives, 12% of the first generation and 10% of the second generation).

A final remark concerns experiences of discrimination at work. The 2015 European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS)<sup>184</sup> shows that very few workers (2%) report discrimination linked to race, ethnic background or colour. However, the share of workers with a foreign background reporting this is much higher, at 10% for first-generation workers and 5% for the second generation. Discrimination episodes mostly target male (12%) and female (8%) first-generation migrant workers. The most frequent perceived ground of discrimination is nationality. This was reported by 11% of first-generation migrants and by 3% of second-generation workers (1% among natives). Male first-generation migrant workers appear most likely to be affected (13%), followed by first-generation female workers (8%).

## 6.2. Which factors influence the employment perspectives of the target population?

### 6.2.1. Individual and social factors

Previous research has shown that some individual characteristics of second-generation migrants can influence their labour market outcomes (in particular Turkish in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands; North Africans in Belgium, France and the Netherlands; and Surinamese in the Netherlands are at higher risks of unemployment). These characteristics include: social background, language proficiency, aspirations and family mobilisation, social context and ethnic segregation, discrimination, racism and access to citizenship.<sup>185</sup> Regarding language proficiency, despite the fact that the majority of members of the second generation who were born in the country of destination appear fluent in the majority language,<sup>186</sup> results from PISA (see Paragraph 2.2.4) show that many members of the second generation of immigration lag behind their native peers in reading skills. It is therefore impossible to totally exclude the theory that language difficulties may have some effect on the second generation's education and labour market achievements. In addition, forms of discrimination (implicit or explicit) are at work.

Research suggests that the first generation of immigration generally has relatively low occupational aspirations because their frame of reference is their country of origin, and the decision to migrate is often driven by economic purposes.<sup>187</sup> By contrast, the second generation may have developed frames of reference more similar to those of their majority peers but their higher expectations are often disappointed. However, the factor most frequently mentioned as influencing successful labour market integration is education. Among the second generation, those with the lowest educational levels are the most disadvantaged in the labour market.<sup>188</sup>

### 6.2.2. Region of origin

A 2018 Eurofound study<sup>189</sup> highlighted the impact of the region of origin of foreign workers on their perspectives of successful integration into the EU labour market. This element had a stronger impact than whether the subject was a first- or second-generation migrant. The details of the study show that workers of North African origins and Asian women are the most disadvantaged subgroups, and more likely to continue suffering from this disadvantage also in second (and third) generations. Moreover, with the exception of North America, all regions of origin resulted in worse employment outcomes for workers compared to workers with EU origin. Similar patterns were registered for men and women in

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<sup>184</sup> Eurofound (2015).

<sup>185</sup> Heath, Rotheron and Kilpi (2008).

<sup>186</sup> Esser (2006).

<sup>187</sup> Heath and Li (2008).

<sup>188</sup> Crul and Schneider (2009).

<sup>189</sup> Eurofound (2018).

terms of the impact of region of origin, even if second-generation EU and non-EU women have lower unemployment rates than their male counterparts. Other previous studies confirmed this hypothesis.

A 2008 comparative study,<sup>190</sup> focusing on 10 Member States with a long history of immigration, reported that minorities from less-developed non-European origins tend to have substantially higher risks of unemployment than their respective majority groups. This concerns, for instance, the second generation of Turkish origin in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands; of Moroccan or North African origin in Belgium, France and the Netherlands; and of Surinamese origin in the Netherlands.

### 6.2.3. Reasons for migrating to the EU

The reasons for migrating to the EU is another element that influences the employment outcomes of foreign workers, including second generations of migrants.<sup>191</sup> As previous studies have shown, migration motivations are often complex and overlapping, and may be difficult to capture by one single category, for instance in the case of people fleeing persecution as well as entering a country as a dependent, which is relatively common for female migrants.<sup>192</sup>

In general terms, non-economic migrants are found to have better outcomes in terms of employment and quality of work compared to economic migrants in the first years after the arrival to the country of residence, and family migrants tend to do slightly better than refugees among non-economic migrants.<sup>193</sup> This is especially the case of refugees and asylum seekers and their descendants.<sup>194</sup> The better labour performance of this subgroup might be due to the different treatment of these subjects with regard to labour market access and the policies in place to support them, such as language training, recognition of qualifications, and access to employment support, housing, medical services and other social support.

However, some recent studies reported that this advantage does not relate to all refugees but just some of them and that descendants of refugees might be exposed to more challenges than second generations with different migration backgrounds and natives, due to long-term disadvantages of this subgroup. In other words, some studies<sup>195</sup> suggest that first-generation refugees are more disadvantaged than others in the labour market, regardless of pre-migration skills and experiences.<sup>196</sup> Even if their experiences are not uniform and some refugees succeed in accumulating economic capital, their disadvantages can persist. The consequence of high levels of unemployment or of low pay among refugees means that they may have fewer resources to support their children at school, and this in turn can impact on their educational outcomes. Please note that information disaggregated by sex is not available in these studies.

## 6.3. Strategies of balancing labour and care duties

Motherhood negatively affects female employment in majority populations across Europe. Several studies focusing on the general population have shown that women's labour market position is strongly influenced by the transition to parenthood, and this is applicable to migrant women as well.

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<sup>190</sup> Heath, Rotheron and Kilpi (2008).

<sup>191</sup> Zwysen (2018).

<sup>192</sup> Campbell (2014).

<sup>193</sup> Bratsberg, Raaum and Røed (2017).

<sup>194</sup> Eurofound (2019).

<sup>195</sup> Chimienti et al. (2019).

<sup>196</sup> Bloch (2008).

As reported above, the labour market situation of migrant populations in Europe is generally worse than that of the native-born population. Non-European first-generation migrant women in several European countries are more frequently employed part-time involuntarily compared to both native women and first-generation migrant men.<sup>197</sup> The labour position of second-generation migrant women is generally more successful compared to first-generation women. However, they also face more difficulties in finding a job compared to natives across Europe.<sup>198 199</sup> Moreover, the gap between migrants and natives in employment is larger among women with children than among childless women<sup>200</sup>.

The impact of motherhood and the care burden on the employment situation of second-generation migrant women is still a topic that is not investigated enough. A recent study<sup>201</sup> focusing on the Belgian situation showed that women of migrant origin – specifically of Southern European, Eastern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin – who were active on the labour market prior to the birth of their first child have a lower probability than natives of continuing to work after parenthood. For second-generation mothers, the increase in inactivity after parenthood can be explained by socio-demographic, pre-birth job and partner characteristics. Moreover, the impact of parenthood on full-time versus part-time employment is mostly similar among women from the above-mentioned migrant origin groups and migrant generations compared to natives. This finding suggests that differences between origin groups are mainly due to the choice to stay in the labour market rather than by the choice to reduce working hours.

Another recent study<sup>202</sup> showed that differences between migrants and natives in the adjustment of working hours after the birth of the first child can be mostly explained by native and migrant origin women's different pre-birth labour market attachment, estimated through the employment rates of women who do not (yet) have children. Using this indicator, researchers found no migrant-native differences among women with low pre-birth employment rates and only limited differences among women with medium and high pre-birth employment rates. This result must be combined, though, with the fact that women of migrant origins generally have lower pre-birth employment rates compared to native women. The study concludes that it is mostly the different pre-birth labour market attachments that account for the migrant-native gap in employment trajectories around the transition to parenthood. Policies are therefore needed to foster the labour market involvement of second-generation migrant women in the EU.

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<sup>197</sup> Rubin et al. (2008).

<sup>198</sup> Phalet (2007).

<sup>199</sup> Heath, Rotheron and Kilpi (2008).

<sup>200</sup> Holland and de Valk (2017).

<sup>201</sup> Kil et al. (2018).

<sup>202</sup> Maes, Wood and Neels (2021).



## 7. HEALTH

- There is a lack of reliable systematic EU-wide comparative data in relation to health and second-generation migrant women. Data at the national level is starting to become available, though still not for reproductive rights.
- Ethnic minority women show worse health outcomes compared to the majority of the population. For instance, the incidence of diabetes and cardiovascular diseases is more frequent among those from South Asian, sub-Saharan African, Middle Eastern and North African, South and Central American, and Western Pacific backgrounds than among the European population, and mental health issues are also more frequent. While first-generation migrants show a better health status compared to the native population, second and third generations seem to show worse results due to poor living conditions and discrimination.
- There are challenges in access to healthcare for second-generation migrant women. Some face discrimination by health professionals, either at the institutional or individual level. Second-generation migrants appear aware of this. Policies to improve access to healthcare should therefore include actions to remove institutional discriminatory barriers and enhance intercultural competences among professionals.
- Across generational cohorts, fertility patterns tend to imitate those of the host population, especially when ethnic minority women are exposed to the hosting culture. However, this pattern is not universally valid. For instance, a 2010 study showed that second-generation migrant women of Turkish origin have a higher fertility rate than native German women. High education and good labour prospects are shown to influence fertility decisions. Low education, more isolation and low employment outcomes, as well as a strong ethnic subculture, may lead to preserving the fertility patterns of the country of origin. Another study on second-generation families of Southern European, Turkish or Moroccan origin living in Belgium, showed that male partner characteristics may also play a role in their partners' fertility habits.
- A Swedish study reports that women from ethnic minorities tend to have abortions more often due to their scarce use of contraception. More targeted services should be provided for them to limit this phenomenon.
- Female genital mutilation is an issue in the European Union (for those with origins in Africa, Yemen and Iraq) where it is estimated that between 500,000 and 1 million women suffer the lifelong consequences of this practice. More careful data collection on second generations should be conducted in relation to this practice.

### 7.1. An overview of the psychological and physical wellbeing of second- and third-generation immigrants: a gender-sensitive approach

Providing an overview of the situation of second- and third-generation immigrant women in the EU is a difficult task for several different reasons. The first reason is the lack of reliable data covering the entire EU, whereas studies focusing on specific national contexts or ethnic subgroups are increasingly available. Many EU cross-national surveys related to health collect data on sex and age, and include some information on socioeconomic conditions, but none provide data disaggregated by nationality, country of birth, ethnicity or country of birth of the parents, thus allowing the collection of information on health only for first-generation migrants.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> FRA (2013).

Women belonging to the second and third generations of immigration have different drivers of identity that are worth considering. As women, their access to health and use of health services must be analysed focusing on the needs and barriers they deal with according to their gender. Moreover, they have a migrant background influencing their perception of health, reproductive patterns and fertility choices. All these aspects might be the result of both the influence of the ethnic community of origin, and the national culture and social habits of the EU country they live in. Both elements must be carefully addressed in order to understand the differences between newly arrived migrants, the first generation of migrants and the following generations. Having an immigrant background and/or embodying a visible ethnic difference might expose the target population to discrimination in access to health services – making the experiences of these women in some respects similar to those of female migrants in general – especially if the professionals working for these services are not adequately trained to receive and respond to cultural differences, and the services themselves are not reformed and ready to respond to ever-changing health needs.

The available literature provides solid findings on the health outcomes of ethnic minorities.<sup>204</sup> Ethnic minorities – more specifically, defined according to the categorisation of the International Diabetes Federation (IDF) into geographical regions including South Asian, sub-Saharan African, Middle Eastern and North African, South and Central American, and Western Pacific – are shown to have worse health outcomes compared to EU populations, especially when it comes to cardiovascular disease and diabetes. If a gender perspective is applied to this specific subdomain of health, women have, in general, lower diabetes rates than men. However, women from ethnic minority groups in the EU have shown rates of diabetes 4 to 6 times higher than European women.<sup>205</sup>

Research has shown relevant differences between different generations of immigrants in terms of the type of healthcare services most commonly used.<sup>206</sup> First-generation immigrants seem to rely more on primary care and general practitioners. In contrast, second-generation immigrants show patterns of access to specialist care and secondary care that are similar to those of native populations. This difference might be due to the fact that access to secondary care and to specialists may be hindered by the difficulties of understanding the functioning of the healthcare system, by language barriers, and by lower income and educational status.

The attitudes and training of healthcare professionals, who represent the contact point of the target population with the medical system, is key to address barriers in access to healthcare services. A culturally sensitive approach is needed when dealing with minorities of all sorts, including patients and users with a migrant background. Studies have proven that migrant women need culturally competent healthcare providers to ensure equitable, high-quality and informed care (especially maternity care), adopting a multicultural and interdisciplinary approach to medicine.<sup>207</sup>

If discrimination in access to healthcare services has gained increasing attention in scientific literature and policy documents, information and studies focusing on the immigrants' descendants are scarce. A 2013 FRA study observed that second and third generations of immigrants seem to be much more

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<sup>204</sup> EC (2021).

<sup>205</sup> Meeks et al. (2016).

<sup>206</sup> Glaesmer et al. (2011).

<sup>207</sup> Fair et al. (2020).

aware of discrimination in access to healthcare services than people belonging to the first generation of immigration.<sup>208</sup>

In terms of the psychological wellbeing of ethnic minorities in the EU, mental health is proving to be a key issue when assessing the integration and social inclusion of all generations of immigrants in the EU. When focusing on newly arrived migrants or on asylum seekers, the impact of trauma and the journey experience on the psychological wellbeing of these subjects is increasingly being investigated, as well as how to design and implement adequate medical and psychological support services. When it comes to other generations of immigrants though, an evaluation of the general level of psychological wellbeing must consider other factors that might be more difficult to detect.

Recent research showed that women from ethnic minority groups are more exposed to the risk of developing mental health distress.<sup>209</sup> Some of the reasons for this worrying trend are: the perception of mental health, isolation, difficulties in seeking support, the influence of culture, symptoms and coping strategies, and barriers in accessing mental health services, especially if professionals are not properly trained to cope with cultural differences or if they show dismissive attitudes.

## 7.2. Habits of access to healthcare services

### 7.2.1. How different generations of migrant women deal with healthcare services

When accessing healthcare services, migrants are subject over time to two different effects that have been described by scientific literature on this topic. First, they undergo the so-called “healthy migrant effect”, according to which newly arrived and first-generation immigrants show a better health status compared to the native population and the second and third generation of immigration.<sup>210</sup> This is explained by the phenomenon that immigrants undergo a sort of “health selection” in their countries of origin, that is, only the healthier men and women undertake migration projects. Moreover, as the acculturation process proceeds in the host countries, migrants adapt to and adopt health-related norms and behaviours. This would explain why the health outcomes of older generations of immigrants resembles the outcome of the native population. Eventually, immigrants generally experience a process of downward assimilation, suffering from discrimination and blocked social mobility that results in their conformity to the most disadvantaged social groups of the native population that are reported to have low health outcomes.

As the settlement and integration of migrants in the host country proceeds, older generations of migrants undergo a second effect, known as the “exhausted migrant effect”.<sup>211</sup> The increasing deterioration of the health outcomes of second and third generations of migrants is the result of different factors, which include poverty, dangerous working conditions, poor living conditions, discrimination in the labour market, and, as mentioned above, the adoption of less healthy local habits. This being said, some factors compromise the health status of older generations of immigrants in a way that is not experienced by native populations, and which, to the contrary, characterise ethnic minorities in most European countries, as explained in the following section.

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<sup>208</sup> FRA (2013). However, data by ethnic group is not provided in the publication.

<sup>209</sup> Watson et al. (2019). However, data by ethnic group is not provided in the publication.

<sup>210</sup> Acevedo-Garcia et al. (2010).

<sup>211</sup> Stella and Giuntella (2017).

### 7.2.2. Factors hindering or promoting the access of the target population to healthcare services

The majority of EU citizens can count on a national healthcare system for a wide range of services, including emergency, primary and – in most cases – secondary and specialist care. However, this does not mean that the entire population has effective access to free medical care. Several factors can limit or compromise the access of specific population subgroups to healthcare services.<sup>212</sup> Inequalities in access to these services are the result of the combination of specific characteristics of population groups (including age, gender, ethnic background, disability, education and socioeconomic conditions) on the one hand, and the way the healthcare system is conceived, designed and functions in practice (including costs of services, waiting lists and distribution of services in the national territory) on the other.

As per the first series of factors – the individual characteristics of the health service users – gender and ethnic/migrant background can play a key role in explaining inequalities in the access to healthcare services. According to the Commission,<sup>213</sup> gender can have a severe impact on unmet medical needs. Women are in general more disadvantaged than men in access to healthcare services in most Member States, with the gender gap in this field being particularly striking in specific national contexts such as Estonia (5 percentage points (p.p.) in 2016), Romania (4 p.p.) and Greece (3 p.p.). If gender is combined with the older age of female users, the level of access to healthcare services can be further compromised.

The same applies to single women with children. According to the same Commission report, women older than 50 and single mothers are among the most vulnerable social groups in terms of access to healthcare services. People with a migrant background represent another vulnerable group in this respect.<sup>214</sup> Some EU national legal systems envisage formal restrictions to the access of migrants (especially undocumented ones) and asylum seekers to healthcare services, often restricting it to emergency and primary care. However, the target group considered in this study does not fall into this category, since this vulnerability mostly applies to newly arrived migrants or, more in general, to people with a migrant background. Temporary or irregular administrative status is not often associated with second and third generations of female immigrants.

Another factor compromising the access of ethnic minorities and migrants to healthcare services is discrimination suffered when dealing with services and professionals, as well as lack of training and competences of medical staff. A 2018 review of training programmes for health professionals in the EU<sup>215</sup> showed that most training programmes focused on the improvement of general knowledge about ethnic minorities among nurses and health professionals. Unfortunately, only some of these programmes dealt with intercultural mediation and communication, and a focus on racism and discrimination was often missing. To address this, several measures to improve the inclusivity of health services have been suggested in policy papers and scientific publications.<sup>216</sup> These include: widespread and targeted information provision concerning entitlements and available services; the removal of language barriers in service delivery, including through the introduction of interpreters and cultural

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<sup>212</sup> EC (2018).

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Blom, Juijts and Kraaykamp (2016).

<sup>215</sup> Chiarenza et al. (2018).

<sup>216</sup> Rechel et al. (2013).

mediators; actions to tackle discrimination, prejudice and bias,<sup>217, 218</sup> which compromises the quality of the service; and the development of cultural competences among health workers, starting from university and continuing during the career with the investment of sufficient time and financial resources by health managers and service providers.

### 7.3. Motherhood and reproductive rights

#### 7.3.1. Fertility patterns of second and third generations of migrant women in the EU

Fertility patterns of second and third generations of immigrants in the EU have gained increasing attention in scientific literature, which has repeatedly stressed the importance of the social and cultural environment in which women grew up as a key predictive factor of their fertility behaviour.<sup>219, 220</sup> More specifically, second-generation immigrant women are generally found to have lower fertility levels than their parents' generation. However, this pattern is not universally valid, and it does not apply to specific ethnic subgroups or national contexts.<sup>221, 222, 223, 224</sup> For instance, a 2010 study<sup>225</sup> showed that women of Turkish origins have a higher fertility rate than native German women, and that this trend is also found in the second generation of migrant women.

The cultural and social factors influencing fertility patterns have been pointed to by scientific literature in this field. The first element to consider is the role of the country of origin and the country of residence. Some research has shown that first-generation immigrant women tend to maintain the fertility patterns of their countries of origin – this is the case, for instance, of women of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands<sup>226</sup> – while other research has shown that these women gradually adapt to the fertility patterns of the country of residence.<sup>227</sup> Moreover, women migrating from high-fertility to low-fertility countries generally build larger families compared to native women in the host country.<sup>228</sup>

Second or third generations of migrant women might have their fertility behaviour influenced by either the mainstream society habits of the country of residence, or by their minority subculture, where such subcultures exist.<sup>229</sup> The existence of a strong minority subculture entails that second- and third-generation migrant women may preserve values, norms and attitudes toward family habits and childbearing that resemble those of the countries of origin of their predecessors.

A third hypothesis pointed out by a previous study is the case of women who are influenced in their fertility patterns by both the minority subculture and mainstream society (probably at different stages of their lives, e.g. the minority subculture at earlier ages and the mainstream society later). In this case,

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<sup>217</sup> Tello (2017).

<sup>218</sup> Hamed et al. (2020).

<sup>219</sup> Krapf and Wolf (2015).

<sup>220</sup> Kulu et al. (2017).

<sup>221</sup> Milewski (2010).

<sup>222</sup> Coleman and Dubuc (2010).

<sup>223</sup> Dubuc (2012).

<sup>224</sup> Pailhé (2017).

<sup>225</sup> Milewski (2010).

<sup>226</sup> Garssen and Han (2008).

<sup>227</sup> Andersson (2004).

<sup>228</sup> Milewski (2010).

<sup>229</sup> Kulu et al. (2017).

their fertility habits would be in between these two cultural systems. Therefore, cultural factors are crucial. High fertility levels in some ethnic minority groups may be due to the fact that migrant women come from large families and they have grown up in a cultural environment where a large family, a high number of children, and the intensity of family ties play an important role in the community's life.<sup>230, 231</sup> On the opposite side of this cultural spectrum, low-fertility habits in host societies might lead these women to desire small families.<sup>232</sup>

Other studies have stressed the role of education and employment factors in influencing fertility habits of second- and third-generation women. More specifically, high educational and labour prospects, and a perceived higher opportunity cost of childbearing, might result in the desire of women to postpone maternity and to form smaller families. On the other hand, barriers in education and labour integration, and lower levels of education compared to native populations, might result in a reinforcement of the subculture's cultural influence and, in some cases, in higher fertility levels.<sup>233, 234</sup>

Another element influencing the fertility levels of the considered population group concerns the existence of welfare benefits and policies, fostering social inclusion of ethnic minorities and supporting childbearing and parenting.<sup>235</sup> In this respect, high residential and educational segregation of ethnic minorities, as well as barriers to successful integration of women belonging to these minorities into the labour market, may result in higher fertility levels, especially if the minority subculture reinforces traditional gender roles. On the other hand, low levels of educational and employment segregation between ethnic minorities and the native population, and the existence of policies fostering the labour-market integration of women, may lead to lower fertility rates.<sup>236</sup> The literature has also stressed that the existence of gender equality policies in several areas of social life has a crucial impact on fertility rates and habits of women. More egalitarian countries have higher fertility levels than less egalitarian societies.<sup>237</sup>

A recent study<sup>238</sup> showed that male partner characteristics may play a crucial role in determining second- and third-generation women's fertility habits. More specifically, the study referred to the situation of women of Southern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin living in Belgium. Researchers suggested that the longer the male partner had been exposed to the fertility norms, values and behaviours of his country of origin, the more the fertility levels of the couple would resemble the fertility preferences of the country of origin.

A final element worth mentioning – which is closely connected to the barriers in access to medical services mentioned above – is the access of second- and third-generation migrant women to maternal care services. According to a study published by the European Parliament in 2019,<sup>239</sup> about 500,000 women in the EU will go through their first months of pregnancy with no access to health service. These

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<sup>230</sup> Fernández and Fogli (2006).

<sup>231</sup> Nauck (2007).

<sup>232</sup> Kulu et al. (2017).

<sup>233</sup> Salway (2007).

<sup>234</sup> Hennink, Diamond and Cooper (1999).

<sup>235</sup> Andersson and Scott (2005).

<sup>236</sup> Kulu and González-Ferrer (2014).

<sup>237</sup> Esping-Andersen and Billari (2015).

<sup>238</sup> Van Landschoot, de Valk and Van Bavel (2019).

<sup>239</sup> European Parliament (2019).

include the most marginalised migrant groups, such as women with an irregular administrative status, asylum seekers, and migrant women with temporary residence permits, as has been shown by many studies and reports.<sup>240, 241, 242, 243</sup>

In general, women with an ethnic background – including the population considered in this study – require medical and obstetric management to be reconfigured to respond to the specific challenges and needs they express.<sup>244, 245</sup> Barriers in access to maternal care services must therefore be addressed,<sup>246</sup> including clinic waiting times, the absence of qualified interpreters and cultural mediators, language barriers, inadequate knowledge among health professionals about cultural differences,<sup>247</sup> different concepts of health and maternity, and racism and discrimination.

### 7.3.2. Habits of access to reproductive rights services

The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals state that, by 2030, all women should have rights and access to sexual and reproductive healthcare, including contraception.<sup>248</sup> However, only 52% of women worldwide, who are married or in a union, freely make their own decisions about sexual relations, contraceptive use and healthcare. In order to achieve this goal – both at the international and national level – it is pivotal to improve knowledge and raise awareness of migrant women's habits of use of contraception and other reproductive rights and services, especially considering that migrant women are exposed to a higher risk of repeated abortions.<sup>249</sup>

However, comprehensive and up-to-date data on the sexual and reproductive rights of girls and women in the EU is still scarce, and disaggregated data focusing on specific subgroups – such as ethnic minorities or second- and third-generation migrant women – is often missing. Many national health systems fail to collect data which takes into account the multiple aspects of their users' identities, such as gender, age, disability, ethnicity, nationality and socioeconomic status.<sup>250</sup> This lack of precise data compromises a reliable understanding of the effective use of sexual and reproductive services among the members of the population considered in this study.

Previous studies have reported that migrant women in Western countries – including both Western Europe and the United States – tend to resort to induced abortion with a higher frequency than the

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> van den Akker and van Roosmalen (2016).

<sup>242</sup> Keygnaert et al. (2014).

<sup>243</sup> Council of Europe (2017).

<sup>244</sup> Almeida (2013).

<sup>245</sup> Endler et al. (2020).

<sup>246</sup> Fair et al. (2020).

<sup>247</sup> Matlin et al. (2018).

<sup>248</sup> See United Nations. Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 5: Gender Equality at <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/>

<sup>249</sup> Iwarsson et al. (2019).

<sup>250</sup> Council of Europe (2017).

native female population.<sup>251, 252, 253, 254</sup> For instance, studies carried out in Sweden<sup>255, 256, 257</sup> have shown that migrant girls and women are more likely to have induced abortion compared to Swedish-born women, and are less inclined to use contraceptives than the native female population. The reasons that are suggested for the higher frequency of induced abortions among migrant women include – similar to the barriers to access to healthcare services by ethnic minorities – language barriers, lack of knowledge concerning contraception methods, limited access to contraception itself, cultural beliefs concerning sexuality and contraception, the role of families and partners, and uncertain living conditions.

### 7.3.3. Female genital mutilation

Female genital mutilation (FGM) refers to procedures aimed at partially or completely removing female external genitalia. This term also includes any other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons.<sup>258</sup> FGM is officially recognised as a violation of women's human rights, and the abolition of such practices has been subject to both United Nations and World Health Organization (WHO) resolutions. Women who undergo FGM face severe health consequences in the short and the long term.<sup>259</sup> More specifically,<sup>260</sup> the short-term consequences of FGM include pain, haemorrhaging, infections (such as tetanus), shock and injury or trauma to the genital area and body. The long-term impact on health includes chronic pain, painful menstruation, painful sexual intercourse, infections such as frequent urinary tract infections, pelvic infections, cysts and abscesses, scar tissue formation, infertility, and possible increased susceptibility to HIV infection and other sexually transmitted infections. In the worst case, FGM can even lead to death. Moreover, FGM also has a severe impact on mental health. It can also lead to anxiety, depression, flashbacks, nightmares and post-traumatic stress disorder.

FGM also has an impact on the sexual health of women and on their intimate relationships, and a potential impact on reproductive health and childbirth. Childbirth by victims of FGM is more likely to be complicated by caesarean section, postpartum haemorrhage and extended hospital stay when compared to women who have not undergone FGM. FGM also has major social consequences. Women who do not conform to their community norms and refuse FGM may be excluded from their communities and viewed as unsuitable for marriage. It also has medical costs, and may cause women to have lower school and work outcomes due to poor health conditions.

As of 2019,<sup>261</sup> all EU Member States have criminalised FGM, either through specific provisions or through general provisions in their respective Criminal Codes. In almost all Member States – with the

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<sup>251</sup> Sedgh et al. (2011).

<sup>252</sup> Rademakers, Mouthaan and de Neef (2005).

<sup>253</sup> Rasch et al. (2008).

<sup>254</sup> Vangen, Eskild and Forsen (2008).

<sup>255</sup> Iwarsson et al. (2019).

<sup>256</sup> Helström, Zätterström and Odling (2006).

<sup>257</sup> Helström et al. (2003).

<sup>258</sup> WHO (2020).

<sup>259</sup> Picum (2016).

<sup>260</sup> EIGE (2013).

<sup>261</sup> End FGM (2019).



exception of Bulgaria, Czechia and Luxembourg – FGM is a punishable offence even if perpetrated abroad. Definitions of the offence and related penalties vary from country to country.

Far from being an issue only in specific regions of the world, FGM is described by the WHO as a global concern. Data on the incidence of FGM in specific ethnic communities or subgroups of the immigrant population based in the EU – such as second and third generations of migrant women – is scarce. A 2016 Commission report<sup>262</sup> – providing a comparative overview of recent FGM court cases within the EU, as well as an exploratory survey of transnational movements in relation to FGM – failed to point out consistent patterns showing a higher incidence of these practices in specific national communities or subgroups of the migrant population (e.g. newly arrived migrants or older generations of migrant women).

Estimates based on outdated census data indicate that over 500,000 women and girls in Europe are living with the lifelong consequences of FGM. However, recent calculations carried out internally by the End FGM European Network suggest a substantial increase of this number up to almost a million. Census-based estimations are partial and they fail to account for second-generation migrants and migrants in irregular situations or who are undocumented. Moreover, it is key to also consider the number of women and girls living in Europe who are at risk of being subject to FGM. According to the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), the estimate is 170,000 in 13 Member States.<sup>263</sup> However, in the EU-27 there are no systematic and representative surveys that use a harmonised approach to gather data on FGM incidence.<sup>264, 265</sup> Moreover, FGM is not generally practised in the EU, but women and girls undergo FGM in their countries of origin before moving to the EU, or while travelling outside the EU.<sup>266</sup>

Some current studies are available at the national level that attempt to provide approximate estimates of the incidence of FGM among specific ethnic minorities or subgroups of the migrant population – such as second- and third-generation migrant women – using national administrative data.<sup>267, 268, 269, 270</sup> The specific ethnic minorities that are considered in these kind of studies are chosen according to the data available on the incidence of FGM in third countries, and thus generally refer to African countries and other countries such as Yemen and Iraq. Such studies are aimed at assessing whether second-generation girls and women are to be considered a group at risk of undergoing FGM, but provide inconclusive results.

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<sup>262</sup> EC (2015).

<sup>263</sup> EIGE (2013).

<sup>264</sup> Leye et al. (2014).

<sup>265</sup> Ortensi, Farina and Menonna (2014).

<sup>266</sup> EIGE (2013).

<sup>267</sup> Ziyada, Norberg-Schulz and Johansen (2016).

<sup>268</sup> Dubourg et al. (2011).

<sup>269</sup> Macfarlane and Dorkenoo (2014).

<sup>270</sup> Exterkate (2013).

## 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 8.1. Conclusions

The label 'Second-generation migrants' identifies the descendants of migrants born and raised in the country of migration destination. However, this does not represent a universal and comprehensively descriptive category since educational achievements, employment opportunities, housing conditions, family formation patterns, and health outcomes for second-generation migrants differ between women and girls and men and boys, across ethnic groups.

Two key concepts have been elaborated by scholars to investigate the living conditions of women and men belonging to second (and even third) generations: integration and transnationalism. Integration indicates the process of reciprocal adaptation between the host population and the group of migrants and their descendants. It is generally analysed within specific policy areas such as education, residency (urban versus rural polarisation), family and marital patterns, employment and health. Transnationalism defines the peculiar conditions of migrants and their descendants who keep material and symbolic ties with their country of origin, which contributes to explaining their agency and their lifelong achievements. These concepts are widely adopted by studies referred to in this report.

Official, comparable and reliable data on the living conditions of second-generation migrant women and men by single ethnic group is currently not available across the EU-27. There are, however, notable improvements in data availability recorded in the last decade in relation to the study of migration and especially on migration flows. Data on integration has also improved in quality and availability in this period but still refers only to the general population of 'migrants and their descendants' rather than to specific ethnic groups. The only available distinctions that apply to the reference population for data on integration are citizenship and country of birth. The problem is that these apply only somewhat (citizenship) or not at all (country of birth) to migrants' descendants. In this study, official data is referred to despite its limitations as it guarantees EU-27 Member States coverage, comparability and reliability of results. However, given the lack of information on the conditions of women (as compared to men) belonging to single ethnic groups, an in-depth academic literature review has been conducted in relation to all the relevant integration issues, highlighting whenever possible relevant results on ethnic women belonging to single ethnic groups. However, these results and indications should be considered with caution, as they refer only to some specific Member States and cannot therefore be generalised to all countries.

Education has traditionally been considered the main route to full integration in the host society of migrants and their descendants under the assumption that the process evolves positively. However, optimistic views (which prevail in the context of the United States) do not account for the different forms of discrimination migrants and their descendants may undergo in schools, as implicit or explicit forms of discrimination might be enacted at institutional and individual levels. Neither do they account for the impact of social interactions on individual behaviour or the impact of the attitudes of the ethnic community on individuals' choices.

Several studies investigated the factors contributing to the educational gaps in performance recorded by children with a migrant parentage in comparison to children with a native parentage. It was shown that early childhood education and care, multicultural policies and low-selective educational systems showed effectiveness in reducing these gaps. Concerning gender, there is a wide consensus in the literature, including studies using the OECD-PISA data analysis, that there is a gender gap, with girls being in the advantage in educational achievements for all ethnic groups, an advantage that mirrors the one recorded in the majority population of pupils with a native descent, although with a wider

magnitude. Similarly, there is a consensus on the different performance of girls and boys in different disciplines, particularly reading where girls outperform boys, and mathematics where boys outperform girls.

A 2014 data analysis of gender differences in education performances of second-generation migrants by ethnic groups in several countries (including for the EU-27 Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden) shows that in terms of academic achievement, women from all ethnic groups perform better than their male counterparts in all these countries with the exceptions of the Netherlands for all ethnic groups, African and Asian women in Finland and West Asian and Chilean women in Sweden, where the advantage is reduced. For the purpose of this study, only Africans, the Middle-Eastern, Latin Americans and Asians are considered.

There is a female advantage in continuation of full-time education in upper secondary education for the academic track (versus the vocational track) in all countries and all ethnic groups. It is interesting to note the exception of Turkish women in Belgium who are at a disadvantage in this respect. In terms of completing the secondary educational path, here again there is a generalised female advantage across all groups in all countries, with the Netherlands showing a smaller gap than other countries. Considering the completion of tertiary education, only in the Netherlands a female disadvantage is found in all ethnic groups which is a double disadvantage for the Turkish minority as among this group a female disadvantage is found. In Belgium, the female advantage for all ethnic groups is accompanied by an ethnic penalty. Among Iranians and Southeast Asians in Sweden, the advantage is larger than the one recorded for the majority population. Three of the factors identified in the literature as influencing these areas are: i) gender stereotypes about attitudes and conditions of children's abilities and performances; ii) the theory of high expectations of families about future returns from female education (improved socioeconomic conditions of the family); and iii) the selectivity of migration, according to which a positive attitude towards the values and expectations of the host society prevails among migrants.

Data on residency and living conditions of second-generation migrants by gender and ethnicity is lacking. The only available data concerns living conditions and the degree of urbanisation of the foreign population living in the EU, especially in comparison with the native population. They are all less likely to be homeowners and are more exposed to discrimination in accessing the housing market. Therefore, spatial segregation with its negative impacts on social cohesion is reinforced. Other factors generating spatial segregation are the overlapping of socioeconomic and ethnic segregation as well as the high prices of housing, the localisation of employment opportunities, and the necessity of informal networks for mutual support. An interesting demographic study<sup>271</sup> revealed a relationship between spatial segregation and the fertility behaviour of second-generation women, pointing to the influence on fertility behaviour of exposure to a native normative environment during childhood.

As there is no official EU-27 comparable data on second-generation migrant women by ethnic minority group, the available academic literature was reviewed in relation to marital unions and fertility. Scholars define two types of marital unions involving second-generation migrants: inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic.

Inter-ethnic unions are considered a positive sign of integration in the host society while intra-ethnic unions are seen as hindering the integration process. Often intra-ethnic marriages involve second-generation migrants and individuals from the country of origin of the family (first-generation migrants). They are common among ethnic groups with Islamic religious traditions, such as the Turkish,

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<sup>271</sup> Wilson and Kuha (2018).

Moroccans, Tunisians, Algerians, Punjabi Sikhs, Pakistanis, and Albanians. This is the reason why the relation between religion and marital choices is a subject that has been much investigated.

In Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden, men opting for transnational marriage prefer poorly educated women, while women prefer highly educated men. Research on Turkish second-generation migrants has pointed out that the phenomenon of transnational intra-ethnic marriage is declining due to the progress of integration, individualisation and the major risks of these marriages failing compared to interethnic marriages in the community of the host country.

Like marital choices, fertility behaviours are seen as an indicator of integration. If the age at the first childbirth and the number of pregnancies are close to native women's fertility choices then second-generation migrant women are considered better integrated. Concerning divorce, there are signs that divorces are on the increase especially among mixed marriages (referring to the groups of Turks and Moroccans).

As marital choices and fertility are considered an indicator of integration, empirical studies covering the labour market and education adopt them as an explanatory factor of individuals' choices and achievements. They reveal that for second-generation women of Moroccan and Turkish origin in Belgium, their educational and career disadvantages prior to childbirth are the causes of labour market abandonment after maternity. Furthermore, the educational level of the husband seems to play a role in partners' choice among second-generation migrant women of these two ethnic groups.

Among second-generation women from Morocco, Turkey, the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname living in the Netherlands, the transmission of preferences from the first-generation for the timing of first marriage and motherhood is strong, and it was found that religious traditions and education also affect these choices. The impact of motherhood and the care burden on the employment situation of second-generation migrant women is still an under-investigated topic, and there are some indications about negative impacts.

Regarding labour market participation and employment, a 2019 Eurofound study suggested that the birthplace of a worker or that of the worker's parents has a massive impact on working life, and that second-generation migrants (except those of EU origins) have worse employment performance compared to the native population in most Member States. The employment rates of second-generation migrant women are lower than those of their male counterparts, even among those with tertiary qualifications. According to Eurofound, the lowest employment rates are among female second-generation migrants in specific countries such as Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Male second-generation migrants are overrepresented in higher-status occupations (managerial and professional jobs and technicians) and are also more likely to work in service and sales jobs. Second-generation female workers are similar, being slightly overrepresented among managers and service and sales workers.

According to the available literature, the factors influencing labour market integration of the target population of this study are diverse. They include individual factors, such as social background, language proficiency, aspirations and family mobilisation, discrimination, racism and access to citizenship. Also playing a role is the region of origin of the workers, with some ethnic groups (Turkish in Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands; North Africans in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands; and of Surinamese in the Netherlands) at the highest disadvantage compared to others. Another factor is the reason for migrating to the EU, with non-economic migrants having better outcomes in terms of employment and quality of work compared to economic migrants in the first years after their arrival.

Providing an overview of the health conditions of second- and third-generation immigrant women in the EU is a difficult task due to the lack of reliable data that covers the entire EU (national studies are

predominant) and to the fact that many EU cross-national surveys related to health provide data on sex and age, but none provide data disaggregated by nationality, country of birth, ethnicity or the country of births of the parents.

Ethnic minorities are shown to have worse health outcomes compared to EU populations, especially for cardiovascular disease and diabetes. This is the case for ethnic group members from South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, South and Central America, and Western Pacific. Recent research showed that women from ethnic minority groups are more exposed to the risk of developing mental health distress. Some of the reasons for this worrying trend include the perception of mental health, isolation and difficulties in seeking support, the influence of culture, symptoms and coping strategies, and barriers in accessing mental health services.

Individuals with a family migrant background undergo a specific dynamic compromising their health. This is known as the “exhausted migrant effect”. The increasing deterioration of the health outcomes of second and third generations of migrants is the result of different factors, which include poverty, dangerous working conditions, poor living conditions, discrimination in the labour market, and the adoption of less healthy local habits.

The attitudes and training of healthcare professionals is key. A culturally sensitive approach is needed when dealing with minorities of all sorts, including patients and users with a migrant background, to ensure equitable, high-quality and informed care, especially maternity care.

Second-generation immigrant women are generally found to have lower fertility levels than their parents' generation. However, this pattern is not universally valid and does not apply to specific ethnic subgroups or national contexts, as a study showed second-generation migrant women of Turkish origins in Germany have a higher fertility rate than native women. In addition, fertility decision-making of second-generation migrant women appears related to male partner characteristics (as shown by a study on families of Southern European, Turkish and Moroccan origin living in Belgium). Therefore, a holistic approach to family health should be pursued. However, this is hindered by the lack of comprehensive and up-to-date data on the sexual and reproductive rights of ethnic minority girls and women or second- and third-generation migrant women in the EU. Female genital mutilation is an issue in the EU, for women of African, Yemeni and Iraqi origins.

## 8.2. Recommendations

The lack of official, comparable and reliable data and information on second-generations migrants poses a challenge to gathering valid evidence and informed policy-making on the basis of this evidence.

To address this lack of information, several initiatives need to be undertaken. First, the Parliament and the Council could call on the Member States to fulfil their responsibility in producing comparable and reliable data. Then, the Parliament could call on the Commission and in particular its Directorate for Statistics (Eurostat) to support national statistical authorities in designing data protection protocols for individual sex-disaggregated data on ethnicity. As there is resistance against data collection on ethnic minorities by national and local stakeholders, any initiatives to strengthen the protection and integration of ethnic minorities by the Parliament and the Commission – possibly also involving the FRA in its capacity as intermediary with representatives of national stakeholders – would be welcome. Such initiatives could imply a clearer definition of migration policy of the EU as well as the strengthening of protection of ethnic minorities in the Member States.

Education is one of the most investigated areas with data collected on purpose by academic research and national institutions coordinated by EUROSTAT and OECD (PISA data). Empirical evidence leads to the conclusion that various factors can influence the educational achievements at the intersection of gender and ethnicity. These factors are: gender stereotypes about children including second-generation girls; contrasting forms of implicit and explicit discrimination that may prevent second-generation children from obtaining good achievements; the need to promote multiculturalism and cultural exchanges among pupils; and the need to reduce selectivity in educational systems (between professionalisation paths and academic paths) as this choice discourages minority ethnic groups from educational achievements. To obtain improvements these factors should be addressed concurrently.

Towards all these aims the Parliament and the Council should call on the Member States to take action in favour of educational models that promote integration of minority ethnic groups including second-generation migrants more effectively. The Erasmus + Programme is a good opportunity stakeholders in the Member States (including schools and individual citizens) can take to exchange good practices on multiculturalism in education, or good practices addressing different forms of discrimination. The Commission can intervene in the implementation of the programme to promote this opportunity.

Awareness-raising and capacity building for school professionals is also needed. Both types of initiatives should assume an explicit and strong commitment to gender equality. To promote their efficacy, the Parliament can call on the Commission to consider the implementation of the Rights and Values Programme, the European Social Fund +, and Next Generation EU Fund. Finally, the Parliament can call on the Commission, the Council and the Member States to undertake more initiatives towards coordination of educational policies, awareness-raising initiatives and capacity-building for school personnel to promote integration of ethnic minorities with a simultaneous commitment to gender equality.

The residential segregation of second-generation migrants can be counteracted by adopting purpose-designed housing policies that implicitly introduce indirect forms of price control over housing rental fees. Social housing should aim at favouring a multi-ethnic social context with majority and minority ethnic groups proportionally represented. As social housing is often a responsibility of regions and local governments, the Parliament should call on the Member States for stronger coordination of these policies at the national level with a view to achieving these objectives. The Parliament can also call on the Commission to closely monitor actions for social housing within the ERDF at regional level with a view to contrasting the phenomenon of spatial segregation.

Despite the lack of EU-27 comparable data, the academic studies investigating marital unions and fertility of second-generation migrant women covering the EU Member States with the largest migrant communities provide clear indications for family policies. The existing EU framework for supporting work-life balance should be carefully tailored to meet the needs of families of second-generation migrants. Women from this group are at a higher risk of losing their jobs with the birth of their children, and, more generally, because their position in the labour market is extremely uncertain. To address this, the Parliament should call on the Member States to fully implement work-life balance policies, including early childhood education and care. This is not only necessary for work-life balance but also for supporting a successful educational path for the children of first-, second- and third-generation migrants. The Commission can act in its full capacity in this respect and promote effective policies, including for ECEC, that take into account both ethnicity and gender equality.

Regarding labour participation and employment, the EU institutions – in particular the Commission – can support the adoption of effective measures for promoting labour market participation of second-generation migrant women. This can be done through the monitoring of the European Semester process and through the implementation of European Social Fund +. To this aim, the Parliament

through its activity of surveillance can call on the Member States to effectively implement appropriate measures and initiatives.

Detailed data on the health conditions of second-generations and third-generations migrant women in the EU is scarce and mostly national and therefore difficult to compare. Coordinated measures to address the COVID-19 pandemic have proven that coordination in health policies is crucial for the wellbeing of all populations living in the EU. The Parliament should call on the Council and the Member States to enhance cooperation in health policy, particularly in the area of preventive health when it comes to cardiovascular diseases and diabetes for instance. These initiatives should include all the resident populations that can be supported by the EU4Health Fund. Finally, initiatives to enhance the capacity of health systems' personnel to provide tailored assistance to ethnic minorities – and in particular to ethnic minority women – should be encouraged within the existing financial instruments (European Social Fund +).

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## ANNEX I

**Table A2. Defining characteristics of immigrant populations, 2015–16**

Age 15–64, total = 100

	Region of birth						Duration of stay			Advanced host-country language proficiency ( %)
	Europe	Of which: EU	Africa	Asia	Latin America	North America and Oceania	<5 years	5 to 9 years	≥10 years	
Australia	34.0	..	6.3	44.7	2.2	12.8	20.9	19.4	59.7	70.3
Austria	82.5	41.6	3.1	11.8	1.8	0.8	22.5	15.3	62.2	63.2
Belgium	54.9	41.4	30.5	10.4	3.0	0.9	21.0	20.7	58.3	63.2
Bulgaria	100.0	24.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	35.8	13.5	50.7	62.3
Canada	22.3	..	9.3	51.2	12.9	3.9	14.0	16.1	69.9	..
Chile	5.0	..	0.1	1.7	90.5	2.7	46.1	20.4	33.5	..
Croatia	100.0	12.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	4.0	94.8	97.2
Cyprus <sup>1,2</sup>	61.8	51.1	4.0	31.7	0.2	2.3	27.1	26.8	46.1	42.5
Czechia	87.5	58.2	0.8	10.3	0.7	0.8	15.2	17.5	67.4	75.9
Denmark	53.6	38.1	6.8	33.0	3.4	3.2	30.5	20.8	48.7	..
Estonia	92.3	7.7	0.1	7.3	0.1	0.1	3.3	4.2	92.5	21.1
Finland	65.2	38.0	6.9	23.2	2.2	2.5	16.4	27.3	56.3	57.5
France	31.8	22.7	52.6	9.3	5.3	1.0	11.8	12.8	75.4	64.9
Germany	74.4	41.8	2.8	19.7	1.8	1.3	22.1	9.0	68.9	58.3
Greece	79.4	19.4	2.4	15.3	0.5	2.3	6.5	14.7	78.8	62.9
Hungary	90.5	70.2	1.3	7.3	0.3	0.6	13.9	13.5	72.6	92.5
Iceland	71.6	67.5	2.1	14.6	4.2	7.5	13.0	25.7	61.3	..
Ireland	65.3	61.9	8.0	15.8	6.1	4.8	24.2	28.4	47.4	..
Israel	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.1	6.8	87.1	..
Italy	56.0	34.9	16.7	14.7	11.1	1.5	9.0	25.3	65.7	66.1
Japan	5.0	..	0.8	79.8	10.1	4.2	..	..	..	..
Korea	2.6	..	1.0	92.0	0.2	4.2	59.1	26.4	14.5	..
Latvia	91.9	11.0	0.1	7.7	0.2	0.2	4.0	2.1	93.9	36.6
Lithuania	89.1	10.1	0.5	9.9	0.1	0.3	3.0	3.3	93.7	56.0
Luxembourg	86.2	80.1	6.7	3.8	2.2	1.0	28.3	18.5	53.3	89.7
Malta	..	..	..	..	..	..	11.4	16.8	71.8	24.2
Mexico	10.1	..	0.3	4.3	35.4	49.9	..	..	..	..
Netherlands	39.5	24.1	19.2	19.4	19.4	2.4	8.0	11.2	80.8	..
New Zealand	24.9	..	8.7	42.1	1.6	22.7	15.9	15.8	68.3	..
Norway	52.3	40.6	11.6	28.1	4.8	3.0	32.7	19.9	47.5	46.2

**Table A2. Defining characteristics of immigrant populations, 2015–16**

Age 15–64, total = 100

	Region of birth						Duration of stay			Advanced host-country language proficiency ( %)
	Europe	Of which: EU	Africa	Asia	Latin America	North America and Oceania	<5 years	5 to 9 years	≥10 years	
Poland	100.0	29.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	..	..	..	70.0
Portugal	35.9	28.5	41.5	2.2	18.1	2.1	7.5	11.3	81.2	89.7
Romania	..	..	..	..	..	..	-	-	-	56.5
Slovak Republic	92.8	69.6	0.9	4.0	0.0	2.2	15.9	9.5	74.6	87.2
Slovenia	100.0	22.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	17.9	71.7	51.1
Spain	34.4	30.4	21.0	6.8	37.1	0.6	9.1	25.1	65.9	76.0
Sweden	43.8	27.5	9.8	39.4	5.2	1.7	22.7	21.2	56.1	65.0
Switzerland	77.3	57.6	6.0	8.2	6.0	2.3	25.9	16.7	57.4	63.4
Turkey	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
United Kingdom	40.9	37.3	16.5	32.9	4.4	5.3	25.6	22.1	52.3	67.7
United States	10.8	..	5.0	30.0	51.9	2.3	13.2	10.9	75.9	..
<b>OECD total</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>28.0</b>	<b>25.7</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>68.8</b>	<b>65.5</b>
<b>EU total</b>	<b>52.7</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>18.1</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>17.1</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>65.5</b>	<b>66.0</b>

Source: Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2018: Settling In - © OECD 2018, Annex: Tables A. Composition of Immigrant Populations and Households

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EU total data includes UK.

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This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the FEMM Committee, provides an overview of the social situation and level of integration of second- and third-generation migrant women. This topic is analysed using specific indicators, namely, residential conditions, family patterns, labour-market integration, and health outcomes.

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