Disentangling disadvantages:
The labor market entry of recent immigrant women in Germany

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation and scope

Gender-specific trajectories are apparent in research on immigrants' labor market integration, which has important implications for the financial standing of immigrant households (and the supposed economic contribution that immigrants represent for the declining labor force across Europe and other industrialized societies) but also for interrelated integration dimensions. More specifically, immigrant women are consistently observed to experience a disadvantage in their labor market outcomes compared to other groups like immigrant men, native women, and native men, at least when it comes to descriptive data (see, for instance, Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). Even within the group of immigrant women, the outcomes of sub-groups from different countries of origin show a lot of variation (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). These female-specific observations are the starting point of this dissertation, which disentangles the labor market disadvantages of immigrant women after their arrival in Germany, especially when it comes to their labor force participation (LFP).

For a long time, immigrant women were not a group of interest in labor market research, the assumption largely being that women arrive as 'tied' immigrants accompanying or joining a spouse, and have no plans to enter the labor market themselves. This view was reinforced by immigration policies, which for a long time did not automatically issue family migrants the authorization to work after arrival. Nonetheless, female immigration to Europe has not only taken place in the context of family migration, but via various channels depending on the country of origin, destination country and time period in question (Kofman et al., 2005). This long-held misperception of immigrant women representing a small and poorly-motivated proportion of the immigrant inflow meant that it took some time before scholarly attention was devoted to studying their labor market integration. While the number of studies including immigrant women, or focusing directly on them, has increased in the past decades, there still remains a lot to catch up on.

Besides a lack of inclusion, many of those studies which do consider immigrant women are hampered by an approach that ignores the gender-specificities of their integration trajectories. Theories initially derived to explain immigrant *men's* integration have been extended with some female-relevant considerations, but the core ideas that these approaches are conceptualized around (like the simplification of decision-making processes and the importance allocated to certain determinants) may not hold true for immigrant women in the same way as for immigrant men. For instance, labor market resources, like education, work experience, and proficiency in the language of the host country, are important determinants of immigrant men's labor market outcomes, and assumed to be equally important for women. Other than household factors, like marital status and the presence of children, few female-specific determinants have been comprehensively studied,

either due to oversight or a lack of appropriate data. Moreover, the gender-specific dynamics of different stages of immigrant women's labor market entry (specifically, the importance of the LFP decision) are overlooked when comparisons are made with men, or when approaches developed for men are simply transposed onto studies of immigrant women.

Given these considerations, this dissertation seeks 1) to summarize the existing literature on immigrant women's labor market integration across Europe, identifying how empirical findings align with theoretical considerations, and more importantly, what gender-specific considerations have been overlooked; 2) to re-conceptualize the approach to studying immigrant women's labor market entry by placing the focus on LFP, and identifying the influential determinants at this stage; and 3) to examine the sources of heterogeneity between immigrant women from different origins.

This dissertation focuses specifically on *first generation* immigrant women, thus women born abroad who have first-person migration experience. This group of immigrants faces specific challenges, like transferring human capital endowments accumulated in the country of origin, that are generally not experienced by second generation immigrants, who are born and educated in the destination country. When it comes to women, the context of socialization during their formative years is also an important differentiation between the first and second generation. For first generation immigrant women, cultural attitudes from the origin country may hold more sway over their behavior than those of the destination, since they (and often their partners) were socialized in this foreign culture. If the home country is one where female LFP is discouraged, then this potentially has implications for the labor market behavior of these women after their immigration. While these cultural attitudes may to some extent be transmitted between immigrant generations (Farré & Vella, 2013), these attitudes are less likely to play a decisive role for second generation immigrants, since this group is also influenced by the socio-cultural milieu in the destination country (which in Germany generally means more liberal attitudes towards gender roles, see Horowitz & Fetterolf, 2020).

To refine the scope of this dissertation even further, the empirical analyses presented in this dissertation rely on data from surveys that specifically targeted *recently-arrived* immigrants (18 months or five years between the arrival time and survey response, depending on the survey in question). This contributes an important perspective to the existing research: Many large-scale surveys of immigrants have difficulty incorporating new arrivals into their samples, which means that, at best, they provide retroactive accounts of immigrants' experiences in the early period after arrival. However, this initial period is crucial, since research shows that the initial conditions that immigrants experience (and the decisions they make during this period) have long term implications for their labor

market trajectories.[1] Additionally, studying recently-arrived immigrants helps to disentangle the impact of pre-migration resource endowments on labor market outcomes from post-migration knowledge and skills, which are accumulated as time in the destination country increases.

1.2 A short introduction to the German context: Immigration policy and labor market features

While the first component of this dissertation provides a comprehensive overview of the European immigration and integration context in general, the subsequent two chapters situate themselves firmly within the German context. As elaborated later on, countries across Europe have different histories of immigration flows and have developed different approaches to immigrants and their integration, all of which translate into their labor market outcomes. Germany in particular is an interesting context within which to study immigrant integration, not only because it is the European country with the largest inflow of immigrants (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020), but also because of the dramatic shift in policy that has occurred over the past decades.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Germany embarked on a process to restructure its approach to immigration and integration. The most influential development was the implementation of the new Immigration Act in 2005, which formalized Germany's integration objectives and delineated the responsibilities of the state actors involved (Liebig, 2007). Practically speaking, this legislation simplified the permit system (also facilitating the granting of work authorization to immigrants) and created integration courses for new arrivals, both measures aimed at removing barriers to immigrants' labor market incorporation. Since then, policy developments have mainly oriented immigration programs towards attracting high-skilled immigrants for positions in growing sectors in Germany (for instance the EU Blue Card Directive from 2012, or the Skilled Immigration Act[2] from 2020).

Of course, it is necessary to mention the differentiation between EU nationals, who benefit from the freedom of movement and do not encounter barriers to their immigration, and third-country nationals (TCNs), who must meet the requirements of a specific immigration channel in order to receive authorization to immigrate to Germany. EU 'free-movers' make up a substantial proportion of immigration inflows to Germany, representing 51 percent of arrivals in 2019 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020). Eastern Europeans in particular have taken advantage of the freedom of movement since their countries' accession to the EU, with Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria all firmly in the top sending countries over the past decade (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge,

[1] For instance, Samper & Kreyenfeld (2021) find that immigrant women who choose to start a family after their arrival in Germany instead of entering the labor market are much less likely to emerge from labor market inactivity at some point in their future.

[2] BAMF: Fachkräfteeinwanderungsgesetz https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Meldungen/DE/2021/210301-am-fachkraefteeinwanderungsgesetz.html?nn=282772 Accessed 08.09.2022.

2020).[3] There are also significant flows from non-EU countries, in particular Turkey and other countries in the Middle East. These individuals generally must meet the criteria for an immigration channel in order to receive the authorization to immigrate. For Turkey, the main entry channel is family reunification, although some permits are also issued for study, work, or humanitarian reasons (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020). For many recent immigrants from elsewhere in the Middle East, residence permits are most often granted for humanitarian reasons or family reunification (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020).

Since this dissertation focuses on immigrant labor market integration, some basic information on the German labor market context is also necessary. After all, the economic conditions immigrants encounter upon arrival do have a role to play in their labor market integration. Unemployment levels in Germany in the past decade (prior to the COVID-19 pandemic) have been among the lowest in the OECD countries, standing at about 4 percent in December 2016 (Degler & Liebig, 2017).[4] There have even been shortages in companies looking to recruit apprentices, with 8 percent of all vocational education and training (VET) positions left unfilled (Degler & Liebig, 2017). Nonetheless, for individuals who arrive in Germany with existing educational credentials, the labor market can be rather inaccessible because of the high level of occupational regulation (432 regulated occupations as of 2022)[5] and the difficult process of having one's foreign credentials recognized (Brücker et al., 2018).

These structural features have competing effects for immigrants' labor market integration: On the one hand, a tighter labor market leaves less room for employers to discriminate against minority groups, but on the other hand, the high level of regulation makes it difficult for first generation immigrants to enter positions that match their skill set and to receive appropriate remuneration. Thus, this certainly has implications for immigrants' disadvantage in occupational status or wage compared to natives. This being said, the majority of this dissertation focuses on LFP, that is, the decision between remaining inactive in the household versus pursuing paid employment. The potential success in immigrants' job search is something that foreseeably could influence the initial decision, but for the most part, this dissertation considers the supply-side dynamics of labor market integration and less the demand-side (involving employer preferences and labor market conditions).

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[3] This being said, there were certain imposed waiting periods before citizens of these countries had unrestricted access to the German labor market. Poles only received unrestricted access in May 2011, and Romanians and Bulgarians in January 2014.

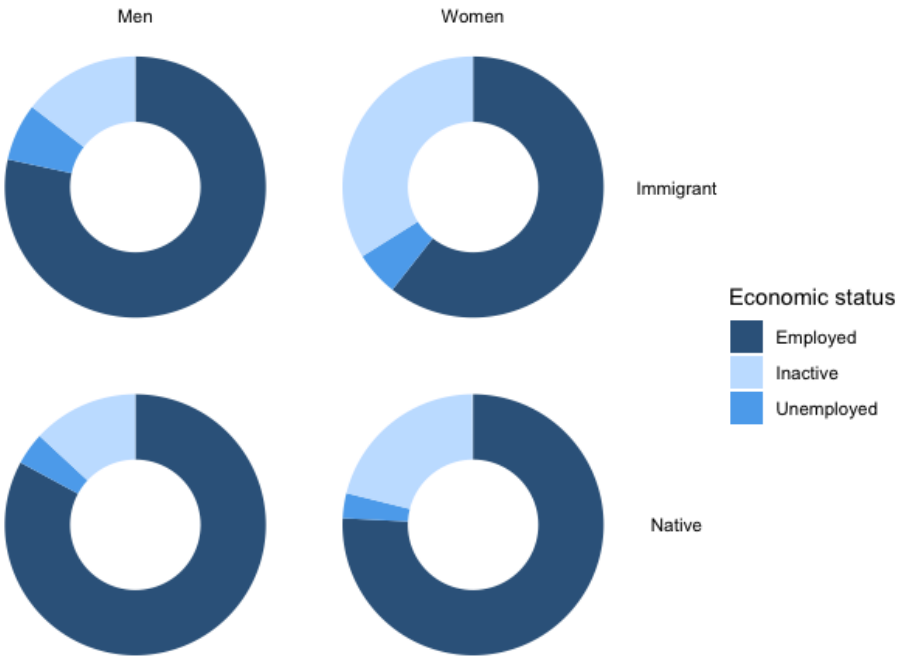
[4] Of course there is regional variation, with *Bundesländer* in the south displaying lower than average unemployment rates, and those in the north-east higher than average. See Bundesagentur für Arbeit: Faktencheck zum Arbeitsmarkt https://arbeitsmarktmonitor.arbeitsagentur.de/faktencheck/regionalstruktur/karte/515/2017/unemployrate/ Accessed 23.09.2022.

[5] According to the Bundesagentur für Arbeit: Reglementierte Berufe. https://berufenet.arbeitsagentur.de/berufenet/faces/index;BERUFENETJSESSIONID=hyAXIjdOXn4WOSFSeFftvmC_fxPyPc0HUDvTeDdeFp9s03WnG-Li!1853710576?path=null/reglementierteBerufe Accessed 07.09.2022.

1.3 The position of immigrant women in the German labor force

On the topic of labor supply, immigrant women's labor market behavior is much different from that of immigrant men, native women and native men. For insight into the German context, **Figure 1** shows the distribution of these four groups across the main economic statuses: employed, unemployed, and inactive (here, a group which includes home-makers, students, and the disabled). Although employment is the most common status for individuals in all groups, the proportions vary widely (from 83 percent of native males to 61 percent of immigrant females). Conversely, when it comes to labor market inactivity, a higher proportion of women than men are found in this category regardless of their nativity, but *immigrant* women especially so (34 percent).

Figure 1: Distribution of groups on the German labor market across different economic statuses



Note: Data comes from the year 2014 and is based on individuals between the ages 20-64; immigrants and natives are defined by their country of birth.

Source: Eurostat (2021)

Figure 1 exposes the fact that immigrant women make different decisions about entering the labor market compared to other groups. This descriptive data is consistent with other studies in the German context, which also show immigrant women's higher tendency towards labor market inactivity compared to native women and immigrant men (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Kogan, 2011; Koopmans, 2016). Even more stark gender differences have been found among the recent group of refugees (Salikutluk & Menke, 2021). Nonetheless, looking at amalgamated group outcomes obscures the considerable heterogeneity by country of origin: Immigrant women from EU Member States – and especially Eastern European countries – often show quite high levels of LFP in Germany, while those

from non-European origins like Turkey show much lower LFP rates (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Höhne & Koopmans, 2010).

Thus, understanding immigrant women's labor market behavior requires acknowledging the intricate nature of this topic, and at the very least taking into account the complex intersection of gender and origin country. The existing studies in the German context have not always incorporated these aspects into their approach: Many studies focus instead on immigrant women's employment success, and lump unemployed and inactive women together into one reference category (Constant, Gataullina, & Zimmermann, 2006; Knize Estrada, 2018; Köbrich Leon, 2013; Koenig, Maliepaard, & Güveli, 2016; Salikutluk, Giesecke, & Kroh, 2020). Often this is the case when immigrant women are being compared to immigrant men, and it exposes the tendency to overlook the gender-specific labor market trajectories of immigrant women. While the findings for immigrant women from these studies are sometimes interpreted in relation to women's LFP decision, the methodological approach does not explicitly support these claims. These male-centric approaches also hamper investigation into female-specific determinants, and can overlook the variation in the differential effect that determinants have on male and female immigrants' labor market outcomes.

There are several prominent studies in the German context which do approach this topic in a comprehensive way and contribute important findings: Höhne & Koopmans (2010) find evidence that factors like low proficiency in German and a high level of religiosity[6] have a negative effect on immigrant women's LFP, while Fleischmann & Höhne (2013) show that the disadvantage in LFP remains for many groups even after controlling for these relevant determinants. Salikutluk & Menke (2021) also find that for recently-arrived refugee women, labor market resources (like education, work experience and German proficiency) and household composition are linked to the LFP decision, but accounting for these factors still does not explain the gap in LFP between refugee women and their male counterparts. As explained in further detail in the coming chapters, these studies join a growing body of research with Europe that tries to disentangle the intersectionality inherent in immigrant women's labor market integration.

While these studies do provide a good foundation for research on this topic in the German context, they are largely based on data over a decade old, and this calls into question the applicability of their findings to more recent arrivals. Immigrant characteristics can and do change over arrival cohorts, due to contextual factors and changes in immigration policy, meaning that origin groups and arrival channels rise and fall in importance. It is crucial to investigate the experiences of more recent arrivals instead of making assumptions based on past findings. Not only does using new data on these

[6]At least, Christian religiosity – the data they rely on did not include a reliable measurement for Muslim women's religiosity.

groups address this concern, but specialized surveys which target recent arrival cohorts may also include previously-unavailable indicators, facilitating the investigation into other potential explanations of the persistent gaps that some groups of immigrant women still seem to face. These considerations point to the research gaps (which are more extensively exposed in Chapter 2) that this dissertation seeks to respond to.

1.4 Dissertation overview

This dissertation was written within the project *Female Employment after Migration (FEM): A Dynamic Approach to Women's Work and Family Patterns after Migration*, a Germany-wide research project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). With project partners working at Humboldt University and the Hertie School in Berlin, the University of Bielefeld and the University of Konstanz, research on gendered migration patterns and female immigrants' integration trajectories was produced to fill a gap in the existing body of literature, particularly when it came to recent cohorts of immigrant women in Germany. This project culminated in a special issue of the *Journal of Family Research*, published in 2021.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides a comprehensive introduction to the research on immigrant women's labor market integration across Europe, including a relevant contextualization of this topic (historical and theoretical), and the state of the existing literature. This review focuses on quantitative research on first generation immigrant women's labor market outcomes, published between 2000 and early 2020. Besides simply presenting these studies side-by-side in order to identify research gaps, this chapter asks what role intersectionality plays in immigrant women's labor market disadvantage, and how well existing theories of labor market integration explain this phenomenon. This chapter was written in collaboration with Maximilian Sprengholz, another PhD candidate in the FEM project, from whose co-authorship I benefited greatly. Although both of us had a hand in the final version of the entire manuscript, I was specifically responsible for the first drafts of the theoretical section (Section 2.2.3), the summary of the studies of LFP (Section 2.3.1) and the conclusion (Section 2.4). This chapter was published in the journal *SN Social Sciences* in 2021.[7]

Chapter 3 narrows the focus to the German labor market, and builds on the takeaways from Chapter 2 by investigating the heterogeneity in immigrant women's LFP between two different origin groups – Poles and Turks. This focus not only extends the existing knowledge of the experiences of two groups important in the German context, but also highlights the female-specific determinants of labor market entry, which are not limited to labor market resources. This article asks, to what extent

[7] The version included in this dissertation does not differ from the published version. This is available open access at the following DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-021-00279-3

do *motivational* factors – not only to household composition, but also a woman's attitudes and perceptions – explain the LFP decision, and the differences between the LFP of these origin groups. Comparing Turkish immigrant women to Polish immigrant women (with no native reference group) enables me to estimate the effect of certain immigrant-specific factors, like language skills, cultural attitudes and reception contexts, which are key theoretical determinants of immigrant women's labor market integration, but are not always included in studies (because of data deficiencies, or the analytical approach chosen). This chapter was written in conjunction with the first supervisor of my dissertation, Claudia Diehl, with whom I collaborated for the direction of the paper and structuring the theoretical argumentation. While I conducted the data analysis and prepared the initial draft, Claudia Diehl had a larger role in writing about the German labor market context (the end of Section 3.3) and parts of the conclusion. This chapter was published in the special issue of the *Journal of Family Research* produced by the FEM project in 2021.[8]

Chapter 4 extends this line of research further with the help of a more recent dataset and a more extensive theoretical and methodological approach. The focus is again on immigrant women's LFP decision, but a greater range of motivational determinants are investigated – including those related to a woman's socio-economic context, attitudes, and personality. The analyses are able to rely on direct measures of these factors (which were not available for the analyses in Chapter 3), and also to extend the origin group comparison to more groups (Poles, Italians, Syrians and Turks). This article seeks to highlight the female-specific dynamics involved in labor market entry, particularly the importance of the LFP decision, by including analyses of immigrant men as a counterpoint, and disentangling the decision to *seek* employment from the success of *finding* employment (for those who are searching). As of October 2022, this chapter is under review at the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.[9]

These three chapters, which represent my contribution to the literature on immigrant women's integration, respond to the general aims of this dissertation by clarifying the experiences of recent groups of immigrant women in the German context and the specific barriers they face. The most important findings in this regard are summarized in the final chapter of the dissertation, which highlights the new information that has been gained from the research presented in here, and potential avenues for future study.

[8] The version included in this dissertation does not differ from the published version. This is available open access at the following DOI: https://doi.org/10.20377/jfr-462

[9] The version included in this dissertation is not the final published version of this article. This can be found exclusively at the following DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2222915

Chapter 2: The labor market integration of immigrant women in Europe: Context, theory and evidence

Bentley Schieckoff & Maximilian Sprengholz

2.1 Introduction

In labor market research, both in economics and sociology, the economic integration of male immigrants in their new country of residence has always held a prominent position. Immigrant women's labor market integration, on the other hand, has rather been seen as "subservient" to the activities of their male counterparts (Boyle et al., 2001, p. 201), a perception that has had repercussions on immigrant women's place in the field of research. This early perception of immigrant women exclusively as invisible dependents meant not only neglecting them in research, but also inhibited opportunities to adopt a gender-specific perspective on the labor market performance of immigrants (Kofman et al., 2005; Mushaben, 2009). Even for researchers who included women in their analyses, gender was often just treated as one of many covariates in the estimated model. In the case where only women were investigated, researchers applied the models to them that initially had been derived for men, ignoring that the lives of immigrant women (including their labor market integration) were likely to differ substantially from those of their male counterparts (Kofman et al., 2005). Research has become much more intersectional in the past two decades, but the investigation of the particular labor market integration patterns of female immigrants remains a work in progress.

Considering both gender and nativity, immigrant women often occupy the most disadvantaged spot on European labor markets. The sparse research on the determinants of these disadvantages is hardly understandable, especially considering the European demography. In 2018 alone, 2.4 million immigrants arrived in the EU from a non-EU member country, with an additional 1.4 million EU citizens moving from one EU country to another (Eurostat, 2020b). Females account for 46 percent of the total. Clearly, investigating the labor market performance of immigrant women is not only of macroeconomic importance, particularly in light of Europe's demographic change (Barslund, Bartolomeo, & Ludolph, 2017; d'Albis, Boubtane, & Coulibaly, 2016; Fuchs & Kubis, 2016), but also addresses the fundamental question of ethnic and gender equality. Emancipative instruments might work very differently for immigrants, taking into account specific gender dynamics arising from the direct experience of immigration and integration as well as cultural differences (Kofman et al., 2005; Mushaben, 2009). Understanding the causes as well as mitigating the detrimental consequences of the labor market disadvantages of immigrant women could substantially improve their quality of life, for instance by helping their family establish greater economic independence.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to provide a review of the quantitative research on first generation female immigrant labor market outcomes across Europe generated between 2000 and

2020. We have three main objectives: The first objective is to contextualize female immigrant labor market integration in Europe both geo-politically and theoretically. The second objective is to summarize the recent findings on immigrant women's labor market integration patterns, identifying broad trends in their outcomes across Europe and connecting the theoretical determinants of their labor market integration to actual empirical evidence. The final objective of our review is to evaluate the intersectionality of the disadvantages that immigrant women face – based on their nativity and gender – and to highlight how different groups of immigrant women in different contexts occupy unique positions on the labor market, meriting appropriate research approaches.[10] We enhance our review of the existing literature by including descriptive analyses using the most current data.

2.2 Theoretical and contextual setting

2.2.1 General framework and focus of this review

The comparability of migration-related research rests on a clear understanding of the terms used and their applicability to the presented results. In this review, we adopt the working definition of 'immigrant' as an individual who is living in a country in which s/he was not born (irrespective of the citizenship s/he holds). Given their foreign country of birth, these first generation immigrants differ in their *nativity* and immigration experience from both the native population as well as second generation immigrants, who were born in the host country.[11]

In sociology, the term *integration* is a descriptive one, typically referring to the cohesion of a larger entity (Esser, 2001). However, in practice integration is often equated with immigrants' assimilation into the static host society of a nation state. Scholars like Hartmut Esser emphasize that assimilation only refers to a convergence and is not necessarily one-sided, but the terms *integration* and *assimilation* nonetheless often carry a normative character (Coskun Canan, 2015). We acknowledge this debate, but since immigrant outcomes cannot be evaluated without a reference group (especially when employing quantitative methods), we adopt a concept of socio-economic integration understood as the assimilation of immigrant labor market outcomes to those of natives for the purposes of this review. Most of the quantitative studies in the social sciences either implicitly

[10] We explicitly adopt a perspective of intersectionality, although we predominantly focus on the dimensions of gender and nativity. While there are certainly always other stratifying factors in play that make individual life experiences (and labor market outcomes) quite unique (Crenshaw, 1991; Nash, 2008), the possibilities to approach these intersections via quantitative research are limited. Nonetheless, we pay attention to any stratifying dimensions in addition to gender and nativity considered in the reviewed literature.

[11] Additionally, focusing on nativity instead of ethnicity is useful in the European context because of the substantial immigration of co-ethnics. Examples include the repatriates after decolonization or ethnic Germans following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

or explicitly consider the (structural) integration[12] into the labor market to be successful when immigrants do not suffer any (additional) disadvantages vis-a-vis natives that are comparable in terms of their individual characteristics. The same logic applies to the comparison between women and men or any other groups.

As previously stated, research on immigrant women's labor market integration necessitates a well thought-out approach, since disadvantages by nativity *and* gender both need to be considered. Moreover, the disadvantages related to these dimensions can arise at multiple stages along the immigration and integration trajectory. We therefore present the contextual and theoretical underpinnings of these disadvantages throughout the rest of Section 2. In Section 3, we structure our review of the empirical findings by the outcome studied. We start with studies of labor force participation (LFP) and then consider a comprehensive set of indicators in terms of labor market success, including (un)employment rates, working hours/part-time work, contract type, occupational status, and earnings/wages.

Based on the definitions of *immigrant* and *integration*, and given the set of labor market indicators to be considered, the scope of this review extends to all quantitative studies of first generation female immigrant labor market integration in a European country, published in English between 2000 and early 2020. Although we look at female labor market integration after migration, this does not mean that we only consider female *labor* immigrants. Instead, we focus on the labor market outcomes of immigrant women irrespective of their individual migration paths or motives (including refugees). The studies included in this review were found via extensive database and web searches, as well as bibliographic searches within these initial articles.

2.2.2 A brief history of European immigration since 1950

There has been a long tradition of migration from, to and across the European continent, but compared to other countries such as the U.S., Canada or Australia, large-scale immigration and its political recognition is a relatively recent phenomenon for European countries, which started after the end of the Second World War (Dustmann & Frattini, 2011). Migration experiences have been quite heterogeneous across countries within this period owing to historical, political and economic differences, resulting in immigrant populations that differ considerably in their origins and composition. These aspects are important to consider in a review of labor market outcomes, since the

[12] Esser (2001) distinguishes four dimensions of assimilation within the wider concept of social integration: cultural (e.g. language, norms), structural (e.g. education, labor market), social (e.g. native-immigrant friendships), and identificatory (feeling of belonging). Thus, labor market integration is mainly a structural matter, although all different kinds of integration reinforce each other. For example, having a job in a company where natives work certainly facilitates forming inter-ethnic friendships, but such friendships can also be an asset in finding a job. There are many different definitions of integration, but the importance of the socio-economic dimension and its interrelation with the legal, political, or cultural dimensions of integration is widely acknowledged (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016).

characteristics of a country's immigration policy and the co-ethnic community that an immigrant encounters after immigration play an important role in their labor market integration. Thus, we provide a brief history of migration to and within Europe, grouping countries into three main regions (north-western Europe (NWE), southern Europe (SE), and central and eastern Europe (CEE)) with similar experiences.[13]

While refugee movements were an important component of immigration flows across Europe after the Second World War (Berlinghoff, 2018), immigration in the ensuing decades was particularly characterized by bilateral foreign labor recruitment ('guest worker') schemes between NWE – the 'receiving' countries – and SE (and also countries on the periphery of Europe) – the 'sending' countries. These labor inflows to fill low-wage positions were predominantly male, coming from poor agricultural areas with high unemployment (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016), though females destined for jobs in the garment and electronics sectors also made up a considerable share (Mattes, 2005). Coupled with independence movements in overseas colonies, this resulted in substantial increases in the foreign-born population of NWE countries between 1950 and 1970. For countries in CEE, on the other hand, their isolation behind the Iron Curtain hampered any sizable in- or outflows.

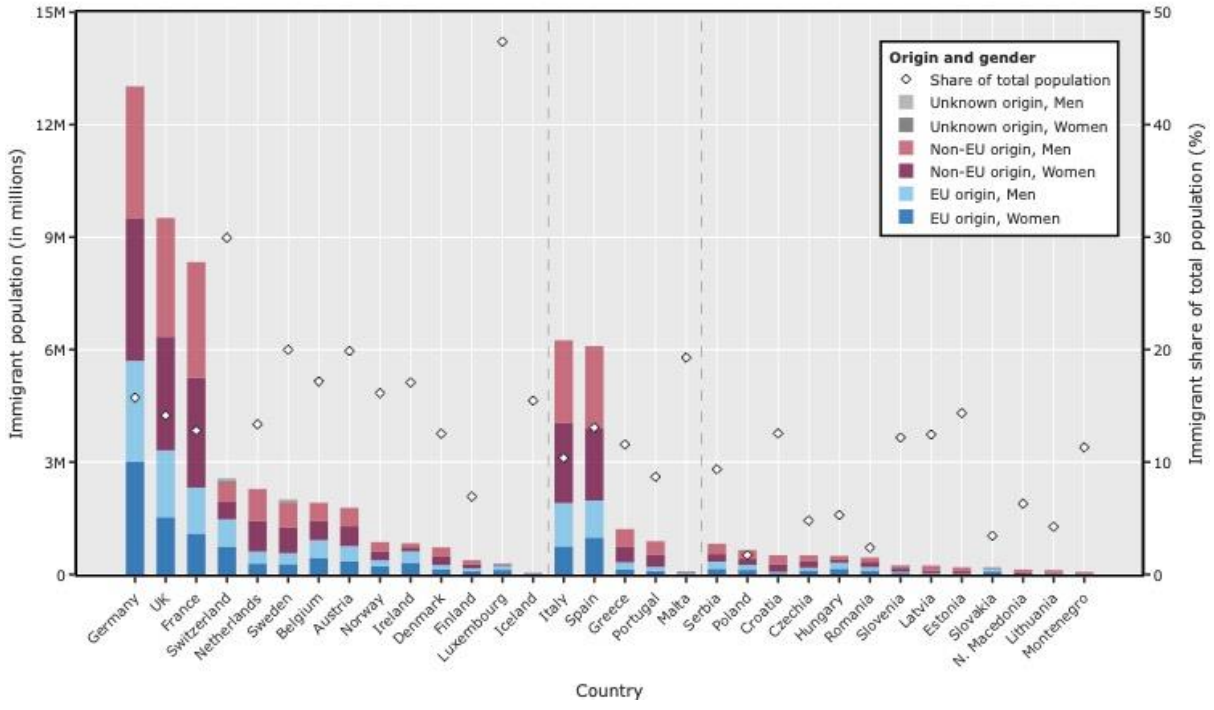
Immigration flows changed course in the early 1970s. Due to a global economic downturn, the formal 'guest worker' schemes were largely terminated by the receiving countries. Nonetheless, many of these foreign workers remained in their host country and decided to bring their families to join them (Hansen, 2003). Family reunification became one of the defining features of immigrant inflows in NWE from the 1970s to the 1990s, and these countries started grappling with immigrant integration as a political priority (to different extents). SE countries, on the other hand, gradually transformed from 'sending' to 'receiving' countries themselves, absorbing some of the labor immigration deflected from NWE to fill the demands for low-wage labor in construction, agriculture, and care services. However, the absence of recruitment schemes in this case, and the increasing policy harmonization as European political integration progressed, meant that many of these labor migrants (mostly coming from North Africa and, later, CEE) had irregular legal status, prompting several collective regularizations over time (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016; Geddes & Scholten, 2016). Again, there was little movement into or out of CEE for the majority of this period, besides the return migration of some ethnic German populations to West Germany (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo,

[13] We define NWE as consisting of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. To account for the historical division by the Iron Curtain and its effects on migration flows, we use a narrow definition of SE and a rather broad definition of CEE. Greece, Malta, Italy, Portugal, and Spain count as SE. Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Belarus, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Poland, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine count as CEE. Without this historical context, a definition based on current geography would arrive at a different categorization for various countries, e.g. for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (as northern Europe) or North Macedonia and Albania (as southern Europe), as typically used, for example, by the UN (see, e.g., UNDESA, 2020).

2016). Yet, flows of asylum seekers skyrocketed out of this region with the fall of the Iron Curtain, and the conflict in the Balkans in the early 1990s also resulted in considerable flows of refugees mainly to NWE (Hansen, 2003).

Since the 1990s, one of the biggest changes to the European immigration context has been the introduction of the universal freedom of movement for EU citizens, especially as membership has expanded. Fewer legal restrictions have facilitated the mobility of migrants with various skill profiles, especially from CEE to countries in NWE and SE, although these migration patterns are increasingly temporary or circular. For non-EU citizens, labor immigration channels like the Blue Card scheme and student migration highlight the EU's focus on the global competition for talent. These channels are nonetheless fairly restrictive, so that family migration remains one of the most popular pathways for immigration from outside of the EU (de Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2020). International conflicts during this period have also resulted in a regular stream of asylum applicants to countries across Europe, for example following the Kosovo War in 1998/99, the war in Afghanistan beginning in 2001, the Iraq War beginning in 2003, and, most notably, following the Syrian civil war, when over 1 million refugees entered the EU in 2015 (de Haas et al., 2020).

Figure 2: Immigrant population across Europe by gender and origin groups, 2019



Note: The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right.

Source: UNDESA (2020)

In sum, migration flows to Europe have become much more diverse since the Second World War, reflecting changes in immigration policies as well as general global geo-political trends. The classic channels of labor migration, family reunification, and humanitarian migration remain the most important, but additional migration motives such as education are increasingly relevant (King, 2002). In terms of immigration policy, the EU has had a large influence, but the nation states still hold considerable sovereignty over many issues. As of 2019, the share of the foreign-born population among NWE countries ranges between 7 percent in Finland and 48 percent in Luxembourg, most countries having shares of 10-20 percent (see **Figure 2**). The largest ethnic communities originate from, for example, India, Poland and Pakistan in the United Kingdom; Morocco, Algeria and Portugal in France; Turkey, Suriname and Morocco in the Netherlands; Poland, Turkey and Russia in Germany; and Syria, Finland and Iraq in Sweden (see Figure A2 in the online appendix). In all SE countries except Portugal, the share of the foreign-born population exceeds 10 percent, clearly reflecting the substantial inflows since the 1990s. The main origins are Albania, Germany and Georgia in Greece; Romania, Albania and Morocco in Italy; Angola, Brazil and France in Portugal; and Morocco, Romania and Ecuador in Spain. In CEE countries, where immigrant numbers are typically lower in absolute and relative terms, foreign-born population shares range between 2 percent in Poland and 14 percent in Estonia, with most immigrants coming from neighboring countries.

Understanding the (recent) history of immigration in Europe is one essential component for contextualizing the research on female immigrant integration. Immigration policies have changed substantially over the years, and these changes have had an important effect on the composition of the immigrant groups that arrived, including their skill level, country of origin, and most importantly here, their gender. In terms of the gender composition of the immigrant populations in 2019, it looks fairly balanced across European countries (see **Figure 2**). However, it is important to acknowledge that stock statistics hide the gendered nature of specific migration flows over the years. For example, whereas the labor recruitment of NWE countries favored men, a larger proportion of the following family migration was made up of women. Another example is the gendered demand for low-wage immigrant labor in SE countries during the recession after 2008. Whereas (male) construction work was virtually non-existent in the wake of the crisis, the demand for (female) workers in care services was unbroken (de Haas et al., 2020). The history of immigration to Europe provided in this section calls into question the claim of a general 'feminization' of migration over time. Although varying by year and country, averaged across the OECD women have always made up close to half of immigrant inflows since 1950 (de Haas et al., 2019). Given this conclusion, it is critical to understand the gender-specific processes involved in immigrant women's labor market outcomes. In the following subsection,

we present the second important component for the contextualization of this broad topic – the theoretical underpinnings of female immigrant labor market disadvantage.

2.2.3 Explaining female immigrant disadvantage

Empirical research rests heavily upon its theoretical foundations, meaning that the methodological approaches to studying female immigrants and the interpretation of analytical results are sensitive to the initial theoretical assumptions made. Generally speaking, most studies of immigrant disadvantage on the labor market start out from human capital theory, which highlights the importance of human capital endowments like education and work experience for labor market success (Becker, 1985). For immigrants this is particularly important, because human capital is not perfectly transferable from one context to another. Assimilation theory thus states that immigrants remain disadvantaged on the labor market compared to natives even when their level of education and prior work experience are accounted for, and that their labor market outcomes converge towards those of natives as they spend more time in the host country and gain capital relevant to this new labor market (Chiswick, 1978; Friedberg, 2000). This not only relates to host-country educational degrees and job experience, but also proficiency in the language of the host country (Chiswick & Miller, 2002, 2003; Dustmann, 1994), the establishment of new social networks (Putnam, 2000 from Kanas, van Tubergen, & van der Lippe, 2011), and other forms of softer socio-cultural capital (Reimers, 1985).

Assimilation theory itself has not been able to explain the full extent of immigrant disadvantages, and thus other approaches have been developed to extend this theoretical framework. Segmented assimilation theory, for instance, spells out that immigrants' integration trajectories are not just determined by their labor market capital endowments, but that group-specific reception contexts in a destination country also play a decisive role (Portes & Zhou, 1993). These reception contexts are formed by government immigration and integration policies, the perceptions of the majority society, and the existing co-ethnic community. Institutional barriers inherent in the migration channel contribute to the disadvantage of some 'unwanted' groups compared to others, as do the ties that some immigrant communities have to low-wage sectors and ethnic job markets. Discrimination by members of the majority population, both socially and on the labor market, also creates part of the reception context that influences immigrant labor market outcomes.

While these theories have proven useful for explaining immigrant labor market integration in general, they do not include considerations of gender in and of themselves. In most cases, researchers who approached this topic from a 'household specialization' perspective (Becker, 1981) often presumed that men occupy the traditional breadwinner role, and that women, especially those who are married with children, occupy a place outside of the labor force. Over time, though, researchers have acknowledged that women in general have heterogeneous labor market profiles, and that

factors such as marital status and the presence/number of children in the household have a gender-specific impact. Most house and care work is borne by women, which negatively affects their labor market outcomes, and immigrant women pose no exception. Moreover, immigrants may arrive with different sets of norms and values, specifically relating to gender roles, which can influence their subsequent labor market integration. With this realization came increasing efforts to explain female immigrant labor market behavior in itself, not just as a caveat to males.

Several investigations of labor market disadvantages by nativity and gender beginning in the 1980s highlighted the intersectionality of both dimensions and gave foundation to the 'double disadvantage' hypothesis. Based on the observation that immigrant women in Canada were on average the most disadvantaged group on the labor market in terms of occupational status compared to native women, native men and their male compatriots, Boyd (1984) first concluded that...

> ...in addition to the status of being a migrant, migrant women experience additional difficulties in the labor force as women [...]. Overall, the position of migrant women in the labor force can be understood as reflecting the combined impact of sex and birthplace or the 'double negative' effect. (p. 1092f.)

The assertion of such a 'double disadvantage' (Raijman & Semyonov, 1997) or 'double jeopardy' (Greenman & Xie, 2008) rests on the assumption that, on average, both women and immigrants experience penalties on the labor market and that these penalties coincide, leaving immigrant women in the least favorable position. That being said, while the double disadvantage approach represents a suitable intersectional setting for investigating female immigrant labor market disadvantages, intersections do not just involve the dimensions of gender and nativity. Empirical evidence points to very heterogeneous experiences for particular groups of immigrant women, thus hearkening back to the group-specific outcomes predicted by segmented assimilation theorists.

These general theoretical approaches and the extensions for female immigrants specifically are helpful for identifying the most important drivers and mechanisms that propel disadvantages by gender and nativity. The way these disadvantages translate into inferior labor market outcomes, however, is not instantaneous, but arises as these women move through different stages of the immigration and integration trajectory. In the following, we discuss how a disadvantage along these two dimensions arises for sequential outcomes, like labor force participation and success on the host country's labor market.

Labor force participation

Typically, the earliest indicator of immigrants' labor market integration is their LFP, that is, the process of actively looking for and/or engaging in wage-earning employment. Immigrants have

different LFP intentions after migration, which link back to the selection processes they have undergone up to this point. On one hand, labor immigrants are positively selected with regards to their LFP rates, in the sense that the vast majority intend to work, and for so-called third-country nationals (TCNs), they often already have a job lined up prior to arrival as a precondition to their work visa. However, the LFP intentions of other types of immigrants can be more ambiguous from the beginning of their trajectory. For 'unwanted' groups of TCNs, who often do not qualify for labor migration channels, other migration channels that are not conditional on labor market potential are the only way to receive the authorization to immigrate. Thus, TCN immigrants arriving as family immigrants, students, etc. may have intentions to participate in the labor force after arrival, and use these other channels to gain the initial immigration authorization they would have otherwise been denied. Still, non-labor migration channels may entail additional labor market access restrictions.

Clearly, the selection effects of immigration policy have an important impact on the LFP of these groups after arrival, often resulting in a disadvantaged situation for certain groups of immigrants on the labor market based on their origin. Gender constitutes an additional dimension of disadvantage. When it comes to LFP, more often than not, males' participation is taken as a fact. In most cases this makes sense – data shows that male immigrants had high LFP rates before immigration, and that this continues after immigration (for evidence from Germany, see Bürmann et al., 2018; Höhne, 2016) regardless of the country of origin. Very few do not try to find a job at some point in their early integration trajectory. Compared to male immigrants, female immigrants undergo a much more deliberative process in their LFP decision, involving the following considerations: economic necessity, household duties, social norms, and perceptions of labor market success (including discrimination).

Regarding the economic necessity of female LFP, this often relates to their living circumstances. For those who live in households with other sources of revenue (from a spouse or parents), it might not be a requirement for them to contribute monetarily. Even so, it is becoming increasingly difficult to support a household on a single salary, creating economic incentives for female immigrants to seek paid work and driving up the female LFP rates even in the majority populations: the average female LFP rate increased across all European countries in the last decades (OECD, 2020). Thus, the culture of the male breadwinner seems to be becoming less prevalent in Europe and other high-income countries, though females often continue to undertake household tasks (Altintas & Sullivan, 2016), even if they are working (see Sofer & Thibout, 2019, for evidence from France).

Along with economic incentives for immigrant women's LFP comes the opportunity to delegate time away from household activities, which is especially difficult when there are children to take care of. Immigrants often delay family formation until after migration, which is evident from a

high birth rate in the year following migration (Milewski, 2007). Thus, recent immigrants can have more strenuous household burdens than natives, which impacts their LFP. Nonetheless, many European countries encourage female LFP, and particularly mothers, via different types of activation policies such as expanded funding for childcare, but immigrant women remain difficult to engage. Some sources claim that they are less likely than native women to take advantage of public daycare schemes (Gambaro et al., 2017), though other studies find that employed immigrant women use public daycare just as much as employed native women (Rendall et al., 2010). In any case, immigrants are less likely to have extended family present to help with household tasks, which plausibly reduces their likelihood of allocating time away from the household.

Additionally, culture-specific gender values can factor into the decision to search for work. For women (and/or their spouses) who hold conservative ideas about the appropriateness of females on the labor market, the wage which would be earned from being active in the labor force often does not compensate for the perceived utility loss in household production, and therefore discourages their LFP (Bertrand et al., 2018). Typically, these conservative gender values are associated with immigrants from Middle Eastern/Muslim-majority origins. This being said, the correlation between Muslim religiosity and conservative gender values has not received widespread empirical support in recent studies (Koenig et al., 2016; Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021), so this consideration needs to be treated with caution when examining the dimensions of nativity and gender.

The final aspect that female immigrants may take into account when deliberating whether to enter the labor force or not is their perception of being successful on the labor market. This involves, mainly, perceptions of discrimination based on sex and ethnicity/nativity, which could impede their ability to find a job. While perceptions are not necessarily accurate indicators of actual discrimination (Diehl & Liebau, 2017; Small & Pager, 2020), they likely influence the decision of whether participation in the labor force is individually worthwhile or not.

Thus, on top of the usual considerations, the additional determinants to consider when studying *female immigrants*' LFP specifically include their migration motive, the economic standing of their household, their marital status and number of children, their gender values and/or level of religiosity and their perceptions of the inclusiveness of the host country's society and labor market.

Labor market success

Assuming that female immigrants manage to access the host country's labor market and they make the decision to participate in the labor force, those who are active on the labor market continue to experience disadvantages stemming from their nativity and gender (among other factors). Success on the labor market relates to several measurable outcomes. The (un)employment rates of immigrants are an important topic of study, although self-employment is also an important option for

many immigrants (OECD, 2017). Additional outcomes describe the conditions of employment, such as the contract type and number of hours worked, as well as characteristics of the work found, such as the occupational status and the wage paid.

Besides the immigrant disadvantage mentioned earlier (involving human capital and the differences between home and host country labor market contexts), there are gender considerations that particularly affect the labor market outcomes of female immigrants. For one, in the case of family immigration, the decision to immigrate often favors the husband's job prospects in the destination country (Mincer, 1978). Although migration patterns have evolved since the eras of the male 'guest worker' and female 'trailing spouse,' female immigrants continue to be overrepresented in family reunification channels (OECD, 2017), meaning that their immigration is to a larger extent conditioned on their family connections and not on their future labor market success.

Another aspect that affects the success of female immigrants on the labor market is their occupational segregation. Women in general, not just female immigrants, are typically found in service, care, and teaching occupations (Das & Kotikula, 2019). These occupations tend to require significant customer service and communication skills. When it comes to female immigrants, their proficiency in the host country language and familiarity with social norms can present a barrier to them finding jobs in their trained occupation (Raijman & Semyonov, 1997). Moreover, the additional domestic tasks they may encounter after immigration in setting up a home may direct them to the types of jobs that can give them the flexibility in working hours they need. Thus, these factors work together to dictate the quality and characteristics of the job found after immigration.

Finally, discrimination is an important consideration when examining the outcomes of female immigrants. Audit studies back up the existence of discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities on European labor markets (Quillian et al., 2019). Discrimination is one factor that relates to both a nativity and gender dimension. Not only do immigrants experience labor market discrimination, but females do too – they may be less desirable to employers if they have a spouse or children at home (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007), and they sometimes display an ethno-religious marker of 'otherness' like the hijab for Muslim women (Weichselbaumer, 2019).

Thus, for studies relating to female immigrants' labor market success, additional factors that are important considerations are the migration motivation and/or the order of migration, the trained occupation and the occupational structure of the host country, and hiring discrimination.

Throughout this section, we have presented the most important contextual information needed to approach the topic of female immigrant labor market integration in Europe; the historical development of immigration policies and the immigrant community across Europe, and the theoretical foundations explaining why this group differs from other groups on the labor market. We

have shown that women have always been an important component of the immigrant flows since the Second World War and that immigration regimes hold a lot of sway over the characteristics of those immigrants who arrive. We have also shown that empirical studies of female immigrant labor market outcomes need to look at additional factors because of the interplay between the disadvantages relating to their nativity and those relating to their gender. In the following section, we dive into the findings from quantitative studies between 2000 and 2020 and examine how the recent body of literature lines up with these considerations.

2.3 Empirical findings

In this section, we organize the empirical findings by the outcome studied. We start by reviewing studies on female immigrants' LFP, and then move on to their labor market success conditional on participation. Since labor market success is such a broad topic with multiple indicators, the review of this portion of the literature will be broken into two subsections: The first subsection deals with immigrant women's employment status (including their (un)employment rates, working hours/part-time work and contract type) and the second subsection with the quality of and returns to their employment once it is found (including occupational status, earnings/wages).

When seeking to investigate the coinciding labor market disadvantages that immigrant women face because of their gender and nativity, both of these dimensions have to be explicitly considered. Yet, only a few of the reviewed studies do so; most compare either women and men among immigrants, or immigrants and natives among women. As each of these comparisons corresponds to a different type of disadvantage, we first structure the findings by the comparison group. We then provide an integrated perspective that explicitly focuses on the intersectional nature of gender and nativity and how their interplay affects the labor market outcomes of immigrant women.

Many of the reviewed studies rely on data that is, by now, decades old. The extent to which these findings reflect current immigrant experiences is unknown. Thus, we supplement our review by situating the studies within the current European context. We provide additional descriptive statistics on gender and nativity gaps for the most common labor market indicators by country of destination for 2019 based on Eurostat data. In an interactive online appendix, we also present figures on how these gaps have developed over time.

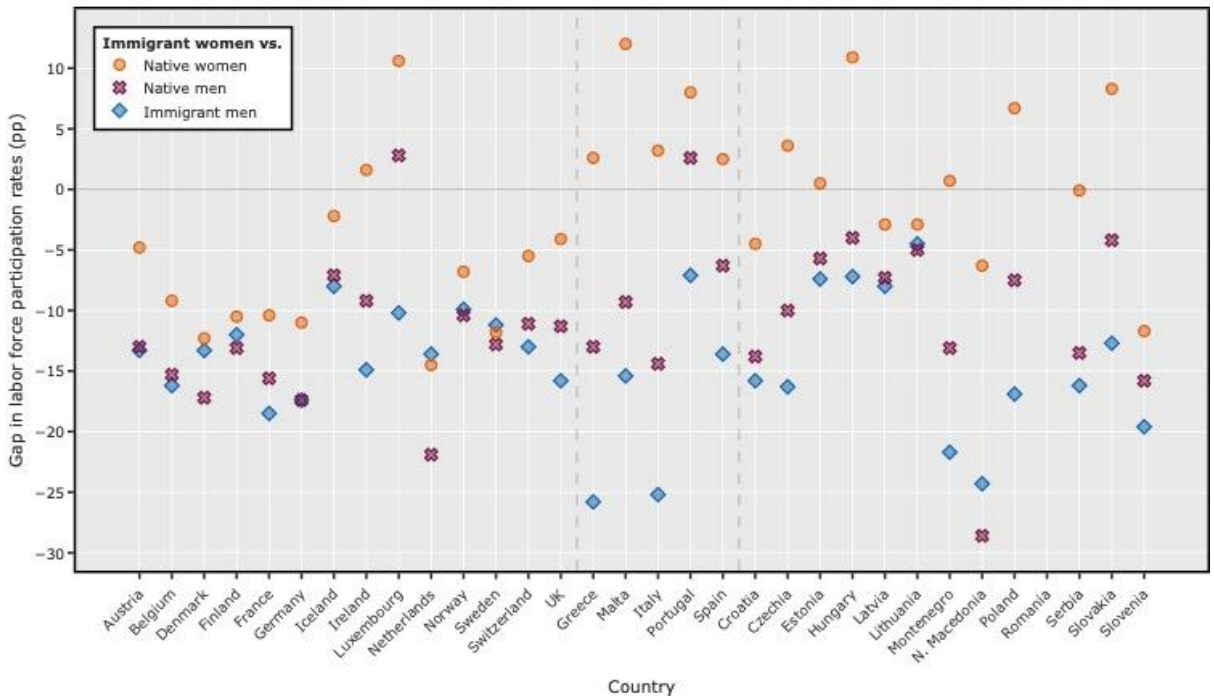
2.3.1 Labor force participation

Nativity gap among women

According to 2019 Eurostat data, immigrant women show lower average LFP rates than native women in many of the European countries covered by the studies included in this review (see **Figure**

3). This disadvantage is observed for all of NWE except Ireland and Luxembourg, and has also been confirmed in other studies for the UK, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden from the past two decades (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Knize Estrada, 2018; Koopmans, 2016; Neuman, 2018; Rubin et al., 2008). By contrast, in SE countries the average LFP rates of immigrant women in the Eurostat data consistently exceed those of native women (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007; Bernardi, Garrido, & Miyar, 2011; Fullin & Reyneri, 2011; Rendall et al., 2010; Rubin et al., 2008). We observe a similar pattern in some CEE countries, e.g. the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, but the situation appears much more heterogeneous. Advantages in LFP need not indicate a disparity in the type of immigrants moving to each region, but can also point to the fact that, in SE and CEE countries, the LFP rates of native women are usually lower compared to NWE countries. For example, nearly 80 percent of native women in the Netherlands participated in the labor force in 2019, but only about 60 percent did so in Greece or Hungary (see Figure A4 in the online appendix).

Figure 3: Nativity and gender gaps in labor force participation rates by country, 2019



Note: Age 15-64. Immigrants include all immigrants for which there is data available, irrespective of origin. Markers represent the values obtained by subtracting the comparison group value from the value for immigrant women. The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right. Lighter shades of markers represent the Eurostat flag 'low reliability.'

Source: Eurostat (2020a)

Besides general differences in female LFP in the destination countries, nativity gaps also vary greatly by immigrants' country of origin. In NWE countries, as of 2019 the nativity gap is generally smaller for immigrant women from EU countries compared to those from outside the EU, but the

picture is much less consistent across SE and CEE countries (see Figure A4 in the online appendix). Looking at immigrants from specific origin countries, several patterns emerge. Women from Muslim-majority countries show the lowest LFP rates across destination countries, e.g. Turkish women in Germany, or Moroccan women in Italy (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Fullin & Reyneri, 2011). By contrast, immigrant women from Eastern European countries rank among the highest in LFP, e.g. women from Bulgaria and Romania in Italy and Germany (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Fullin & Reyneri, 2011).

These patterns suggest that female immigrant populations across Europe, and the groups of native women they are compared to, are quite heterogeneous in terms of the characteristics determining their LFP. Several relevant factors have been repeatedly identified in the literature that explain parts of the observed (positive or negative) nativity gaps in LFP among women. A large part of the gap usually disappears after accounting for compositional differences in age, human capital and household factors between immigrant and native women. The most important human capital factor is education, and its distribution among immigrants is highly conditional on the selection processes shaping migration flows. Regarding the family context, the marital status and the presence of small children matter most, as marriage and birth rates among immigrant women often exceed those among native women (Adserà & Ferrer, 2015). In some cases, after accounting for compositional differences in these relevant factors between immigrant populations in destination countries, but also between origin groups within the immigrant population, nativity gaps vanish completely. For instance, Rendall et al. (2010) show that the LFP nativity advantage of immigrant women in SE countries disappears net of these factors for Greece, Spain, and (almost) for Portugal. Gorodzeisky and Semyonov (2017) find a LFP nativity disadvantage for non-European immigrant women, and a nativity-advantage for European immigrant women in France – both gaps narrow and become insignificant after adding socio-demographic controls.[14]

While these examples show that human capital and the household context are important factors, they are in many cases insufficient to fully explain the nativity gap in female LFP. As the varying LFP patterns across origin countries suggest, additional factors are related to the cultural and social norms of immigrants and the corresponding perceptions of appropriate roles of women and men in the household and the labor market. Koopmans (2016) shows for Muslim immigrant women (from Turkey, Morocco, former Yugoslavia, and Pakistan) in NWE that traditional gender values are associated with significantly lower LFP rates. Khoudja and Fleischmann (2017) confirm this result for

[14] In some cases, gaps also increase (or even change direction). For example, Khoudja and Fleischmann (2017) show for the Netherlands that immigrant women of Surinamese/Antillean origin exhibit slightly higher LFP rates as native women (+3 percent) in their sample. After controlling for age, education, health, language skills and children in the household, the predicted Surinamese/Antillean advantage is 19 percent (p. 525).

immigrant women from Turkey, Morocco and Surinam/Antilles in the Netherlands, highlighting that the gender role attitudes held by the women's male partners play a significant role too. They also show that traditional women tend not to participate in the labor market if the labor market resources of their partners permit, whereas this is much less the case for egalitarian women. In the absence of direct measures, religiosity is often used as a proxy for traditional gender roles, based on the assumption that higher levels of religiosity are associated with more conservative gender roles, particularly for Muslim women (see, e.g., Knize Estrada, 2018 for Germany). However, Khoudja and Platt (2018) challenge this interpretation by considering both religiosity and gender role attitudes of immigrant women in the UK. Net of gender role attitudes, labor market entry rates of immigrant women in their sample even increase with religiosity (and exit rates decrease vice versa).

Assimilation into the host society is relevant for all the considered (as well as unobserved) determinants of LFP. With longer durations of stay, nativity gaps in female LFP typically narrow across European countries, as immigrant women acquire host country-specific resources such as language proficiency and adapt to the regional culture and social norms (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007; Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Koopmans, 2016; Neuman, 2018; Rendall et al., 2010). Still, in most studies modeling assimilation trajectories, immigrant women starting out at a disadvantage in LFP do not manage to catch up to native women over the analysis period (Neuman, 2018; Rendall et al., 2010).

Several studies aim to consider as many factors relevant to female LFP as possible (e.g., Khoudja & Platt, 2018), but even then some 'unexplained' gaps remain. This net disadvantage might be due to the fact that immigrant women experience lower returns to their characteristics on the labor market than natives, and the expected disadvantage in returns discourages them from participating in the labor market (Rendall et al., 2010). In such a perspective, factors relevant for labor market success also play a larger role, such as individual language skills (Koopmans, 2016) or employer discrimination (Quillian et al., 2019).

That being said, the possibly far-reaching effects that migration motivations and available migration channels have on immigrant women's LFP seem to be quite underexplored. In a rare study, Cangiano (2014) shows that the migration channels under which immigrant women entered EU-15 countries are strong determinants of their LFP. Both female family migrants and refugees show substantially lower odds of being active on the labor market in comparison to female labor migrants and native women in general, conditional on age, human capital, household characteristics, language skills and duration of stay. This result is a clear example of the selection effects involved in migration regimes and the corresponding individual migration trajectories.

Gender gap among immigrants

This section reviews the evidence of differences in LFP rates between women and men among immigrants, thereby highlighting the gender-specific component of immigrant women's labor market (dis)advantages. Across Europe, women participate less in the labor market than men and immigrants pose no exception. As of 2019, the average gender gaps in immigrant LFP range from about 5 pp in Lithuania to over 25 pp in Greece, but there is no clear geographical pattern: Most gaps lie between 10 and 20 pp (see **Figure 3**). In NWE, gender gaps in LFP are larger for immigrants from non-EU compared to EU countries, whereas such a difference is not consistently present in SE and CEE countries (see Figure A4 in the online appendix).

In most studies, immigrant women and men are considered separately (usually in comparison to natives), making it difficult to pin down the factors behind the observed gender inequalities. Nevertheless, judging from their differential impact on women's and men's LFP, family context and cultural norms seem to be among the most important drivers. For example, controlling for age, education and origin, Fullin and Reyneri (2011) estimate that in comparison to immigrant women living alone, the LFP rates of women living with a partner are significantly lower, particularly in the presence of children. By contrast, immigrant men living with a partner and children are significantly *more* likely to participate in the labor force than men living alone. Koopmans (2016) reports a 'marriage bonus' for men and a 'children penalty' for women in terms of LFP for Muslim immigrants of Turkish, Moroccan, former Yugoslavian and Pakistani origin in six NWE countries. He also shows that the gendered effects of the family context persist when including socio-cultural factors in the model. However, these socio-cultural factors themselves only affect immigrant women: Their LFP is estimated to significantly increase in host country language proficiency, host country media use, and, particularly, in holding liberal gender role attitudes (Koopmans, 2016).

To the best of our knowledge, in the timeframe we consider there is only one study for the European context that compares the LFP rates of immigrant women and men in one model, explicitly testing the significance of their difference. Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) estimate gender gaps in LFP (net of age, education, marital status, children in the household, and duration of stay) across origin groups of immigrants in Germany in 2009. They find participation rates of women to be lower than those of men for all immigrant groups except ethnic Germans and Greeks, significantly so for immigrants from Poland, North Africa, Turkey, the Middle East, and a group of Western countries (in the order of decreasing gap magnitude). Clearly, nativity-specific factors not considered in their model seem to play a role here, such as differences in gender role attitudes or language skills.

Coinciding nativity and gender gaps

When examining labor market outcomes by nativity (among women) or by gender (among immigrants), we do not know whether nativity gaps are also present among men and whether gender gaps are also present among natives. To test for coinciding gender and nativity gaps, native men are a necessary additional comparison group in an increasingly complex framework. Across Europe, the LFP disadvantages of women compared to men are ubiquitous in the 2019 Eurostat data, but they differ considerably in magnitude between immigrants and natives as well as by country (see Figure A3 in the online appendix). Whereas gender gaps in LFP have a uniform direction, this is not true for the nativity gap. Whether immigrants show higher or lower LFP rates than natives varies by country and gender. For example, in France as of 2019 immigrant women are the least likely to participate in the labor market, which suggests both a nativity and a gender disadvantage (see Figure A3 in the online appendix). Yet, immigrant men actually show an advantage in LFP over native men.

As we have seen, comparing immigrant and native women as well as immigrant women and men, the raw, descriptive gaps usually narrow after accounting for human capital, the family context, and socio-cultural factors. Thus, any model attempting to estimate a coinciding disadvantage needs to consider such factors as much as possible, while comparing immigrant women, native women, immigrant men, and native men. In terms of LFP, the only available study employing such a design is again the one by Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) for Germany. Their results have two main implications. First, the gender gap varies by nativity or, vice versa, the nativity gap by gender, so that a possible 'double disadvantage' cannot always be inferred from estimating a general nativity and a general gender gap and adding them together. For example, they estimate that native women and Turkish men have higher conditional LFP rates than native men; yet, Turkish women exhibit the lowest rates in comparison to all other groups. Second, conditional nativity and gender gaps vary in their direction by immigrant origin, so that immigrant women do not generally face a double disadvantage in terms of LFP in Germany. A tentative interpretation of Fleischmann and Höhne's (2013) results suggests that ethnic German immigrant women (repatriates of German descent) enjoy a double advantage in LFP, whereas immigrant women from North Africa and the Middle East suffer from a double disadvantage. This result could be driven by a combination of the selectivity inherent in Germany's migration regime (ethnic Germans received preferential treatment) and the differences in gender role attitudes between Germans and immigrant origin groups (ethnic Germans being rather egalitarian, immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East being rather traditional).

Summary

The reviewed literature clearly shows that labor market integration in Europe in terms of LFP is stratified by gender and nativity, and the considerable heterogeneity across destination and origin countries suggests that immigrant women experience a selective disadvantage in their LFP rates vis-a-vis native women, immigrant men, and native men. Studies seeking to explain these disadvantages have generally done a good job of investigating the theoretical considerations mentioned earlier that are particularly relevant to female immigrant LFP. Some structural factors of the receiving context like the current and historical migration policies and the labor market demand, which are inherent in immigrants' channel of entry and/or the motive they state for migration, seem to be strong drivers of nativity gaps in LFP and explain why immigrant women often fare better than natives in SE and CEE but not NWE countries. Household factors like marital status and children join human capital factors as the main determinants of LFP gaps, all of which have gendered outcomes that are additionally stratified by nativity. Gender role attitudes also appear to be particularly relevant for female immigrant LFP and should ideally be included in any such estimation. However, household economic standing as a motivating factor for female immigrant LFP, as well as the potential barrier represented by perceptions of ethnic discrimination, are two mechanisms which remain to be explored in this body of literature. In many of the reviewed studies, unexplained gaps in LFP remain after accounting for a range of explanatory factors, suggesting either omitted variables like these or unequal returns to observed characteristics between women and men, immigrants and natives. Moreover, among these reviewed studies, few combine both the nativity perspective with the gender perspective for a holistic understanding of immigrant women's LFP. This type of tailored approach is necessary for future studies investigating the coinciding disadvantage for immigrant women in terms of LFP in the European context, especially one that allows the assessment of the magnitude of inequalities by nativity vis-a-vis inequalities by gender.

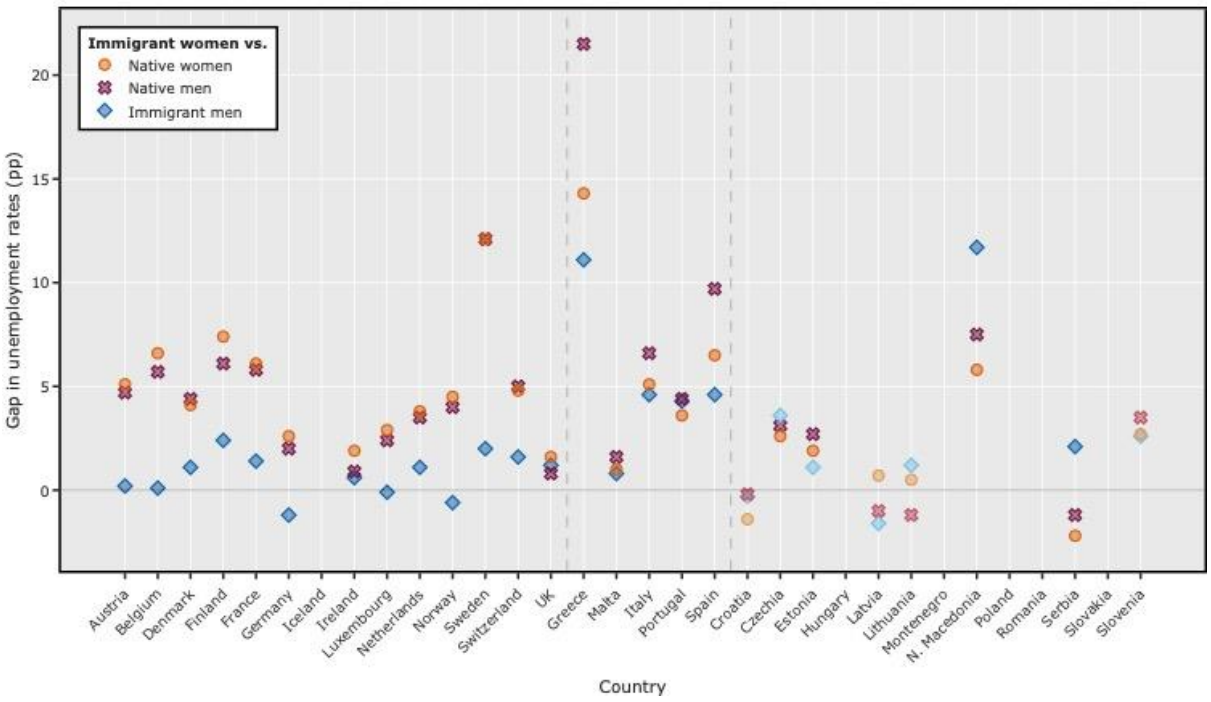
2.3.2 Labor market success I — Employment status

The next studies look at the (un)employment rates of immigrant women and the conditions of their employment once it is found (i.e. the contract type and number of hours worked). As outlined in the theoretical section above, employment outcomes differ from LFP, in that successfully finding employment not only requires a woman to decide to look for employment, but also deals with the local labor market conditions and the hiring tastes of employers.

A conceptual challenge here is the comparability of different measures, particularly unemployment rates and employment rates. Unemployment rates are usually defined as the share of the unemployed relative to the labor force, whereas employment rates denote the percentage of the employed relative to the full (working-age) population. Any differences in employment rates might,

thus, represent differences in LFP as well as differences in unemployment rates. In cases where unemployment rates have not been investigated, we report results on employment rates charged with this caveat.

Figure 4: Nativity and gender gaps in unemployment rates by country, 2019



Note: The unemployment rate represents a share of the population active on the labor market. Immigrants include all immigrants for which there is data available, irrespective of origin. Age 15-64. Markers represent the values obtained by subtracting the comparison group value from the value for immigrant women. The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right. Lighter shades of markers represent the Eurostat flag 'low reliability.'

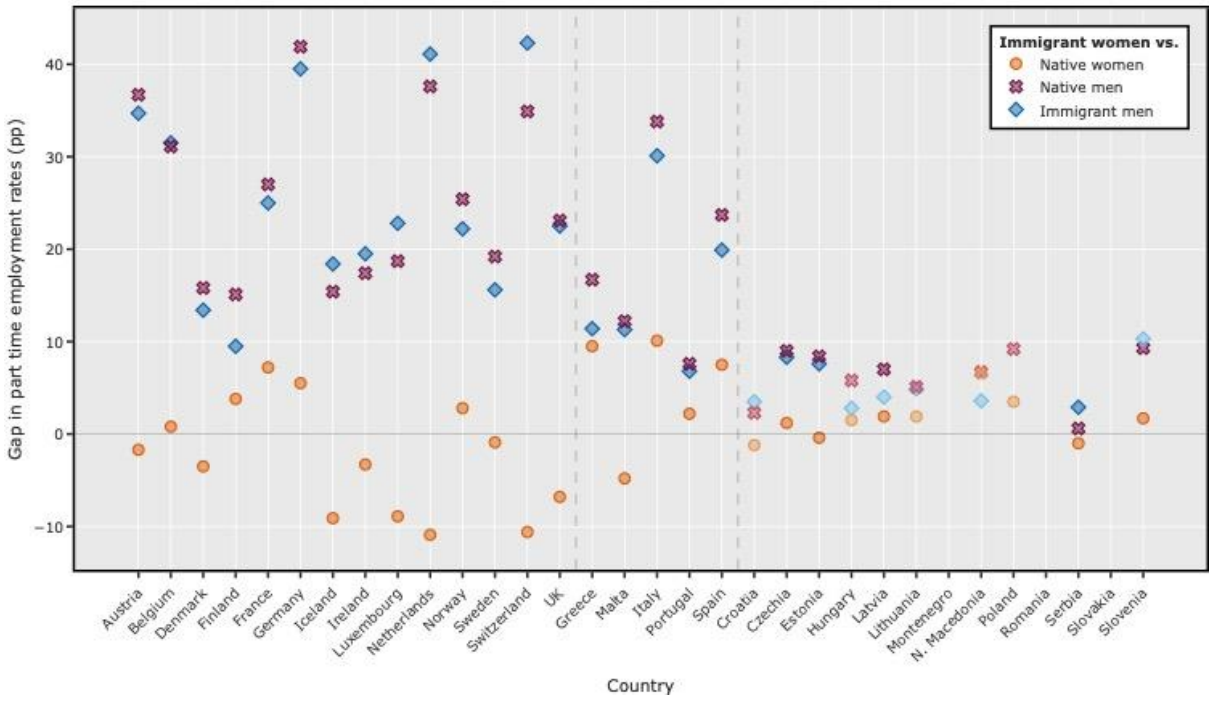
Source: Eurostat (2020f)

Nativity gap among women

Similar to LFP rates, female immigrant unemployment rates are not uniform across European countries and, as of 2019, range between about 5 percent in Ireland, Germany, Croatia, and the Czech Republic, to over 15 percent in Spain, Italy and Sweden, and even 35 percent in Greece (see Figure A7 in the online appendix). Although there is no clear geographical pattern in the unemployment rates of immigrant women, one striking commonality is the observable disadvantage of immigrant women compared to native women in almost all countries (see **Figure 4**). This result has been reported in other studies over the past two decades for countries such as the UK, France, Belgium and Sweden (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017), Germany (Kogan, 2011), and Spain (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007; Bernardi et al., 2011). Despite the general pattern, the magnitude of the nativity disadvantage in unemployment among women varies greatly across countries (see **Figure 4**). The disadvantage is

less than 3 pp in Germany, Estonia, and the Czech Republic; between 5 and 8 pp in Finland, France, and Italy; and in Sweden and Greece we observe a disadvantage of 12 and 14 pp, respectively.

Figure 5: Nativity and gender gaps in part-time employment rates by country, 2019



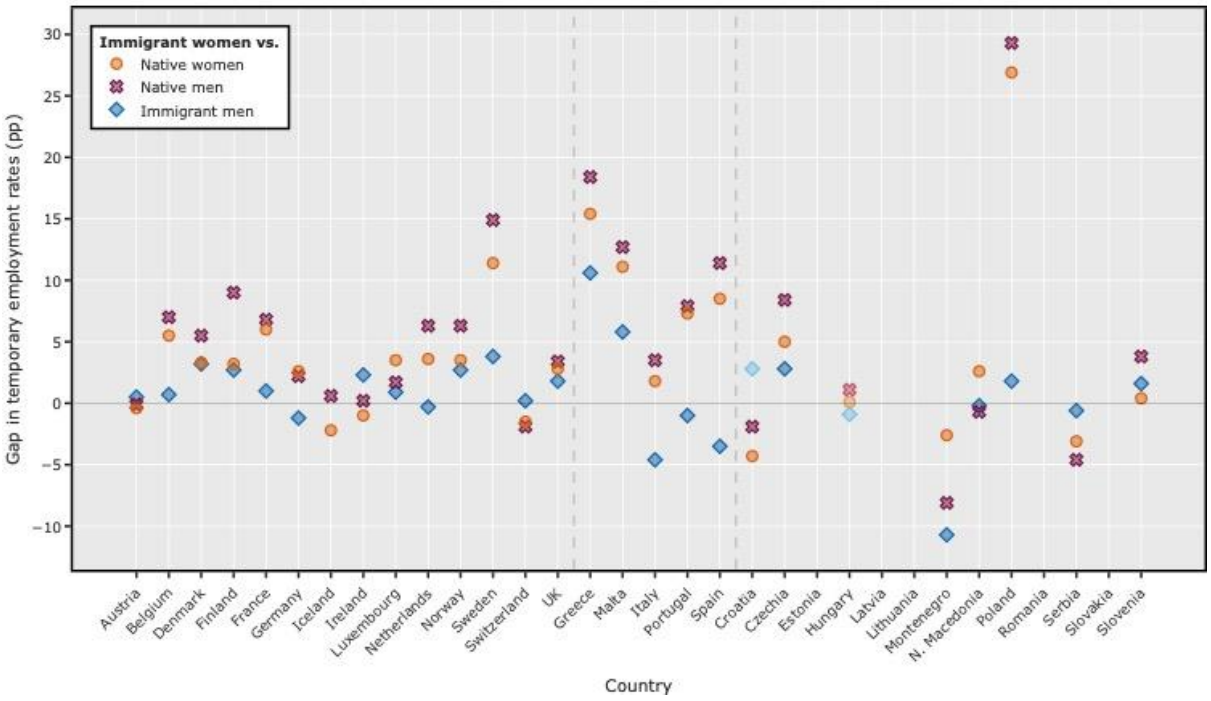
Note: Part-time employment is largely based on respondents self-assessment. Immigrants include all immigrants for which there is data available, irrespective of origin. Age 15-64. Markers represent the values obtained by subtracting the comparison group value from the value for immigrant women. The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right. Lighter shades of markers represent the Eurostat flag 'low reliability.'

Source: Eurostat (2020c)

Studies since 2000 that present data disaggregated by an immigrant's geographical origin reveal that the aggregate figures for immigrant women conceal considerable variation between the groups. In NWE, nativity disadvantages in unemployment are typically higher for women of non-EU origin compared to those of EU origin in the 2019 Eurostat data (see Figure A7 in the online appendix) and in earlier studies (de Keyser, Delhez, & Zimmer, 2012; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Kogan, 2006; Rubin et al., 2008). In Germany, immigrant women from EU or OECD countries even exhibit the same unemployment rates as native women (Kogan, 2011). With a few exceptions, the situation is similar in SE and CEE in 2019 (see **Figure 4**), though in countries such as Portugal or the Czech Republic, immigrant women from non-EU countries fared better than those of EU origin around 2005, a pattern that reversed over time (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007; Bernardi et al., 2011; Fullin & Reyneri, 2011; Rubin et al., 2008, see also Figure A8 in the online appendix). Moreover, when looking at particular origin countries, there seem to be many deviations from the aggregate picture that only distinguishes between EU and non-EU origin. For example, in Italy women from eastern Asia show the

lowest unemployment rates of all women, in comparison to other non-EU immigrants, EU-immigrants, and natives (Fullin & Reyneri, 2011).

Figure 6: Nativity and gender gaps in temporary employment rates by country, 2019



Note: Temporary employment indicates no permanent work contract. Immigrants include all immigrants for whom there is data available, irrespective of origin. Age 15-64. Markers represent the values obtained by subtracting the comparison group value from the value for immigrant women. The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right. Lighter shades of markers represent the Eurostat flag 'low reliability.'

Source: Eurostat (2020e)

When immigrant women do successfully find employment, the conditions of this employment often differ from those of native women. In terms of their working hours, immigrant women in SE (except Malta) have higher rates of part-time employment compared to native women according to Eurostat data (see **Figure 5**). The same is true in some NWE countries such as Germany, Finland or France, but the opposite is found in the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK (see also Bevelander & Groeneveld, 2006; Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). In CEE, where part-time employment is less prevalent in general, immigrant women also seem more likely to work part-time than native women. As working part-time can be desirable for individuals in many situations, a better measure to reflect disadvantage would be *involuntary* part-time employment rates – information which is rarely available in large scale datasets. However, for 2005, Rubin et al. (2008) observe a quite consistent pattern across Europe, involuntary part-time employment being more common among non-EU immigrant women compared to native women, particularly in Austria, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, and Greece. In terms of contract type, there is evidence that immigrant women have a lower share of permanent contracts compared

to native women in all of SE and many NWE and CEE countries (see **Figure 6**), though there is again considerable heterogeneity by country of origin. For example, in the Netherlands, women from Suriname actually hold permanent contracts more often than native women (Bevelander & Groeneveld, 2006). Overall, the descriptive data of female immigrants' employment situation across Europe does not present a very cohesive picture.

Quantitative studies investigating the determinants of these heterogeneous outcomes typically start by considering differences in human capital factors. Among immigrant women in Germany, accounting for their level of education reduces some of the nativity disadvantage that immigrant groups face in terms of unemployment, but significant differences remain for all groups besides older arrival cohorts coming from Western countries (Kogan, 2011). For female immigrants in Spain, controlling for education reduces some of the biggest unemployment gaps that exist between native women and women from Africa, although these gaps remain sizable (Bernardi et al., 2011). Algan et al. (2010) show that net of human capital differences, female immigrants from certain countries of origin still experience persistent disadvantages in employment compared to native women: Turkish women in France and Germany have consistently lower employment rates (33 and 16 pp lower respectively), as do women from Bangladesh and Pakistan in the UK (36 pp lower) – yet, large parts of the remaining gaps stem from differences in LFP.

Moving on, unemployment rates (or employment rates conditional on LFP), seem to be fairly unaffected by household characteristics, like the presence of children, so that general and also origin-specific nativity gaps still persist after accounting for these factors on top of differences in human capital. Ballarino and Panichella (2018) estimate that the remaining nativity disadvantages in employment rates among women active on the labor market range from 6-8 pp in the UK, Italy, and Spain; over 11 pp in the Netherlands and Germany; up to 13 pp in France. Gorodzeisky and Semyonov (2017) report that European female immigrants have similar conditional odds of being unemployed compared to native women in the UK and France, but a nativity disadvantage remains in Belgium and Sweden. By contrast, female immigrants originating from non-European countries show significantly higher net odds of unemployment in all four countries. In Italy, women from China and the Philippines are observed to have higher probabilities of avoiding unemployment compared to native women after controlling for education and household characteristics, but all other origin groups remain disadvantaged (Fullin & Reyneri, 2011). Household factors play a larger role for women's working hours. Immigrant women in Germany exhibit on average higher rates of part-time employment compared to native (West German) women – a pattern that reverses after accounting for household factors and education (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013).

Extending the investigation to include host country-specific capital, one study from Sweden found that particularly female refugees from countries with a large perceived cultural and linguistic distance from Sweden had, relative to other immigrant groups and native women, a low probability of being employed (Bevelander, 2005). Language proficiency and cultural norms were also found to be important for Muslim women in other NWE countries (including Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland): Koopmans (2016) shows that first generation immigrant women experience a large disadvantage compared to native women in their unemployment rates conditional on human capital and household factors. After additionally controlling for socio-cultural variables (like social contacts and gender values), there is a much smaller and no longer significant difference between the groups. A similar result is obtained by a German study which compares native women with women from Turkey and the former Soviet Union (FSU) (Salikutluk et al., 2020). Accounting for German language skills and contacts to natives in addition to human capital and household characteristics further reduces the predicted nativity gap in unemployment by about 2 pp. Only for FSU women does a small (and insignificant) disadvantage remain.

Unfortunately, many studies do not consider specific factors relating to an individual's host country-specific capital, but they do consider an immigrant's length of residence in the host country as a proxy. In many cases, there is evidence of female immigrant assimilation in the labor market, which is depicted by shrinking nativity disadvantages (or growing advantages) over time. Studies typically look at employment probabilities (vs. un- and non-employment) rather than unemployment rates, so that effects can stem from changes in LFP as well as employment conditional on participation. For example, Ballarino and Panichella (2018) observe the assimilation of immigrant women in terms of employment rates in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain (less so for the UK). Yet, whereas the average gap between their employment rates and those of native women (almost) closes after 10 years in Italy and Spain, it is still 22 pp in Germany, 24 pp in France, and 32 pp in the Netherlands. According to Kesler (2006), female immigrants in Sweden close the nativity gap in employment rates quicker than those in Germany and Great Britain, although in Norway, the gap never closes for women from the most disadvantaged group – female refugees (Bratsberg, Raaum, & Roed, 2017). In Spain as well, immigrant women initially experience disadvantage in employment likelihood compared to native women with similar characteristics (-25.9 pp for women from EU-15 countries, -12.9 pp for women from Africa), but these disadvantages decrease over time, particularly during the first year (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007). One available study on unemployment rates among women in Spain shows that particularly immigrant women from Eastern Europe and Africa manage to reduce their unemployment risks over the first few years of stay (Bernardi et al., 2011). In terms of working hours, Basilio et al. (2009) find that immigrant wives in Germany work 230

hours less than native wives per year directly after their arrival, but after 10 years of residence, they succeed in closing the gap completely (or even in overtaking native wives).

To this long list of explanatory factors some studies also add naturalization. Naturalization can be seen as one of the outcomes of the assimilation process, but naturalization in itself can also be a facilitator of labor market integration, for example when holding the host country's citizenship entails particular rights (such as not being subject to labor market testing) or provides a positive signal to employers. Using a causal design based on a change in eligibility criteria for German citizenship, Gathmann and Keller (2018) estimate that immigrant women who obtained German citizenship have a 5.9 pp higher employment probability compared to immigrant women who did not (net of age and years of residence).

Since variation in female immigrants' outcomes is observed not just between immigrants from different origins, but also between different regions of Europe, the unique reception context that immigrants encounter in the host country likely plays an important role. Comparing three countries in NWE, Sweden, Germany and Great Britain, immigrant women were found more likely to be employed in Sweden compared to the other countries once family factors were taken into account (Kesler, 2006). This could be related to the extensive social support that is provided to wives and mothers in the Swedish labor market. For SE countries, on the other hand, the smaller nativity disadvantages could likely be related to the large low-wage sector in these countries, which benefits particular groups of immigrant women in their search for employment (Kogan, 2006). Although not always clear-cut, Cangiano (2014) emphasizes the importance of national migration regimes by concluding that lower restrictions on labor migration go along with smaller nativity gaps in employment rates across EU-15 countries.

Cross-country differences may be related not just to the specific institutional context, but also different levels of discrimination which immigrants may face. Kogan (2006) finds that immigrant women across Europe encounter, on average, 148 percent higher odds of unemployment compared to native women, even after controlling for human capital and host country institutional characteristics (including the type of welfare regime, strictness of employment protection, and the size of the low-wage sector). Labor market discrimination has also been documented by audit studies in several NWE countries. In Germany, Turkish women wearing a headscarf in the photo on their CV are 15 pp less likely to receive a callback compared to 'native German' female applicants, while bare-headed Turkish applicants are about 6 pp less likely (Weichselbaumer, 2019). Moreover, an audit study in the Dutch labor market shows that the callback rate for females from non-EU countries (Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Dutch Antilles) is 11 percent lower than the callback rate for native women (Andriessen et al., 2012). None of the audit studies included in our review focus on immigrant

discrimination in SE or CEE countries, which makes it difficult to understand the role of discrimination in immigrant employment in those contexts.

Gender gap among immigrants

When it comes to the gender gap between male and female immigrants, there is considerably less research, and the findings again produce an incohesive picture. According to Eurostat data from 2019, the average unemployment rates of immigrant women across Europe are typically greater than those of immigrant men, but there is considerable heterogeneity by country of residence (see **Figure 4**). In countries such as Germany, Ireland, or Norway, immigrant women have a similar or lower risk of being unemployed than men, but they face a much greater risk in Greece and North Macedonia. Gender gaps in the relative success of avoiding unemployment seem largely comparable between immigrants of European vs. non-European origin across countries (see Figure A7 in the online appendix), although the figures presented in the literature vary by data source and time (see, e.g., de Keyser et al., 2012; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Rubin et al., 2008). In terms of working hours, immigrant women consistently show higher rates of part-time employment than immigrant men, with gaps ranging between 2.8 pp in Hungary to 42.3 pp in Switzerland as of 2019 (see **Figure 5**). Temporary employment is also more common among immigrant women than men in most of NWE, but the picture is less uniform in SE and CEE (see **Figure 6**).

As far as quantitative analyses go from the past two decades, Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) find that, for immigrants in 13 European countries, there is generally no difference between the conditional unemployment rates of women and men, and groups of individual-level or macro-level factors do not have a differential impact. Similarly, investigating additional determinants, Höhne and Koopmans (2010) find that the hazard of finding a job improves in host country-specific capital for immigrant women and men in Germany to a similar extent, whereas strong Muslim religiosity has the opposite effect. For the German case there is even evidence of female advantage in employment probability for immigrants from Turkey (+7.5 pp) and the FSU (+3.9 pp) conditional on LFP and net of differences in human capital, host country-specific capital, and household context (Salikutluk et al., 2020). The authors interpret these results as pointing towards the positive selectivity of women from Turkey and issues of lower returns to education for FSU women, possibly due to difficulties in the recognition of qualifications.

Household factors rarely have a gender-specific effect on unemployment rates, but they play an important role for the working hours of women and men. Ala-Mantila and Fleischmann (2018) show for the Netherlands not only that female immigrants generally work fewer hours than their male counterparts, but immigrant mothers in particular work fewer hours, while immigrant fathers actually work more hours. Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) confirm these results for Germany based on an

empirical model in which the effects of household factors are allowed to vary by gender. In addition to marital status, having (small) children in the household increases the probability to work part-time much more for women than men. As a result, they estimate conditional gender gaps in part-time employment among almost all of the different immigrant origin groups they investigate, with particularly strong gaps among ethnic German, Polish, and Western immigrants.

Another important gender consideration for *partnered* immigrant women's employment is their migration order, though to our knowledge, few studies investigate this in the European context. Krieger (2020) shows that both male and female lead immigrants enter the German labor market earlier than their tied (or equal) counterparts, but only male lead immigrants benefit in a higher employment probability. Thus, the gender imbalance in the selection into tied migration likely contributes to the gender gap in outcomes on the new labor market (if they choose to enter at all) (Krieger, 2020).

The gender gap in hiring discrimination has also been explored in several European countries. An audit study on the Dutch labor market shows that immigrant women from non-EU countries (Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, Dutch Antilles) experience a smaller nativity disadvantage compared to immigrant men (11 percent vs. 20 percent) (Andriessen et al., 2012). In France, another audit study had similar findings. Edo et al. (2019) found that women with non-French sounding names were less discriminated against (i.e. received more call-backs) than men with such names. In this case, including a signal of French language proficiency in the CV reduced the discrimination that non-French women faced, but did not have the same effect for non-French men.

Coinciding nativity and gender gaps

When it comes to looking at the coinciding nativity and gender disadvantages in employment and employment conditions, little evidence is available, which presents a largely heterogeneous picture across indicators. Descriptive evidence from the 2019 Eurostat data shows that, for most countries across Europe, the nativity gap in women's unemployment rates and prevalence of temporary job contracts is generally greater than the gender gap within the immigrant group (see **Figures 4** and **6**) – that is, female immigrants are most disadvantaged because of their status as immigrants, not as women (see also Rubin et al., 2008). The opposite seems true for differences in part-time employment rates, which are for the most part driven by gender gaps (see **Figure 5**).

Moving beyond pure description, two studies for the German case estimate nativity and gender gaps accounting for relevant determinants. Salikutluk et al. (2020) show that the unconditional unemployment rates of first generation Turkish women in Germany indeed are higher than those of native women (13.5 pp), immigrant men (1.2 pp), and native men (12.4 pp). Women from the FSU also show a (much smaller) nativity disadvantage, but still fare better than their male compatriots.

Accounting for differences in human capital explains much of the observed gaps, and in fact, once education, work experience, German proficiency and social contacts are all accounted for in the analyses, both groups of immigrant women are estimated to have lower unemployment probabilities than native and compatriot men. Moreover, no nativity gap remains among women, so this difference stems entirely from a gender advantage.[15]

Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) investigate part-time employment rates by nativity and gender in Germany. Without conditioning on other factors, they find immigrant women to be more likely to work part-time than native women, immigrant men, and native men. However, net of age, education, marital status, children in the household, and duration of stay, they estimate that the part-time employment probability of immigrant women from most origins is actually lower than that of native women. As native and immigrant men do not differ for the most part, this makes for smaller conditional gender gaps among immigrants in terms of part-time employment rates.

Summary

Overall, the picture of female immigrant employment in Europe remains highly complex. The disadvantage that immigrant women experience is selective, and indeed in some cases an advantage is observed, depending on the country studied, the employment indicator, and the groups being compared. When considering descriptive data, unemployment rates vary more by nativity (with particular penalties for non-EU immigrants) than gender, and working hours more by gender than nativity. However, accounting for explanatory variables from the theory does not only explain large parts of these gaps, but makes the rather uniform descriptive pattern much more heterogeneous and less conclusive. Unemployment is often conditional on education, language skills, and inter-ethnic contacts, whereas marital status, the presence of children in the household and cultural understanding are particularly relevant in determining working hours. Macro-level factors that describe the institutional context immigrants find themselves in are also important to take into account, especially when comparing different countries. However, few studies consider the migration order as a contributing factor to labor market disadvantage, and of the studies we reviewed, none addressed the potential difficulties that women may experience in accessing their trained occupation in the destination country. Thus, there is some potential to extend the field in these directions, especially for the cases where nativity and/or gender disadvantages still remain for female immigrants even after controlling for all these observable variables. This could also be evidence of labor market discrimination, which is difficult to quantify, and has not been widely explored in countries across

[15] However, this does not necessarily mean that a nativity gap is absent per se. In this specific case, immigrant men show higher conditional employment rates than native men (Salikutluk et al., 2020).

Europe. In general, the heterogeneity in the unconditional descriptive statistics is met with a considerable lack of conditional estimates, and this highlights the problem of overlooking gender-specific considerations when choosing a methodological approach – after all, studying labor market outcomes conditional on LFP is not such an important consideration for men. This oversight in the existing literature makes it tough to draw conclusions about more than a handful of countries, especially at the intersection of both nativity and gender disadvantages. At the moment, a general coinciding disadvantage for immigrant women seems neither supported in terms of their success in finding work when they are motivated to do so, nor in terms of working hours. The quality of the employment may be one relevant difference between groups, to be explored in the following sub-section.

2.3.3 Labor market success II — Employment quality

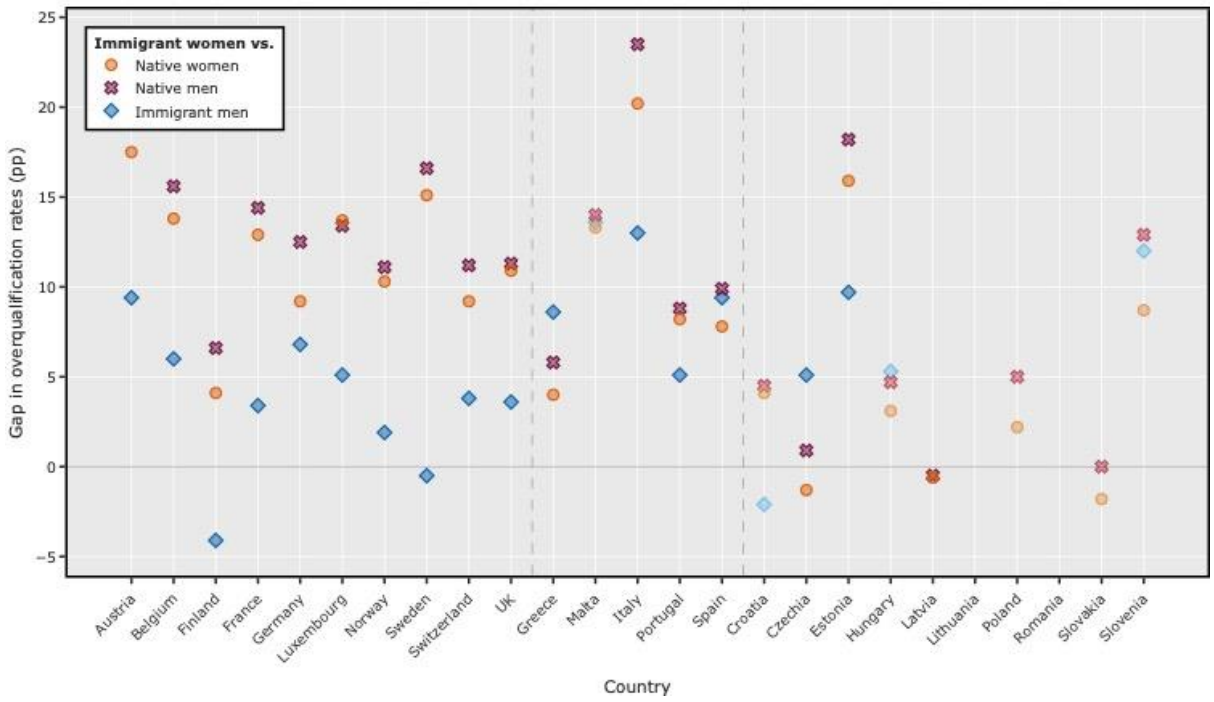
In this final part, we turn to the literature which examines the quality of female immigrants' employment for those who have found it. This includes studies that focus on immigrant women's wages and their occupational status. Often these measures go hand in hand, since jobs with a lower occupational status also tend to pay less. In fact, in some studies of immigrant women's wages, occupational status is included as an explanatory variable. Evidence from Germany (Stypińska & Gordo, 2018), Sweden (Grand & Szulkin, 2002) and Spain (Nicodemo & Ramos, 2012) all show that occupational status factors into female immigrants' wage disadvantage. Nonetheless, studies also examine occupational status in its own right, either with regards to occupational segregation, overqualification, or occupational mobility over time – all issues that impact the position of immigrant women on the labor market.

Nativity gap among women

Looking first at the nativity disadvantage among women across Europe, descriptive data again shows that the success of immigrant women on the labor market is largely heterogeneous by their origin. Some groups of immigrant women experience a disadvantage because of their immigrant status, and this varies between the regions of Europe where they reside. In many NWE countries, immigrant women from Western Europe and other industrialized countries experience a lower nativity penalty in their wages (or none at all) compared to women from other regions. In Finland, for instance, immigrant women from OECD countries earn on average 81 percent of the annual earnings of native women, although immigrant women from non-OECD countries have average annual earnings less than 50 percent of those of native women (Sarvimäki, 2011). For immigrant women in Denmark, data shows they earn on average lower hourly wages than native women, although immigrant women from other Nordic countries actually earn higher wages (Husted et al., 2000). In SE, variation by

country of origin has also been observed. The earnings of female immigrants in Spain who originate from Africa are especially low compared to native women and compared to immigrant women from other origins (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007).

Figure 7: Nativity and gender gaps in overqualification rates by country, 2014



Note: Overqualification measure is based on respondent's self-assessment that qualifications and skills would allow more demanding tasks than current job. Immigrants include all immigrants for which there is data available, irrespective of origin. Age 15-64. Markers represent the values obtained by subtracting the comparison group value from the value for immigrant women. The dashed vertical lines separate northern-western Europe (NWE) on the left, southern Europe (SE) in the center, and central and eastern Europe (CEE) on the right. Lighter shades of markers represent the Eurostat flag 'low reliability.'

Source: Eurostat (2020d)

Similar descriptive evidence has been found for occupational status. Pooled data for several NWE countries shows that female European immigrants are generally less disadvantaged in their occupational attainment than non-European women when compared to native women (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). Disaggregated analyses from the same study show that the UK is an exceptional case, as European immigrant women actually have higher chances than native women of holding a high status job. More evidence from Germany shows that female immigrants from Western countries do not differ in their average occupational status from native women, but females from most other countries do (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). Findings from Rubin et al. (2008) also show that across Europe, immigrant women who originate from outside of Europe work more often in low-wage occupations than native women. Their results emphasize considerable occupational segregation between immigrants and natives, with sales and services, elementary occupations, and personal and protective services accounting for 40 percent of all immigrant women's employment.

In terms of human capital, two main findings emerge from studies across Europe. First, controlling for the level of education does reduce the nativity gap among women in earnings/wages and occupational status, but substantial differences often remain (Bernardi et al., 2011; Hayfron, 2002; Husted et al., 2000; Kogan, 2011; Pichler, 2011; Sarvimäki, 2011). Second, the remaining nativity gaps appear to trace back to unequal returns to qualifications. Female immigrants' education is significantly less correlated with their occupational attainment than that of native women in European countries (Pichler, 2011). Studies show that particularly the returns to foreign education credentials of immigrant women are lower compared to native women in terms of occupational status (for Germany, see Kogan, 2011) and in terms of earnings (for Norway, see Hayfron, 2002). It comes as no surprise that immigrant women experience higher levels of overqualification than native women throughout Europe, as descriptive Eurostat data from 2014 shows (see **Figure 7**). In all countries but the Czech Republic, Latvia and Slovakia, a higher share of immigrants than native women states that their individual qualifications would allow for more demanding tasks than required in the current job. The largest nativity gaps in overqualification rates are present in Austria, Sweden, Italy and Estonia, and range between 15-20 pp.

On top of an individual's human capital resources, household characteristics are again important determinants. Evidence from Norway shows that (net of education and age) marital status affects female immigrants' earnings – married immigrant women in Norway earn about 8 percent less than their unmarried counterparts (Hayfron, 2002). Whereas it is possible that these married women feel less economic pressure if they have a partner who is also contributing to the household income, children in the household play a role as well. Salikutluk et al. (2020) present evidence for Germany that immigrant women of Turkish or FSU origin earn about 4 percent less per hour than native women. Yet, this gap narrows after controlling for human capital, marital status and the number of small children; for women of Turkish origin the gap vanishes completely. Moreover, Ballarino and Panichella (2018) show that across Europe, immigrant women whose husbands have a high status job also tend to have high status positions themselves, compared to women whose husbands have an unskilled job or are unemployed. This could be evidence of a network effect, that with high status jobs come high status connections that can be used when the partner is also seeking work, though this is not something explored by the study.

Most studies which control for both human capital and household characteristics find that the nativity gap reduces, but to differing degrees for each origin group. For immigrant women in Sweden, those from Western Europe and North America on average do not differ from Swedes in their wages, while the wages of women from all other origins are significantly lower (Behtoui, 2008; Grand & Szulkin, 2002). This disadvantage is robust to controls for labor market resources and household

characteristics. A similar picture is observed for non-Western immigrant women in other NWE countries, like France (Algan et al., 2010), Germany (Adsera & Chiswick, 2007; Algan et al., 2010) and the UK (Algan et al., 2010), whereas European women are sometimes predicted to earn *more* than comparable natives (Algan et al., 2010). In Denmark, the considerable nativity disadvantage in wages is completely accounted for by differences in qualifications for women from Turkey and India, which is not true for women from Pakistan and Africa (Nielsen et al., 2004).

Something similar is seen with occupational status. In France and Sweden, non-European and European immigrant women have significantly lower net odds of holding a high status job compared to native women, even after accounting for education and household characteristics (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). In Belgium, this is only true for women of non-European origin, and in the UK no significant nativity gap is observed at all. However, in all countries, non-European immigrant women seem to fare worse than European immigrant women, although this difference is rarely significant (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) find that for Germany, the nativity disadvantage applies to all groups of immigrant women in their occupational attainment, regardless of origin. Such patterns are found for Western and non-Western female immigrants in SE countries as well, in Spain (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007) and Italy (Fullin & Reyneri, 2011).

The effects of country-specific migration regimes on the labor market outcomes of immigrant women are particularly salient for the SE case, as the demand for low-wage labor manifests in non-Western immigrant women being advantaged in terms of employment rates while being disadvantaged in terms of the wages or status of their employment. That being said, Pichler (2011) shows that the larger nativity gaps in occupational status among women in SE compared to other parts of Europe mostly stem from differences in welfare regimes (and associated demands in immigrant welfare workers), whereas differences in migration integration policy – such as access to citizenship, anti-discrimination legislation, or immigrant labor market access – do not have much explanatory power.

So far, the literature indicates that for some disadvantaged groups of immigrant women, the compositional differences in human capital, household characteristics and reception contexts do have some impact on the nativity gap, but cannot fully account for the disadvantage. The final aspect that many of these studies consider is the effect of time on these outcomes. Thus, several longitudinal studies have looked at both the assimilation of female immigrants' wages and their occupational mobility compared to native women. Adsera and Chiswick (2007) find that, for female immigrants in the EU-15 countries, their average earnings catch up to those of native women 18 years after immigration. For Germany specifically, Basilio et al. (2009) find some slight assimilation over the years, but immigrant women never attain the same wage as natives. In Finland and Sweden, different trends

are seen for European and Western immigrants compared to women from other regions. Generally, women from Europe and other developed regions start with a smaller disadvantage in earnings right after arrival and assimilate towards native women, while women from other regions have a much larger disadvantage from the beginning, and their rate of assimilation tends to be much slower (Grand & Szulkin, 2002; Sarvimäki, 2011). Evidence from Denmark emphasizes that the assimilation trajectories vary among non-EU women. Nielsen et al. (2004) predict that, with 10 years of working experience, immigrant women from Turkey would close the wage gap with native women, but for women from Africa and Pakistan, any gains made by assimilation cannot offset the low remuneration of their qualifications.

Regarding occupational mobility, assimilation seems to be conditional on the labor market context. Ballarino and Panichella (2018) find that immigrant women in Italy tend to enter positions with a low occupational status and remain there. This same pattern is observed for immigrant women in Spain, while immigrant women in the UK and the Netherlands show evidence of starting in similarly low positions, but experience positive occupational mobility over time. These mobility trends may expose the strong demand for low-wage labor that is especially characteristic of SE labor markets. Evidence from Spain also shows that mobility differs by region of origin. Over the first five years of residence, women from Africa do not experience a significant increase in their likelihood to hold a higher ranked occupation vis-a-vis native women, whereas women from EU-15, non-EU-15 and Latin America do. Even so, though EU-15 immigrant women exhibit a nativity advantage after this period, immigrant women of other origins remain disadvantaged in their occupational attainment (Amuedo-Dorantes & de la Rica, 2007). Thus, while assimilation may occur, it is also very selective.

Gender gap among immigrants

Turning to the gender disadvantage in labor market success among immigrants, we might expect to find some similar trends between males and females. Foreign education and work experience is a commonality for both immigrant women and men, so the disadvantage that comes with transferring these endowments to the new labor market context should impact those with similar qualifications similarly. Nonetheless, compositional differences in the proportion of immigrant men versus women that possess this type of capital from the country of origin will still be important considerations – something that is also tied to social norms in their country of origin. Moreover, immigrant women may face gender discrimination on the labor market in the host country in their wage and occupational status, something that women generally face on European labor markets (see, e.g., Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005).

Looking at descriptive data from the past two decades, female immigrants are almost consistently observed to earn less than male immigrants. This is shown by Husted et al. (2000) in

Denmark for the earnings of female immigrants from all origins. In Finland, France, Germany, and the UK as well, there is a gender gap in wages among immigrants regardless of origin (except for Turkish women in France and Bangladeshi women in the UK), which highlights that this is a general disadvantage that most immigrant women face, though to a varying extent (Algan et al., 2010; Salikutluk et al., 2020; Sarvimäki, 2011). The direction of gender gaps in occupational status, on the other hand, seem to differ by region of origin. Data from Germany shows that ethnic German women, along with women from Poland, the FSU, and Spain/Portugal, on average do not hold significantly lower status positions than men from the same origin (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). Female immigrants from most other origins do, however. Moreover, women from the Middle East are actually reported to hold on average higher status positions compared to men from the same origin (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). As women from the Middle East also show lower average LFP rates in comparison to other immigrant women, it appears that only a selective and rather high-skilled group of women from this origin is employed in Germany, possibly being an effect of a selectively-operating migration and labor market access policy. Moreover, evidence of gender-specific occupational segregation again appears for labor markets in SE. Immigrant women in Spain are found to end up in lower service occupations after immigration, regardless of their occupational status before migrating, while immigrant men tend to end up in lower industrial occupations (Fernández-Macías et al., 2015).

Again, the first step in investigating these gender gaps is accounting for human capital and household characteristics. Hayfron (2002) estimates for Norway that just about 10 percent of the gender earnings gap among immigrants can be explained by differences in human capital and marital status (along with controls for the region of residence, industry and origin). This study attributes one quarter of the remaining unexplained part to an overvaluation of men's endowments and three quarters to an undervaluation of women's endowments. Based on a model accounting for differences in human capital and occupational characteristics, as well as selection into employment, Stypińska and Gordo (2018) report for Germany that immigrant women earn about 24 percent lower hourly wages than immigrant men – a disadvantage that persists over the life course.

In terms of occupational status, studies conducted in different countries have produced different findings. In the Netherlands, accounting for human capital and household factors explains the gender differences in occupational status for immigrants from Turkey, Bulgaria, Poland and Spain (Ala-Mantila & Fleischmann, 2018). For immigrants in Germany, however, the gender disadvantage in occupational status still persists for most origin groups (except for immigrants from the Balkans) after these factors are taken into account (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). This could be indicative that immigrant women tend to enter low-skilled occupations after immigration, regardless of their pre-migration status and qualification. In fact, the descriptive Eurostat data confirms that in 2014, in all

countries except Finland and Sweden, immigrant women were more likely to be overqualified than their male compatriots (see **Figure 7**). Cangiano (2014) suggests two different explanations for this picture across EU-15 countries. First, immigrants entering as family migrants or refugees are more likely to be overqualified than labor migrants, and women make up a larger part of family migrants. Second, female labor migrants show higher conditional overqualification rates than male labor migrants, particularly in SE. When it comes to SE countries, the demands for female domestic and care workers are important drivers of gender-specific occupational segregation. In Italy, the gender gap in occupational status varies by duration of stay. Female immigrants on average start out in a position with a higher occupational status than their male counterparts, but they experience little occupational mobility over time because of overarching gender discrimination in the Italian labor market (Avola & Piccitto, 2020). This being said, the occupational mobility of most immigrant men is not predicted to be substantial.

Coinciding nativity and gender gaps

As with the other indicators, there is scant literature comparing the wage and occupational status of immigrant women to that of native men. Nonetheless, the few studies that do make this explicit comparison provide a glimpse of the nature of the overall disadvantage that immigrant women face in their labor market success. As could be expected, descriptive data shows that immigrant women have much lower average earnings than native men — in Norway, for example, immigrant women were observed to earn 76 percent of what native men earned (Hayfron, 2002). Again, this disadvantage is selective and impacts some origin groups more than others. In Finland, immigrant women from OECD countries earn on average 61 percent of the annual earnings of native men, while immigrant women from non-OECD countries earn on average just 37 percent (Sarvimäki, 2011). Algan et al. (2010) compare the hourly wages between native men and immigrant women in France, Germany and the UK. They report the highest relative wages for Northern European immigrant women in France (114 percent), white immigrant women in the UK (114 percent), and EU-16 immigrant women in Germany (118 percent). The lowest relative wages, on the other hand, are shown by immigrant women of African origin in France (71 percent), of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin in the UK (70/71 percent), and of Greek or Turkish origin in Germany (69/72 percent). In Germany, it is also women from Turkey who seem particularly disadvantaged in their occupational status relative to native men, even more so than female immigrants from the FSU (Salikutluk et al., 2020).

When it comes to investigating the disadvantage, many studies consider both the nativity and the gender aspect and the nature of their interaction while controlling for important compositional differences between groups. For instance, the analysis by Hayfron (2002) of immigrant earnings in Norway indicates that immigrant women face a coinciding disadvantage net of human capital and

household factors, but the gender gap is between four and eight times larger than the nativity gap (depending on the model used). Another study from Denmark suggests that only some groups of immigrant women do experience a coinciding disadvantage in their wage: Husted et al. (2000) find that female immigrants from Pakistan are clearly disadvantaged based on their immigrant status *and* gender, while immigrant women from Nordic countries or India/Sri Lanka are only disadvantaged because of their gender. This result takes into account education, household characteristics and time since migration. The heterogeneity in estimated nativity and gender gaps across immigrant origin groups as well as the empirical models used is also illustrated by two German studies. Stypińska and Gordo (2018) find no intersectionality in negative wage outcomes between the factors of gender and nativity for younger immigrants controlling for human capital and household factors. Immigrant women face wage disadvantages only because of their gender, to a similar extent as native women. However, Salikutluk et al. (2020) come to a different conclusion for immigrants of Turkish and FSU origin, incorporating additional controls for language skills and social inter-ethnic contacts (although not accounting for selection into employment). They find that Turkish immigrant women's predicted wages do not significantly differ from the wages of native and Turkish men, but significantly exceed the wages of native women – corresponding to a nativity advantage for immigrant women. By contrast, immigrant women from the FSU face a double disadvantage as their conditional wages are significantly lower compared to native women (-15 percent), FSU men (-25 percent), and native men (-23 percent) (Salikutluk et al., 2020).

Regarding occupational status, Salikutluk et al. (2020) find no gender gap among natives as well as Turkish and FSU immigrants, but immigrant women and men experience a strong nativity disadvantage. This nativity disadvantage can partly be explained by different levels of human capital, but only for women from Turkey and not the FSU. For immigrant women of both origins, the remaining gaps persist even when controlling for job characteristics, household factors and language proficiency. Fleischmann and Höhne (2013) confirm a strong nativity disadvantage in occupational status in Germany for both immigrant women and men regardless of their origin, although they also report a gender disadvantage for immigrant women of Polish, FSU, eastern EU, and Western origin.

Gender differences in wages or occupational status among immigrants that remain after accounting for relevant factors can point to labor market discrimination. It is a well-established finding that women face additional obstacles on the labor market compared to men, but less is known if gender discrimination varies by nativity or vice versa. With regard to hiring discrimination, evidence suggest that there is, if anything, less discrimination based on nativity against women (see Section 2.3.2), though this finding might not extend to wages or occupational status after employment is found.

Summary

The reviewed studies on employment quality again do not point to a general or uniform nativity disadvantage for immigrant women in their wages and occupational status, but to a selective disadvantage for specific groups. Women from European countries and other Western nations tend to experience a smaller disadvantage (or none at all) compared to native women in their host country, and this disadvantage often comes down to compositional differences in human capital and additional resources (such as language proficiency and social networks). The nativity disadvantages for other groups of women, however, remain even after accounting for a broad range of relevant factors, and require further research to investigate other explanations. The disadvantages in the returns to qualifications that immigrant women experience are particularly salient, many of whom are overqualified for their jobs throughout Europe. Moreover, the mobility in wages and occupational status that immigrant women experience over time varies widely across destination countries and origin groups, but in many cases disadvantages persist in comparison to immigrant men, as well as native women and men. A gender disadvantage is particularly present in terms of wages (less so for occupational status) in many host countries, and is often not just a matter of differences in human capital between immigrant men and women. Findings from the literature show that the gender disadvantage does not differ as much between immigrant groups *within* a given country as it does differ based on the country where the immigrant settles. Thus, institutional factors seem to be important, such as the difference in gender structures between the labor market in the country of origin and the host country, and this consideration should be further explored in future research. Moreover, the household pressures that specifically immigrant women may be subjected to after immigration may contribute to the disadvantage they experience compared to their male counterparts.

Finally, the current literature does not provide a cohesive picture of the overall coinciding disadvantage faced by immigrant women in their labor market success. Some findings point to a gender disadvantage that is far greater than the nativity disadvantage. Other studies produce contradicting evidence of the intersectionality of these two dimensions of disadvantage. Given the fact that only a small proportion of the literature looks at this comparison, it is no surprise that the picture remains muddled.

2.4 Discussion and outlook

We have presented the most important contextualization for female immigrants' labor market integration in Europe and have reviewed the existing quantitative studies published within the past two decades which focus on this dimension of their integration trajectory. Our review of the empirical findings has been broken down by the outcome studied – LFP , (un)employment and working

hours, and measures of employment quality – and in each section we examine two dimensions of the disadvantage that female immigrants face – the nativity disadvantage and the gender disadvantage – and the interrelation between the two.

As could be expected, the findings from the studies included in this review point to a very heterogeneous experience of immigrant women on the European labor market. A multitude of factors likely contribute to this variation, including the regional labor market specificities and different integration policies among the countries studied, different data sources and analysis periods, and different sample populations. Nonetheless, we have attempted to gather the important findings on female labor market integration in one place to expose overarching trends and potential gaps in the existing research, or oversights in theoretical/methodological approaches. We have identified three main take-aways from the review which we discuss below.

1. While the theoretically-relevant determinants of immigrant women's labor market integration are often supported by empirical evidence, the extent to which these factors succeed in explaining the entirety of immigrant women's labor market experiences varies greatly across studies, calling for more systematic and comparative investigations in terms of intertwined individual and contextual factors.

One phenomenon which is quite evident for all of the labor market outcomes reviewed is the importance of human capital factors in explaining parts of the disadvantages that immigrant women (and men) are observed to encounter. The large majority of studies support the theoretical assertion that the level of education and prior work experience represent important contributions to immigrant women's (lack of) disadvantages at all stages of their labor market integration, but especially in terms of unemployment, wages and occupational status. Household factors are important determinants of immigrant women's labor market outcomes too, although they appear to matter most in the decision to become active on the labor market and the average number of hours spent on paid work. Being married and the presence of children in the household significantly contribute to a gender gap in LFP among immigrants and natives, but the magnitude of this effect is also conditional on social norms and the associated gender roles, which can differ between immigrants and natives. Another commonality of studies is the finding that the disadvantages immigrant women face are often largest shortly after immigration and narrow with longer duration of stay, which is consistent with the predictions of assimilation theory. These trends can usually be attributed to adaptation processes in terms of acquiring host country-specific capital such as language skills or inter-ethnic contacts. However, although immigrant women experience upward mobility over time in many cases, significant nativity and gender gaps often remain.

The complexity of the issue often makes it difficult to pin down the reasons for immigrant women's disadvantages that remain after controlling for compositional differences in relevant determinants between women and men, immigrants and natives. In some studies, unexplained differences seem to stem from omitted variable bias, something that is most apparent in the case of host country-specific capital (or duration of stay as a proxy), but also in terms of the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and female LFP. However, omitted variable bias is rarely the only reason for persistent nativity and gender gaps in estimated labor market outcomes, and many studies suggest that immigrant women experience lower returns to the same characteristics compared to native women as well as immigrant and native men. Although there might be various reasons for such unequal returns, they invariably mean that immigrant women benefit comparatively less from their skills. Ethnic discrimination has been shown to disadvantage both immigrant women and men in hiring decisions, and there is much reason to believe that this discrimination extends to labor market outcomes as well. Moreover, immigrant women may face additional discrimination because of their gender.

Despite persisting nativity and gender gaps in conditional labor market outcomes in many cases, there is little evidence for a general double disadvantage faced by immigrant women. While the results of intersectional studies acknowledge that the labor market outcomes of immigrant women are stratified by nativity and gender, the specific effects of the single dimensions as well as their interplay are by no means clear-cut and universal, but very selective. One of the most important conclusions from this review is the *heterogeneous experience* of immigrant women from different origins. Studying immigrant women as one aggregate group, or even in broad sub-groups, glazes over substantial differences. In some cases, it appears that distinguishing between EU internal immigrants and non-EU immigrants makes sense, because of the lack of institutional barriers that EU citizens face within Europe. However, studies show that European women themselves have different experiences when moving from one country to another, their experiences shaped, among other factors, by specific labor market demands, differences in the human or cultural capital they bring with them, or the different communities they encounter after arrival. Even more variation appears between immigrant groups from outside of Europe. These groups tend to be much more selective and their characteristics are heavily influenced by the immigration policy of the country they immigrate to. Immigration opportunities for women differ widely across destinations and over time, and the particular circumstances are reflected in the labor market outcomes of these women. One example is immigrant women showing high employment rates but low occupational status compared to native women in SE countries – countries with a high demand for care workers. The opposite seems true for countries in which immigration policy is so restrictive that only high-skilled individuals are able to immigrate via

labor migration channels (e.g. Germany). The few immigrant women who meet these requirements are naturally successful on the host country labor market. Yet, women entering via alternative channels such as family migration may also have ambitions to work, but do not undergo such rigorous selection processes. As a result, their labor market integration does not progress as quickly as labor migrants, and they are more likely to remain inactive.

Thus, the theoretical assumptions about the selectivity processes (or lack thereof) involved in immigration and their effects in terms of segmented assimilation trajectories have generally been supported. Still, we arrive at this conclusion in light of the historical and theoretical considerations we made at the beginning of this review. Studies that estimate to what extent the labor market outcomes of immigrant women are actually affected by the policies in place governing their access to a country and a country's labor market remain rare (see, however, Cangiano, 2014; Pichler, 2011). There seems to be ample room to adopt a more gender-specific lens to selection issues in quantitative approaches to studying the outcomes of immigrants, particularly when this comes to measures of labor market success (conditional on being active in the labor force). Not only is immigration itself a very selective process, but the decision to participate in the labor market is another possible stage of selectivity, especially for women. Of the studies reviewed on labor market success, only a subset account for selection into LFP in their estimations.[16] Selection effects do not stop there. The data on immigrant outcomes can be further biased because of remigration, or naturalization (if the data only distinguishes immigrants by nationality). While this kind of selection is an important consideration for female immigrant labor market outcomes acknowledged in the literature (see, e.g., Dustmann & Görlach, 2015), its gendered effects are rarely accounted for in empirical studies.

2. Quantitative studies which take a holistic approach to studying the labor market disadvantages of immigrant women — and all the considerations related to their gender and nativity that this entails — are rare in this body of literature, and future studies should address this.

A general oversight in the literature is the lack of studies which try to comprehensively understand the labor market disadvantage of immigrant women. Almost all studies of immigrant integration make use of a reference group in order to contextualize and evaluate the experiences of immigrant women, but by selecting only one comparison group, this pigeon-holes the analyses into one dimension: When immigrant women are compared to native women, it is only the nativity disadvantage among women which is investigated, and when immigrant women are compared to immigrant men, it is only the gender disadvantage among immigrants. While each one of these

[16] Husted et al., 2000; Nielsen et al., 2004; Basilio et al., 2009; Fullin and Reyneri, 2011; Kogan, 2011; Pichler, 2011; Steinhardt, 2012; Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Gathmann & Keller, 2018; Stypińska & Gordo, 2018

approaches is valuable, it is only when both of these disadvantages are examined together that we learn about the overall disadvantage of immigrant women in the labor force. Our review has made clear that the intersectional nature of disadvantage renders any empirical investigation increasingly complex. However, as we have repeatedly noted, intersecting inequalities cannot be properly estimated by focusing on different dimensions of disadvantage in sequence rather than conjunction. The studies by Fleischmann and Höhne (2013), Hayfron (2002), Husted et al. (2000), Nielsen et al. (2004), Salikutluk et al. (2020), and Stypińska and Gordo (2018) make a strong case for using quantitative approaches that allow to disentangle coinciding disadvantages. In many cases these studies show, in one way or another, that nativity and gender gaps are not additive but interactive, and suggest that their specific relationship varies across destination countries, immigrant groups, and labor market outcomes. The limited number of studies and their exclusive focus on NWE mean that our preliminary and tentative conclusions are certainly subject to change as more and more studies adopt strategies suited to such endeavors, something we explicitly urge researchers to do.

3. Fruitful avenues for future contributions to this field include expanding on certain overlooked outcomes, like immigrant self-employment, as well as geographic regions that until now have received little attention, especially by employing the most recent data.

As far as the scope of the existing literature is concerned, it is fairly comprehensive in addressing the multifaceted nature of female immigrants' labor market integration. While certain outcomes, like LFP, employment, and wages, may receive the most attention, studies exist for most other relevant (measurable) outcomes too. Nonetheless, in our search of the literature, we noticed that at least one important outcome is generally overlooked: self-employment. The OECD reports that, in 2016, 10 percent of individuals who were self-employed in the EU were immigrants (2017). In many EU countries, the percentage of immigrants who are self-employed is comparable to the percentage of the native population that is self-employed, although in countries like Poland, the UK, Slovakia, Czechia, Croatia, Malta and Lithuania, immigrants have a higher probability of self-employment than natives (OECD, 2017). Yet, in the majority of studies we have included, self-employment is not studied in and of itself. In some cases, self-employed individuals are grouped together into a general 'employed' dependent variable alongside individuals who were hired at a firm (Gathmann & Keller, 2018; Kanas et al., 2011), while in other cases they are explicitly excluded from the analysis (Nielsen et al., 2004). Our searches returned only one study of female immigrant entrepreneurs. Constant (2009) finds that, after controlling for relevant factors, the wages of self-employed immigrant women in Germany are no less than those of self-employed native women. For immigrant women who do choose to follow this path, it appears to be a lucrative choice. However, the lack of additional research limits the conclusions that can be made about female immigrant disadvantage in this area.

Furthermore, our review shows that for some countries in Europe, very little is known about immigrant integration, and for others, only older studies relying on rather outdated data have examined this topic. This situation calls into question the comparability of results, and their relevance to today's immigrant populations in Europe. The only countries with studies using data from 2010 or later are Germany, France, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, the UK, Switzerland, Spain and Italy. No quantitative studies exist for countries in CEE (although some are no longer emigration but immigration countries, see Section 2.2.2), while other countries like Portugal, Greece, Austria and Switzerland do not feature prominently in the literature. Of course, these conclusions are only based on the studies we have included in this review, and it is quite possible that a robust discussion exists on this topic in the native language of a given country. Overall, we can say that the 'internationally-accessible' literature is in need of research using more recent and more comprehensive data to construct a better picture of immigrants' labor market integration as we enter a new decade.

As a jumping-off point for future studies, we have supplemented the review above with descriptive analyses based on the most recently-available European data for many of the labor market outcomes considered. In comparison to this data, it is evident that much of the heterogeneity across destination countries and origin groups is empirically underexplored, and that the situation in many countries has changed since several of the reviewed studies were first published (see also the trend figures A5, A8, A11, A14 in the online appendix). Going forward, important contributions to the field would include in-depth studies of countries for which there is less available evidence that not only investigate a wide range of labor market outcomes and their determinants, but explicitly consider different immigrant origin groups and arrival cohorts. In addition, there is still a lot of knowledge to be gained in pursuing comparative research. Cross-country studies allow one to examine the effects of structural differences in migration regimes, labor markets, and welfare states on immigrant women's labor market outcomes. Moreover, as nativity and gender gaps are conditional on the characteristics of the native and immigrant populations in the respective destinations investigated, comparing these estimates across countries can help us to understand the effects that the specific migration histories of these countries have had on the current labor market outcomes of immigrant women residents. Trend studies within single countries can additionally highlight the effects of temporal conjunctures and policy changes on the labor market success of immigrant women. In many cases, the reviewed studies provided only a snapshot of the current situation for a particular time point, estimates being subject to cyclical or other kinds of variation (Dustmann & Görlach, 2015). Finally, adopting a temporal perspective can also help in disentangling age, period and cohort effects when comparing labor market outcomes across immigrant groups (Altman, 2015). All of these approaches can enrich the picture of immigrants' experiences across Europe, point to similar

trends/barriers in their integration processes, and can promote more cooperation between countries on policy improvements.

Finally, we cannot present the findings of this review without also acknowledging its limitations. Most importantly, our review has only considered the findings from quantitative research in this field. This certainly has its drawbacks, because quantitative approaches can only attempt to capture the multitude of processes at play in immigrant labor market integration, both measurable and unmeasurable. A particular shortcoming of quantitative approaches might also be that disadvantages are usually equated with unexplained gaps in outcomes, running risk to the conflation of equality of opportunity with equality of outcomes. This would be the case if nativity and gender gaps in labor market outcomes were not disadvantages but the result of individual motivations, preferences, and choices. Luthra et al. (2018) emphasize this point by showing that migration duration intentions and individual motivations are important determinants of both socio-economic as well as social and subjective integration of Polish migrants across Western Europe. Similarly, the concept of transnationalism, understood as being in a constant in-between state with no fixed place to settle, precludes assimilation as goal as well as end (Lutz & Amelina, 2017). Qualitative research seems in many such cases to be particularly suited to illuminate the type of intersectional disadvantages that our review has attempted to present. Qualitative studies can also emphasize the considerable heterogeneity in employment trajectories and labor market disadvantages of immigrant women that are possibly uncovered by quantitative approaches such as shuttle migration (Morokvasic-Müller, 2014). Moreover, qualitative studies are better positioned to investigate relevant topics like undocumented employment, which is difficult to gather reliable data on. Thus, investigating the findings from this second body of literature could be one important step in broadening our understanding of the issues we have uncovered.

2.5 Appendix

An online appendix with supplementary descriptive analyses is available at:
https://pages.cms.hu-berlin.de/sprenmax/fem-lit-review/#immigrant-population-across-europe

Chapter 3: The labor market participation of recently-arrived immigrant women in Germany

Bentley Schieckoff & Claudia Diehl

3.1 Introduction

Germany has been the destination of numerous immigrants since the end of the Second World War including guest workers, ethnic German migrants,[17] intra-EU movers, and a considerable number of refugees, with the highest gross intake of immigrants in the EU since 2012 (and a place in the top five receiving countries since at least 2006).[18] As of 2019, the foreign population in Germany exceeded 11 million, with another 21.3 million residents having a migrant background.[19] For several decades now, immigrants' labor market integration has attracted considerable academic and societal interest. After all, this is a key component not only for their economic independence, but also for their integration in other societal domains. This being said, the focus of much research has been dedicated to the dynamics of *male* immigrant labor market integration, at the expense of studying females. In this article, we show that a gender-sensitive approach is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of female immigrant labor market integration by comparing women from Poland and Turkey and their likelihood to join the labor force after their arrival in Germany.

In the past, females' timely integration into the labor market may have been considered less economically-crucial than males', at least as long as families were considered and the traditional 'male breadwinner' perception held sway. However, there are several reasons to put women in the focus of research on immigrants' labor market integration. The failure to integrate female immigrants into the labor market leads to higher poverty rates, prolonged welfare dependency, and ultimately increases the threat of old-age poverty in this demographic group (Frick et al., 2009; Matthai, 2004; Tucci, 2012). Moreover, low female employment has been shown to negatively affect the chances of migrant children attending public day care (which in itself has a positive impact on their language acquisition and school success, as reported by Peter & Spieß, 2015 for example). Even though German legislation[20] has guaranteed a childcare spot for children between the ages of one and three since August 2013, studies have shown that children of non-working immigrant mothers are less likely to start day care at an early age (Gambaro et al., 2017; Krapf, 2014). Additionally, labor market (in)activity

[17] Ethnic German migrants (or *Aussiedler*) are individuals whose ancestors left Germany (sometimes centuries ago) to settle in various countries in Eastern Europe, including the former Soviet Union, Poland, and Romania. After the Second World War, when public opinion turned against these groups, many families returned to Germany via special programmes administered by the West German government

[18] Eurostat Data Browser on Immigration. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tps00176/default/table?lang=en Accessed 09.09.2019.

[19] Destatis. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html Accessed 10.11.2020

[20] The Kinderförderungsgesetz (KiföG), 2008

is a behavior found to be transmitted from mother to daughter (Farré & Vella, 2013; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). Thus, inactive mothers are likely to result in inactive daughters, furthering the negative effects of this phenomenon in the ensuing generations. On top of all this, labor market integration is crucial for female migrants' economic and legal independence, including their chances of ending abusive or exploitative relationships.

Given that female integration outcomes deserve to be studied in their own right, not just as caveats to those of males, analyses should take a gender-sensitive approach to account for the different dynamics at play. After all, the way that factors like marital status and children in the household influence male outcomes is much different than the effect they have for females (see, e.g., Donato, Piya, & Jacobs, 2014). Moreover, the motivation of women to join the labor force and seek paid employment is a different consideration than for men, whose labor force participation (LFP) is often taken as a given fact.

In this regard, our analysis focuses on Poles and Turks in Germany for several important reasons. While Turks have been the subject of much prior research (mostly in the context of guest workers and their descendants), immigrants from Eastern Europe have received considerably less attention (although some comparative studies on ethnic Germans have differentiated immigrants by their country of origin, such as Constant, Gataullina, & Zimmermann, 2006; Kogan, 2011; Luthra, 2013; Seifert, 1998). Poles, in particular, had dominated immigration inflows to Germany in the years prior to 2014, before being overtaken by growing numbers of immigrants from Romania and Syria thereafter.[21] However, outside studies on ethnic Germans, Polish immigrants have not been prominently featured in the quantitative literature (several qualitative studies on seasonal migration patterns include Glorius, 2008; Kepińska, 2013 from White, 2016). This contrasts with other EU countries, like the UK and Ireland, where Polish immigrants have received much more academic attention (both quantitative and qualitative, for example Drinkwater, Eade, & Garapich, 2009; Filimonau & Mika, 2019; Krings et al., 2013; Mąkosa, 2018). Thus, our analysis will provide some empirical findings on the experiences of a more recent cohort of female immigrants from Poland, contextualized by the experiences of a well-researched group in Germany, Turkish women.

Additionally, the comparison between these two groups will be particularly interesting with regard to the motivation of women to participate in the labor force. Poles and Turks come from two very different cultural backgrounds with different gender values regulating women's actions in the public sphere. Middle Eastern societies based on Islamic values are perceived to severely restrict women's opportunities to engage in activities outside of the household. Meanwhile, in most Western

[21] Retrieved from Table 12711-0005: 'Wanderungen zwischen Deutschland und dem Ausland' from the German Federal Statistical Office (DESTATIS). Accessed 19.11.2019.

countries women's LFP is largely seen as acceptable. Since immigrants may bring culturally-specific gender values with them when they immigrate (Blau, 2015), these could have an important effect on the motivation for women to join the labor force after their arrival. By comparing Polish and Turkish women, two groups with different cultural backgrounds, we hope to shed light on the influence that motivational factors have on female immigrant LFP in Germany.

As a final consideration, we focus specifically on the experiences of recently-arrived immigrants (who have been living in Germany for a maximum of 18 months). Studies on the early experiences of immigrants are rare, rendering it more difficult to disentangle post-migration integration dynamics from immigrant characteristics upon arrival (Schwartz, 2005). This problem is particularly relevant when it comes to explaining the ongoing disadvantages of those ethnic groups whose integration appears to lag behind that of others (Kalter, 2006). Moreover, it is during an immigrant's first months in the destination country that the decision to enter the labor force is most relevant.

Thus, using innovative data on the early phase of migrants' integration, collected in the project *Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes of New Immigrants in Europe* (SCIP; Diehl et al., 2015) we analyze *if* and *why* there are differences in the LFP of Polish and Turkish female immigrants. We not only consider the role of human capital endowments, the most important explanatory factor in immigrants' labor market integration, but we also investigate the role of additional resources such as language skills and social ties and more gender-specific motivational factors, such as the migration motive, family composition and cultural gender values.

3.2 Existing research and theoretical framework

In line with findings from many other Western industrialized countries,[22] female immigrants in Germany have widely been shown to experience disadvantages in their labor market integration. First generation immigrant women are found to have lower LFP rates than native German women, regardless of their country of origin (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). Those who do work, however, are more likely than native women to engage in full-time employment (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013), at least during the early years of their stay. Female immigrants also tend to hold jobs with lower occupational status than their native counterparts (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Kogan, 2011) and earn lower wages (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1997; Constant, 2009; Reitz et al., 1999). Their wages show some weak assimilation, but do not totally attain the same levels of native women (Basilio et al., 2009). These disadvantages exist not only between immigrant and native women, but have also been found

[22] For evidence from the US, see Antecol (2000) and Blau, Kahn & Papps (2008); for Australia, see Cobb-Clark & Connolly (2001); for Israel, see Raijman & Semyonov (1997); for Canada, see Reimers (1985); and for the Netherlands, see Khoudja & Fleischmann (2017).

between immigrant women of different ethnic groups on the German labor market (see, e.g., Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013).

When it comes to explaining these differences, individual labor market resources play an important role. This is true for both men and women. Most importantly, educational endowments and work experience have a strong effect on labor market integration as spelled out in human capital theory (Becker, 1975), and empirical findings in the German context have confirmed this assumption (Granato & Kalter, 2001; Seibert & Solga, 2005). However, even after comparing individuals with similar levels of human capital, immigrant disadvantages often persist (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Granato & Kalter, 2001; Kogan, 2011). For first generation immigrants, these disadvantages can be partly attributed to the fact that human capital acquired abroad is only partially transferrable to the new context (Chiswick, 1978; Friedberg, 2000; Kalter & Granato, 2018), which is not fully captured by simply controlling for immigrants' human capital endowments from the country of origin.

This basic framework of human capital theory has been extended to include additional factors relevant to immigrant integration and the process of transferring human capital endowments. Host country-specific resources are important to account for, like proficiency in the majority language (Chiswick & Miller, 2002) and the social capital that comes with the establishment of a social network (Putnam, 2000). For Germany, many studies have confirmed that migrants with a high level of German proficiency perform remarkably better on the labor market than those with little knowledge of the language (Hirsch et al., 2014; Koopmans, 2016; Lancee & Hartung, 2012). Similarly, studies show that social ties to German natives in particular increase not just the probability of employment, but also the occupational status of the job opportunities found through these channels (Kalter & Kogan, 2014; Kanas et al., 2011; Koenig et al., 2016; Lancee & Hartung, 2012). Social contacts turn out to be equally important for male and female immigrants during the job hunt (Kanas et al., 2011), although language proficiency may be more important for females than for males in terms of their LFP (Koopmans, 2016).

While all these components of immigrants' labor market resources are important when studying both male and female migrants, the *motivation* to work becomes particularly important when focusing on female migrants. Males are traditionally considered the main breadwinner in the household, and they seldom grapple with the question of entering the labor market and searching for employment after migration (see Bürmann et al., 2018; Haan, Kroh, & Troutman, 2017). When analyzing female migrants' labor market integration, on the other hand, their self-exclusion from the labor market may play an important role. This could partly be due to cultural norms about women's participation in economic activities outside the household, but also includes their perception of success on the labor market.

An individual's motivation to work may be indicated by their initial migration motive. This is particularly the case for labor migrants – those who immigrate for work-related reasons have a high probability of looking for work after arrival. In some cases, particularly immigrants from outside of the EU, a job offer is required before a visa is issued.[23] For other types of immigrants, the channel of migration says less about their labor market intentions. Often it is assumed that women who immigrate for family reasons have a very low motivation to enter the labor market. While several studies have shown that this is indeed the case (Ballarino & Panichella, 2018; Basilio et al., 2009; Krieger, 2020), it should also be acknowledged that channels of migration to Germany are heavily restricted for immigrants from certain origins. For example, even for economically motivated migrants from outside the EU, the only option to legally enter Germany may be as a family migrant. These restrictions may divert a wide range of individuals with different motives and characteristics onto a similar path.

When it comes to the effect of cultural gender values on LFP, factors like marital status and the presence of children come into play. The distribution of tasks within a household often means that partnered women participate less in the labor force than single women, and the presence of children also negatively affects female migrants' LFP rates (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013). Depending on cultural norms and the availability of child care, these factors can have different effects on the labor market behavior of females from different countries of origin, and thus are important to take into account when studying female immigrants' motivation to enter the labor force.

Several studies for Germany have examined the role of culture and gender values in immigrant women's labor market integration. The most direct way to investigate this relationship is by using survey data that includes this type of indicator. For instance, Koopmans (2016) shows that Muslim migrant women in several European countries (Germany included) with high resource endowments *and* liberal gender values have similar LFP rates to native women. An equivalent effect of socio-cultural factors is not observed for males, which reinforces the gendered aspect of this finding. Unfortunately, relatively few surveys include this type of question. Researchers often resort to using proxy variables instead when studying this relationship.

One proxy variable that is frequently used in place of unobserved gender values is religiosity. Research has suggested that there is a connection between strong individual religious beliefs and conservative gender values (Diehl, Koenig, & Ruckdeschel, 2009). Connor and Koenig (2015) analyze the impact of individual religiosity for a sample of immigrants in several Western European countries. They do not find that self-reported religiosity has an effect on labor market integration, though in this

[23] BAMF – In Deutschland arbeiten
https://www.bamf.de/DE/Themen/MigrationAufenthalt/ZuwandererDrittstaaten/Arbeit/arbeit-node.html
Accessed 16.09.2020.

case, their sample includes both men and women and their model is not specified to investigate the possible gender differences that this variable could have. Knize Estrada (2018), by contrast, finds evidence for female immigrants in Germany that an individual's level of religiosity, regardless of her confessional faith, is highly correlated with her labor force activity (i.e., immigrant women who pray less often have higher probabilities of working).

On the topic of religiosity, the specific confessional faith (Muslim, Christian, etc.) has also been proposed as another viable proxy for measuring gender values (Höhne & Koopmans, 2010; Knize Estrada, 2018). These studies suggest that, while religiosity is correlated with conservative gender values, Muslim religiosity is particularly conservative. Indeed, Muslim religiosity was found to have a strong negative impact on female immigrants' employment and their hours worked in Germany, compared to non-religious female immigrants (Knize Estrada, 2018; Köbrich Leon, 2013). It was also found to increase their unemployment duration relative to individuals with a different confessional faith (Höhne & Koopmans, 2010).

While the abovementioned findings on gender values provide important insights into the role of culture in labor market integration, and demonstrate the validity of the specific intensity and/or type of religiosity as a proxy for these values, there are important drawbacks in the ways that these studies have investigated this mechanism. Importantly, for both Köbrich Leon (2013) and Knize Estrada (2018), the outcome variable is operationalized as employment and/or hours worked, which differentiate between individuals who were successful at finding employment and those who were not, and not between individuals who are and are not *motivated* to enter the labor force. But it is precisely this individual decision to join the labor force in search of paid employment that should be most influenced by gender attitudes, not their success in finding a job and establishing some sort of work schedule. Thus, based on the current state of the literature, it would appear that the relationship between gender values and LFP requires more precise research.

In addition to gender values, female migrants' motivation to join the labor force may be influenced by their perceived chances of success in finding suitable work. It is in this context that perceptions of ethnic discrimination need to be taken into account, a variable which is included in many surveys tailored to immigrants. While several articles have recently pointed out that these perceptions should not be taken as an accurate indicator of actual experiences of discrimination (Diehl & Liebau, 2017; Small & Pager, 2020), individuals may nonetheless be discouraged from starting the job search if they perceive that their group's access to the labor market is hampered by discrimination.

In sum, these indicators of the motivation to participate in the labor force, including gender values and perceived ethnic discrimination, are important to consider when studying female labor market integration. The findings above show that these indicators supplement the factors referenced

in human capital theory and can help to explain the remaining nativity or ethnic gaps for female immigrants.

3.3 Newcomers in Germany: Group characteristics and expectations

Poles and Turks represent a large share of the immigration flow into Germany, making up 14 percent and 2 percent of the total inflow respectively in 2014 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016). Turks were the largest immigrant group (in terms of arrivals) from 1971 to 1980, while Poles were the largest group from 1983 to 1990, and again from 1994 to 2013.[24] In the post-war period, Turkey was an important source of economic migrants, who were recruited to work in low-skilled industrial occupations in Germany. They arrived as 'guest workers' with the assumption that their stay would be temporary, although return migration to Turkey after recruitment policies ended turned out to be very limited. After the end of Germany's foreign worker recruitment policy in the early 1970s, immigration patterns shifted focus to family reunification. To this day, this remains an important channel for Turkish immigration to Germany, accounting for 27 percent of Turkish arrivals in 2017 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2019). The overall number of Turks coming as students has also steadily risen over the past two decades, from just 747 in 1999 to 3517 in 2017 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2019).

Though they might not be as 'negatively selected' in terms of their human capital as the early guest workers, the recent arrivals from Turkey continue to bring with them low human capital endowments. About 56 percent of the Turkish male immigrant population in Germany has completed some sort of occupational training or tertiary education, while this number is only 30 percent for Turkish female immigrants (Schührer, 2018). This being said, the German language skills of those arriving after 2000 have been rather high on average, especially compared to the language skills of those who arrived during the 1960s and 1970s (Schührer, 2018).

Since the Turkish community in Germany has been built up from the original guest workers, it has strong ties to the lower skilled sectors in the German economy (Kogan, 2004) and has created an ethnic niche market addressing the needs of its own clientele. Turks in Germany have comparatively few inter-ethnic friendships, even in the second generation, and even compared with Turks in other European countries (Crul & Schneider, 2012). This point is important, because studies show that Turks' co-ethnic contacts have little effect on their unemployment durations, but that contact with native Germans greatly increases their chances of finding employment (Lancee & Hartung, 2012).

[24] Data for West Germany, published by the German Federal Statistical Office in the Annual Statistical Yearbook, multiple years, https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Querschnitt/Jahrbuch/_inhalt.html Accessed 29.10.2019.

Along with human capital, immigrants bring cultural capital with them from their country of origin. First generation Turkish migrants were socialized in Turkey, which has a potential impact on their labor market integration in Germany. Patriarchal norms still hold sway in Turkish society, meaning there is little public support for female-headed households and a high acceptance of the view that women have to have children to feel fulfilled (Dildar, 2015). The LFP rate of married women in Turkey (as well as those with children) is lower because of both societal pressure to stay in the home and a lack of affordable child care (World Bank, 2009). From a low of 25 percent in the early 2000s, the female LFP rate has since been on the rise, reaching 30 percent in 2010 and 38 percent by 2018. The low levels of female employment outside the household may also be related to the fact that Turkey is a highly religious Muslim society - the importance of religion has been increasing in Turkish society since the 1990s (Dildar, 2015), and about 84 percent of Turks consider themselves religious.[25]

Turning to Poles, the current community in Germany mainly arrived in the post-communist period, either as ethnic Germans or students (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2010). Circular immigration from Poland has also been an important source of labor for low-skilled sectors in Germany, such as agriculture, with many migrants working in Germany temporarily and returning to Poland after a certain financial target has been reached (Kepińska, 2013). Since Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, Poles have received new rights to freedom of movement within the wider European Union, although Germany continued to restrict labor migration from Poland until May 2011.

Unlike the cyclical laborers, data from a representative investigation of current immigrant groups in Germany shows that Poles who arrived between 2010 and 2015 had fairly high levels of education: 59 percent reported they had completed some sort of vocational training ('berufliche Ausbildung') and an additional 25 percent had completed tertiary education (Babka von Gostomski, 2016). Due to European schemes for educational standardization, the educational qualifications they bring with them from Poland are generally recognized in the German labor market. This being said, their level of German proficiency seems to be slightly lower than the Poles who arrived before 2010 (Babka von Gostomski, 2016).

The Polish community is not as prevalent in German society as the Turkish community, since earlier cohorts who arrived as ethnic Germans were met with favorable policies and quickly integrated into the majority population (Kreyenfeld & Konietzka, 2002). More recent immigrants have benefited from freedom of movement within the European Union, which has facilitated circular immigration for groups who live geographically close to Germany. Thus, Poles have fewer opportunities in ethnic job markets, but are also less likely to experience the segregation that comes with this.

[25] According to the World Values Survey, Wave 6 (2010-2014) V147 - Religious person http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp Accessed 29.10.2019.

Like Turks, Poles come from a political and social context where religion continues to play an important role. Catholicism has been an important part of Polish national identity since the period of communist rule, when it was seen as a source of unity and resistance against the state regime (Requena & Stanek, 2014). Today, 67 percent of Poles declare they are practicing Catholics (Requena & Stanek, 2014). The country also has a tradition of female LFP, which was supported by the communist regime and viewed as essential to the labor supply for the country's rapid industrialization (Kepińska, 2013). This norm continues to this day: The female LFP rate in Poland was 59 percent in 2010, and had reached 63 percent by 2018.[26] After the collapse of this regime, however, there was some tendency to revert to conservative family structures. Data from the early 2000s shows that 67 percent of women and 77 percent of men favored traditional family gender roles (Titkow & Duch, 2004 from Kepińska, 2013). Thus, it appears that there are multiple societal expectations for women to both be active in the labor force *and* to undertake the traditional tasks in the household. Especially in the older age groups, women have been found to allocate much more time to household tasks than men (Siemieńska, 2008). These characteristics have also been observed in the group of Poles who choose to immigrate to Germany, at least in terms of their high religiosity (Diehl & Koenig, 2013) and their participation in gender-typical sectors of the German labor market (Kalwa, 2007).

The immigrant groups in our study accessed the German labor market in 2009/2010, during a period characterized by low unemployment, and even labor shortages in many areas. This typically renders ethnic discrimination more costly for employers than in contexts where unemployment is high, and should be beneficial for newcomers' labor market integration. Nevertheless, research has shown that entering the higher strata of the German labor market is particularly difficult for outsider groups (Luthra, 2013, p. 1105) due to high wage floors and strong employment protections (Kogan, 2006, p. 699). Thus, newcomers on the labor market may face challenges that are related to structural aspects of the German labor market (Kogan, 2006; Luthra, 2013) rather than to individual discrimination.

Expectations

So far, we have discussed the most important factors shaping first generation immigrants' labor market integration, and have contextualized the immigrant groups we include in our analysis. We have shown that an analysis that seeks to explain the group differences in female immigrants' LFP needs to take into account both the labor market resources that immigrants possess, and their motivation to enter the labor market.

[26] Data from OECD (2019) "Labour Market Statistics. Labour Force Statistics by sex and age". *OECD Employment and Labour Market Statistics* (database), https://doi.org/10.1787/data-00310-en Accessed 29.10.2019.

In our subsequent analyses, labor market resources should exert a strong influence on the decision to participate in the labor market. Given the lower endowments of Turks with respect to their level of education, and prior work experience, German language proficiency, and ties to natives, *we expect to find an initial gap between the LFP of Polish and Turkish migrant women, which declines after controlling for these resources*.

Regarding motivational factors, *we expect the ethnic gap in LFP to further decrease once indicators for their motivation to find paid employment outside the household are accounted for*. Since administrative reports show that for Polish women, work is an important motive for their immigration to Germany, including the migration motive and family status in our models should address many of the compositional differences between the two ethnic groups. Similarly, perceived ethnic discrimination should reduce the motivation to join the labor force for both groups (even though more Turkish than Polish women may expect to experience discrimination on the labor market).

In a similar vein, the strength of individual religiosity should have an overall negative impact on female immigrants' LFP. Since previous findings have suggested that Muslim religious affiliation in particular is connected to conservative gender norms, *we expect that religious Turkish women are even less likely to be active in the labor force than religious Polish women*. Accounting for the differential impact of confessional faith should reduce the ethnic gap in LFP even further.

3.4 Data and analytical strategy

The data for this analysis comes from the NORFACE-funded *Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes Among New Immigrants in Europe* (SCIP) survey, which was conducted between 2010 and 2013 in four European countries (Germany, the Netherlands, the UK, and Ireland). This survey targeted recently-arrived immigrants (living in the destination country for 18 months or less) from different ethnic backgrounds. In the case of Germany, this dataset provides a rich overview of demographic and socio-cultural variables for Polish and Turkish immigrant groups living in five large German cities (Berlin, Bremen, Cologne, Hamburg, and Munich). Face-to-face surveys were conducted for all respondents during the first survey wave, which had a response rate of 61 percent (Gresser & Schacht, 2015). Using data from the first wave of the German survey, our analysis explores the labor market situation of female immigrants who had been living in Germany for a maximum of 18 months. Our sample includes female respondents aged 18-60 who were either active in the labor force or 'at risk' of entering (thus excluding respondents who were students, disabled, or already retired at the time of the survey, for whom other factors restrict their LFP). Overall, our sample comprises 829 women (490 Polish women and 339 Turkish women). Since we are particularly interested in exploring the role of motivational factors in female labor market integration, the outcome variable in our analysis is LFP (at the time of interview). We group together those who were

employed[27] and unemployed as 'active' in the labor force and designate home-makers as 'inactive'. It could be argued that in some instances, it may be problematic to assume that the unemployed are more motivated to work than home-makers. After all, it may be attractive to register as unemployed even for those individuals who are not actually searching for work if this comes along with access to unemployment benefits. However, we believe that for our specific sample, these incentives are less relevant because recently-arrived immigrants in Germany are not eligible for unemployment benefits.

To account for individual human capital endowments, we include the immigrant's *pre-migration work experience* and their *level of education*. Work experience from the immigrant's country of origin is condensed into a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent had any prior work experience or not. The educational endowment from the country of origin is aggregated into an ordinal variable with three levels, where individuals who failed to complete more than lower secondary education are placed in the 'low' group, those who completed upper secondary education are assigned to the 'middle' group, and those who completed tertiary education are placed in the 'high' group.

To take into account the labor market capital specific to Germany, we include the individual's *self-assessed German language proficiency* and the *presence of close German friends*. Language proficiency is based on a mean index of a respondent's level of reading, speaking, writing, and comprehension skills, in which immigrants are classified as having no German proficiency, some proficiency, or good proficiency. The presence of close German friends is reduced to a dichotomous variable, with those who reported one or more close friends born in Germany being assigned in one category, and those who specify zero close German-born friends being assigned to the reference group.

To look at the impact of motivational factors, we include the variables *migration motive, family status*, *religiosity,* and *perceived ethnic group discrimination*. Migration motive distinguishes between those who came for work reasons and those who came for other reasons. Family status reflects a migrant's marital status and the presence of children in the household, coded either as 'single', 'partnered, no children' or 'partnered with children.' Additionally, the respondent's level of religiosity is included as an approximation of her gender values, based on previous findings that high levels of religiosity are positively correlated with conservative gender values (Diehl et al., 2009). Responses are coded into 'rather non-religious' for those who were not religious or had low religiosity, and 'rather religious' for those with moderate to high religiosity. Perceived discrimination is an ordinal variable that differentiates between respondents who were unaware of or perceived little ethnic

[27] This category also includes respondents who were on parental leave, since these individuals technically had an employment contract and underwent the job search and recruitment process. Similar approaches have been used by Koenig et al. (2016) and Fleischmann & Höhne (2013).

discrimination, those who perceived a medium frequency of discrimination, and those who perceived a high frequency of discrimination.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of recently-arrived female migrants (col percent)[28]

	Poles		Turks	
	n	%	n	%
Economic status in Germany				
employed	324	66	68	20
unemployed	69	14	168	50
home-maker	97	20	103	30
Pre-migration work experience				
no	82	17	164	48
yes	407	83	167	49
Level of education				
low	31	6	161	47
upper secondary	212	43	77	23
tertiary	239	49	101	30
German proficiency				
none	106	22	75	22
some	246	50	214	63
good	134	27	49	14
Close German friends				
none	399	81	248	73
1 or more	91	19	91	27
Migration motive				
work	283	58	21	6
other	199	41	316	93
Family status				
single	250	51	22	6
partnered, no children	130	27	207	61
partnered with children	107	22	110	32
Perceived group discrimination				
don't know/low	203	41	176	52
medium	220	45	96	28
high	67	14	66	19
Religiosity				
low	159	32	120	35
high	316	64	191	56
Average age (SD)	34 (11)		30 (8)	

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the dependent variable and the covariates included in the analysis. This table shows that the group of Polish women in our sample is slightly older than the Turks, with an average age of 34 (compared to 30 for the Turks). In terms of human capital, a much higher percentage of the Polish women arrived with work experience from their country of

[28] Percentages may not add up to 100 because of missing values. These cases are filtered out of the quantitative analyses.

origin than the Turkish women, and on average they also had a higher level of education. This is in line with the findings on contemporary migrants from Poland and Turkey mentioned in the preceding sections. Looking at host country capital, we see that neither group had a high level of German proficiency, and few women from either group had a close German friend.

Turning to motivational factors, we see that many of the Polish women came for work reasons (58 percent), while the vast majority of the Turkish women (93 percent) came for other reasons (mostly joining family). As was previously mentioned, the legal pathways for Turks to immigrate to Germany are rather restricted, so their official migration motive does not always reflect their working intentions. Over half of Polish women were single, while those who were married are split rather evenly between households with and without children. For Turkish women, very few were single, and many were found in childless households. Looking at levels of perceived group discrimination, we see that the Poles actually perceived *more* ethnic discrimination than the Turks, with 59 percent indicating 'medium' or 'high' levels of discrimination (compared to 47 percent of the Turks). Moreover, the Poles tended to be more religious than the Turkish women in the sample.[29]

Given that our dependent variable is dichotomous, we use logistic regressions for our analysis. We start with a baseline model controlling only for age, ethnicity, and city of residence, and proceed by adding our covariates – relating to resources and motivational factors – in a stepwise fashion.

3.5 Results

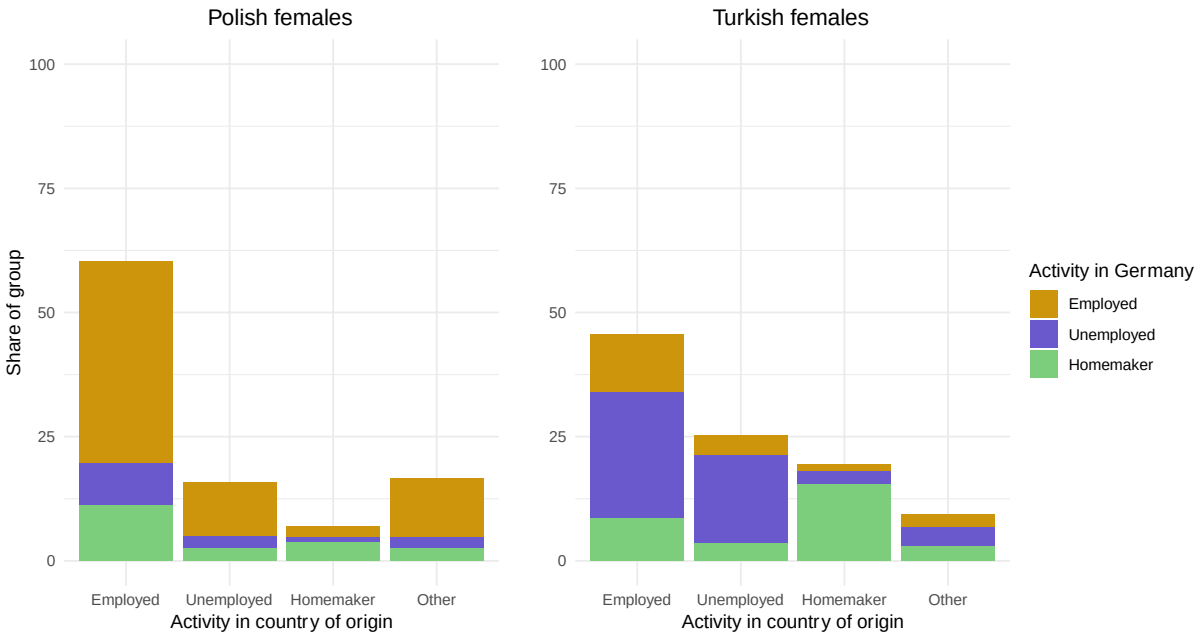
If cultural gender values do indeed impact females' motivation to participate in the labor force, then significant differences may already be visible in female immigrants' main economic activity before their arrival in Germany. Starting with descriptive results, **Figure 8** presents the economic status of female migrants in Germany at the time of the survey, based on their economic status in their country of origin.[30] While our analytical sample is restricted to those who were employed, unemployed, or home-makers at the time they were interviewed, these respondents may have occupied a different place in the labor market before their arrival. Those women who were previously students or retired in their country of origin, but in Germany find themselves employed, unemployed, or home-makers, are identified in the 'other' column.

[29] As a side note, nearly all of the Poles in our sample identify as some denomination of Christian, and nearly all of the Turks identified as Muslims, so the variable 'religiosity' will be used as not just an approximation of conservative gender values, but also to compare the differential impact of Christian and Muslim religious affiliation on female LFP.

[30] While the LFP variable is operationalized as 'active' vs. 'inactive' in the quantitative analyses later on (as specified in the preceding section), in this figure, we have chosen to disaggregate the variable into its components of 'employed', 'unemployed', and 'home-maker' to provide a better sense of the transitions immigrant women make between these individual statuses.

The height of the bars in **Figure 8** shows the share of the group in each economic status before migration. A large percentage of the Polish women were economically active before migrating to Germany (60 percent were employed and another 16 percent were looking for work). Conversely, a rather small proportion were home-makers in Poland (only seven percent) and an additional 17 percent were occupied with some other activity (mostly students). Looking at the Turks, we see that women who were previously economically active again represent the largest share of the group (46 percent were employed and 25 percent looking for work), although compared to the Poles, the Turkish women were somewhat more spread out across all the different economic statuses. About 19 percent of them had previously been home-makers in Turkey (more than double the share of Polish home-makers) and nine percent had been occupied with some other activity.

Figure 8: Activity status at the time of the interview by activity status in the country of origin



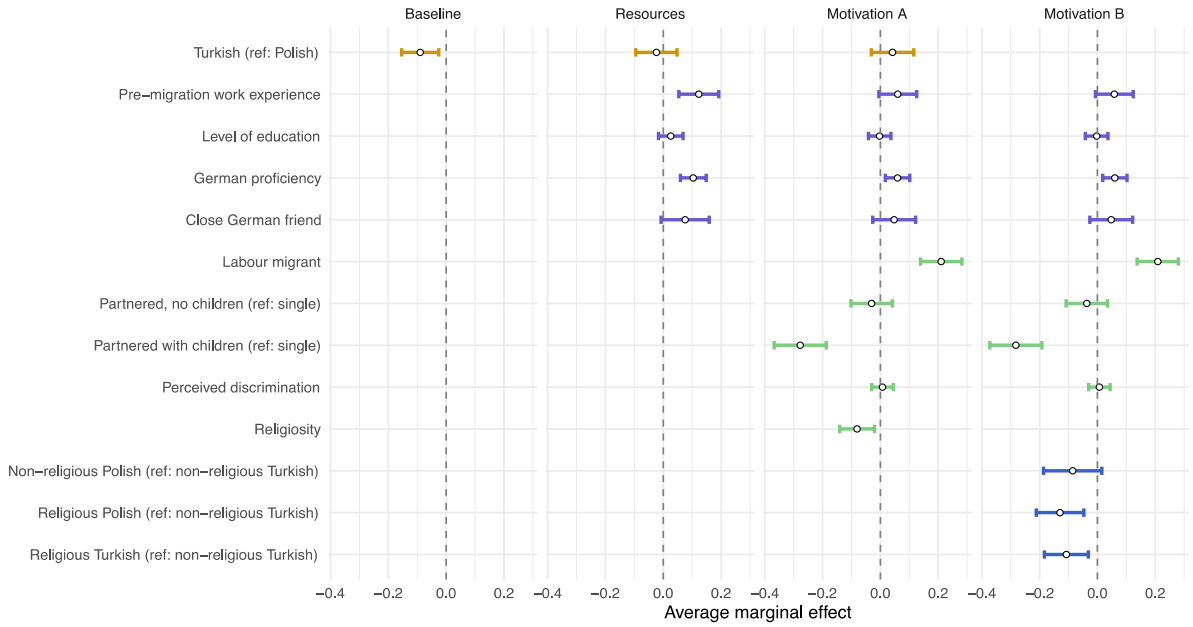
The color of the bars in the **Figure 8** reveals the activity of these women *after* their arrival in Germany. The yellow areas indicate that a large majority of the Polish women were employed, regardless of their status pre-migration. About 66 percent of the Polish women were employed in Germany, and another 14 percent were unemployed (designated by the purple areas). The Turkish women, on the other hand, were particularly likely to be unemployed (50 percent) or home-makers (30 percent, as shown by the green areas) in Germany, regardless their prior economic status.

This figure reveals that the Polish and Turkish women in our sample did not differ substantially in their pre-migration LFP – or at least, not as much as we might expect given the data on their counterparts in their respective countries of origin. The data indicates that 80 percent of the Polish women in our sample were active (employed or unemployed) in the labor market before migrating to

Germany, as were 71 percent of Turkish women. Thus, both groups had much higher rates of participation prior to coming to Germany than their respective national levels (59 percent in Poland and 30 percent in Turkey in 2010, mentioned above). Even when taking into account that we excluded students, the retired, and the disabled (at the time of the survey) from our analysis sample, this points towards a process of positive immigrant selection.

The results of logistic regressions of female immigrants' LFP are presented in **Figure 9** as average marginal effects. Controls for age, age squared, and the city of residence are included in all models, but since these variables are not the focus of our analyses, we do not present the coefficients here (full results can be found in **Table 2** in the appendix). The baseline model confirms that even after controlling for age and city of residence, the Turkish women were less likely to participate in the German labor force than the Polish women. The resource model shows that relevant labor market resources – like previous work experience, a good knowledge of German, and social contacts with members of the majority population – all increased the likelihood of participating in the labor force. Taking these factors into account decreases the ethnic gap (by almost 7 pp) and eliminates its statistical significance.

Figure 9: Predictors of recent female migrants' labor force participation in Germany (logistic regressions - AMEs)



Note: Point estimates are presented with 95 percent confidence intervals; all models control for age, age^2, and city of residence

The final models look at the impact of motivational factors on the probability of participating in the labor force. Motivation model A shows that motivational factors do hold considerable explanatory power for LFP. In fact, the estimate for ethnicity, which had indicated a disadvantage for Turks in the baseline model, now indicates a slight advantage (although this is not statistically

significant at the 95 percent level). As expected, women who came for the purpose of working have a much higher probability of participating in the labor force. Women who were married *and* had children in the household had a much lower probability of being active in the labor market, another finding consistent with our expectations. Perceived group discrimination, on the other hand, did not seem to keep women from joining the labor force, while religiosity did indeed have a negative (and statistically significant) impact on female LFP.

Motivation model B investigates the interaction between ethnicity and religiosity to determine whether religious Muslim women differ from religious Christians in their LFP. Here, we combined the two independent variables into an 'ethno-religious' categorical variable to better compare the different groups. We see that, compared to the non-religious Turks, the religious women had a lower likelihood of participating in the labor force (regardless of their ethnicity), whereas the non-religious Poles did not statistically differ from non-religious Turks (at the 95 percent confidence level).

3.6 Discussion and conclusion

In the analysis above, we have looked at the early stage of female immigrants' labor market integration process, that is, their decision to participate in the labor market after immigrating to Germany. We have argued that an immigrant woman's decision to join the labor force is more deliberate than an immigrant man's (as men have very high employment rates from early on, see Sprengholz et al. 2021). Therefore, when studying female immigrants' labor market entry after their immigration, it is important to take motivational factors into account along with their resources, since both of these dimensions likely contribute to their decision.

Our analysis reveals a slight disadvantage for the Turkish women compared to the LFP rates of the Polish women, although the difference was not as big as might have been expected based on the characteristics of earlier cohorts. In line with our expectations, we find that differences in both groups' labor market resources (particularly work experience and German language skills) play an important role in explaining the gap between the two groups. Once these are taken into account, the groups no longer differ in terms of their LFP. Also in line with our expectations, we find that motivational factors like family composition and religiosity are both significant determinants of the LFP decision, as is the migration motive. After accounting for motivational factors, the former *disadvantage* in labor force participation rates actually turns into a slight (albeit statistically insignificant) *advantage* for Turkish women, confirming that these factors are important for clarifying the broader picture. This could be an indication that selection processes are at work related to the different channels of migration for Poles and Turks. The descriptive table presented earlier in the article showed that very few of the Turkish women arrived as labor migrants, although those who did

arrive through this channel presumably had a job lined up before their arrival (as a condition for receiving their work visa). This rigorous selection process created a more specialized pool compared to the Polish women who also came for work reasons, and who may not have had the same attachment to the German labor market before their arrival. Meanwhile, when we take a closer at the other side of the migration motivation variable, we see that a large number of women who declared that they migrated for family reasons were nevertheless active in the German labor force. In fact, cross-tabulations not shown here reveal that 68 percent of the Turkish family immigrants were active in the labor force after their migration, compared to 59 percent of the Polish family immigrants.

As was previously mentioned, the working intentions of non-labor migrants are difficult to estimate from their channel of entry because the labor migration channel is so restrictive. In prior research, groups like family immigrants have been considered less motivated to find employment outside of the household after migration (Ballarino & Panichella, 2018). However, based on the groups we consider, this assumption does not hold. We observed earlier that the Turkish women in our sample, though mainly family migrants, had higher rates of LFP at home in Turkey than their non-migrant counterparts. Thus, the assumption that these women hold conservative gender values similar to those of the general Turkish population may not be valid. Since the decision to immigrate is (largely) a self-driven process, the individuals who end up immigrating likely differ from the rest of the population on both observed and unobserved characteristics – something our results suggest. By using data on recent immigrants, we could take these dynamics at least partly into account.

The findings from our final model do not support the idea that Muslim religiosity has a more negative impact on LFP than Christian religiosity. Although the intensity of religiosity seems to correlate with lower LFP, it does not appear that the religious Muslims in our sample are any less likely to be economically active than the religious Christians. This finding contradicts the oft-cited argument that Muslims (and especially Muslim women) are uninterested in integrating into European society in general, and in the labor market in particular. Both Knize Estrada (2018) and Köbrich Leon (2013) reported a negative impact of Muslim religiosity on female economic activity in Germany, but because their dependent variables were conceptualized around employment, this may partially capture discrimination by the employer (and not just self-exclusion).

Turning to discrimination, we acknowledge that numerous audit studies have exposed the labor market discrimination against Turks in Germany (Kaas & Manger, 2011; Quillian et al., 2019; Weichselbaumer, 2019) and the greater social distances that Turks face compared to Western European immigrants (Diehl, Blohm, & Degen, 2020). While discrimination may play a role in their

employment rates,[31] our results do not indicate that this is an important factor in explaining immigrant women's LFP. Our analysis shows that the ethnic gaps in this outcome reflect mostly resource endowments, family status, and the migration channel, and that these gaps disappear or – in our case – even reverse, once these variables are taken into account. Even with respect to a more subjective indicator, namely perceived ethnic discrimination, there is no evidence that it hampers female migrants' motivation to join the labor force. Needless to say, we have only studied female migrants' decision to join or not to join the labor force, and not their motivation to apply for certain jobs. We cannot exclude the possibility that perceived discrimination reduces the chances that Muslim women would apply for certain jobs (e.g., those that involve contacts with customers).

Overall, our empirical results supplement the picture shown in the descriptive analysis. They underline the fact that this recent cohort of Turkish women is quite similar to Polish women in terms of LFP. The presence of children in the household appears to be one of the remaining barriers to the LFP of *all* immigrant women (something which has also been noted by Samper & Kreyenfeld, 2021), which highlights the need to communicate the availability of childcare to recently-arrived immigrants. To be sure, this study was limited to the early stages of a female immigrant's labor market integration, and these findings should be supplemented by research on how this process unfolds over the years after arrival, as well as by considering additional labor market outcomes like employment (for those who are active on the labor market), occupational status and part-time work. As far as women are concerned in this aspect of labor market integration, our analyses suggest that for the more recent immigrants from Turkey, the legacy of disadvantage from earlier cohorts, and the often described 'exceptional' challenges that this group faces on the labor market, may slowly be fading away.

[31] While unemployment was not the main focus of our study, data presented in the descriptive analysis highlight that the Turkish women in our sample differed from the Poles in their success in finding employment, even though these groups seem to have similar levels of motivation. Thus, unemployment remains an important aspect of female immigrants' labor market integration to study.

3.7 Appendix

Table 2: Logistic regressions of immigrant women's labor force participation (log odds)

	Baseline	Resources	Motivation A	Motivation B
Turkish (ref: Polish)	-0.503***	-0.143	0.305	
	(0.187)	(0.221)	(0.274)	
Age	0.009	-0.041	0.011	0.012
	(0.033)	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.040)
Age^2	0.0001	0.001	-0.0003	-0.0003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Region of residence (ref: city 1)				
city 2	0.804	0.673	0.925	0.987
	(0.835)	(0.858)	(0.897)	(0.901)
city 3	0.910***	0.842***	0.630**	0.608**
	(0.250)	(0.261)	(0.283)	(0.285)
city 4	1.167***	1.099***	1.381***	1.388***
	(0.301)	(0.313)	(0.339)	(0.341)
city 5	0.769***	0.676***	0.583**	0.573**
	(0.217)	(0.226)	(0.258)	(0.258)
Pre-migration work experience		0.742***	0.439*	0.425*
		(0.219)	(0.244)	(0.245)
Level of education		0.157	-0.018	-0.021
		(0.132)	(0.144)	(0.145)
German proficiency		0.628***	0.430***	0.438***
		(0.144)	(0.159)	(0.159)
Close German friend		0.458*	0.346	0.347
		(0.258)	(0.276)	(0.277)
Labor migrant			1.531***	1.520***
			(0.281)	(0.280)
Household composition (ref: single)				
partnered, no children			-0.247	-0.302
			(0.302)	(0.306)
partnered with children			-1.708***	-1.752***
			(0.300)	(0.303)
Perceived discrimination			0.052	0.048
			(0.138)	(0.139)
Religiosity			-0.583**	
			(0.227)	
Origin*Religiosity (ref: non-relig. Turk)				
religious Turk				-0.856***
				(0.319)
non-religious Pole				-0.701*
				(0.420)
religious Pole				-1.004***
				(0.349)
Constant	0.637**	-0.473	0.333	0.876*
	(0.284)	(0.343)	(0.438)	(0.466)
Observations	747	747	747	747
Log Likelihood	-401.690	-376.383	-320.355	-319.579

*p<0.1 **p<0.05 ***p<0.01

Chapter 4: The labor market entry of immigrant women in Germany: Disentangling labor force participation from employment

Bentley Schieckoff

4.1 Introduction

Labor market income is crucial for many immigrant households establishing themselves in their country of destination. However, descriptive evidence from Germany shows that a large proportion of immigrant women (35 percent) do not even search for work after arrival, instead remaining inactive (Höhne, 2016, p. 15). This is much higher than other groups on the German labor market: The same study shows that labor market inactivity among native women is 25 percent, and 17 percent among immigrant and native men alike. This clearly suggests that labor market entry involves gender-specific considerations. In the existing body of literature, however, many common theoretical approaches – initially conceived to explain immigrant *men's* integration – overlook labor market inactivity, instead studying it in conjunction with other outcomes like employment. The drawback of such an approach is that, especially for immigrant women, one cannot pinpoint if their disadvantage arises because of barriers they encounter on the labor market or barriers arising from the labor force participation (LFP) deliberation. Thus, this study aims to disentangle immigrant women's LFP from their employment and delve into the questions of what gender-specific determinants influence immigrant women's LFP decision and how these factors explain differences between women from different origin groups.

Conventional approaches to studying labor market outcomes emphasize a limited set of determinants, including labor market resources (like education and work experience) and household characteristics. Nevertheless, these often fall short of explaining the choices that women, and especially *immigrant* women, make. This is because theories of household decision-making (Becker, 1981; Mincer & Polachek, 1974), most commonly used in economics and sociology to explain female labor market outcomes, place the focus on the rewards to human capital on the labor market. While these resources may contribute to the deliberation, this simplification of individuals' decision-making processes overlooks other important determinants that influence women's LFP deliberation, namely *motivations.* This article aims at re-conceptualizing the determinants of this decision-making process for immigrant women by exploring the interplay of labor market resources and motivations for immigrant women's labor market behavior.

For immigrant women, motivation is sometimes equated with the initial migration motive, the assumption being that women who arrive via the popular family migration channel have low ambitions to work. There may have been a correlation several decades ago when family migrants did not have authorization to work upon arriving in Germany, but today this proxy variable does not reflect the

considerable diversity of women's integration trajectories, regardless of their initial migration motive. In fact, in the analysis sample presented later in this paper, less than one third of immigrant women who migrated for family reasons are inactive on the German labor market. Thus, in order to better understand the LFP decision of immigrant women, a comprehensive array of the motivational factors influencing their drive to participate in the labor market must be examined, including immigrant women's household context, their cultural attitudes and even their personality traits.

Taking these motivational factors into account also draws attention to the differences between immigrant women from different origin groups. While there is generally a disadvantage in immigrant women's labor market outcomes compared to immigrant men's (Stypińska & Gordo, 2018), the disaggregated origin group-specific outcomes vary considerably: Immigrant women from Western countries often perform as well as comparable immigrant men, while those from non-Western countries generally perform worse (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Höhne & Koopmans, 2010). Some of the between-group variation can likely be related to the different immigration processes that immigrants from different origins undergo, but another component may be linked to the norms about female LFP that immigrants bring with them. Individuals' gender role attitudes are expected to hold sway in the LFP decision, and may be particularly relevant for immigrant women from origins where female activity outside of the household is widely discouraged.

The multivariate empirical analyses in this study examine the importance of *resources* and *motivations* in immigrant women's LFP deliberation, contrasting this labor market outcome with their employment success and comparing four countries of origin. As a counter-point within each of these analyses, models for immigrant men are estimated as well, which highlight the gender-specific aspects of immigrant labor market entry. This study relies on a dataset that includes a comprehensive array of indicators – the first wave of the *Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany* (ENTRA) survey from 2019. This dataset includes four groups of recent immigrants – Poles, Italians, Syrians and Turks – all of which play an important role in the context of immigration to Germany and show a broad variance in the factors of interest for this study. Poland, Italy and Turkey have long traditions as the source countries for substantial immigration flows to Germany, although the profile of immigrants arriving from these countries has evolved considerably over time (alongside Germany's immigration policy). Syrians are a more recent group of immigrants in Germany, most arriving in Europe in 2015 and 2016 as refugees fleeing the Syrian civil war. As of 2019, Poland, Italy and Turkey still placed in Germany's top ten immigrant origin countries, while Syria was the top non-European origin country (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020).

4.2 Existing research and theoretical framework

Labor force participation is a measure which describes the economically *active* and the economically *inactive* proportions of a group on the labor market. Individuals who are active in the labor force are either employed or unemployed (but available and searching for work), while individuals who are inactive are of working age, but not engaged in or seeking employment.[32] Within the sociological literature on immigrant women's labor market integration, inactive women (also referred to as home-makers) have been routinely overlooked, commonly being grouped together with the unemployed into one broad analysis category (examples from the German context include Algan et al., 2010; Constant et al., 2006; Knize Estrada, 2018; Köbrich Leon, 2013; Koenig et al., 2016; Salikutluk et al., 2020). Practically this can make sense, if the line between these groups is ill-defined. For instance, home-makers who decide to search for work may not identify themselves as 'unemployed' in survey data, while women who are long-term unemployed and no longer searching for work likely fit better into the 'inactive' category. There is also the concern that unemployment may not be an accurate measure of labor market activity if it is simply used as a means to receive unemployment benefits from the state. These are relevant considerations, but nonetheless this approach muddles the interpretation of these studies: Because the LFP decision and employment success are both intertwined in the dependent variable, it is difficult to link the determinants to the relevant stage of labor market entry, and important explanatory factors may be overlooked.

From the studies which *do* focus on this divide between inactive and active women, descriptive findings show that immigrant women's LFP varies widely depending on the origin group, while immigrant men tend to have consistently high LFP rates (Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013; Höhne, 2016; Kogan, 2011). Even after controlling for the relevant determinants, gaps in LFP are routinely observed between immigrant women and men (Koopmans, 2016), and between women from different origins (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017). Quantitative analyses have found that German language proficiency and labor migration motive have a positive effect on immigrant women's LFP, and that domestic care burdens and religiosity are negatively related to this outcome (Höhne & Koopmans, 2010; Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021). Unfortunately, deficiencies in some of the most widely-used datasets mean that the relationship between potentially important determinants, like individual attitudes and personality traits, cannot always be investigated via direct indicators, and unexplained gaps often remain.

The differences between the studies which combine LFP and employment into one variable of interest, and those which consider these outcomes separately, are important to note. On the one

[32] ILO Indicator description: Labor force participation rate. https://ilostat.ilo.org/resources/concepts-and-definitions/description-labour-force-participation-rate/ Accessed 16.03.2022.

hand, there is competing evidence of the effect of some theoretically-important determinants. For example, Knize Estrada (2018) and Köbrich Leon (2013) both identify education as an important determinant of female immigrants' employment, but their dependent variables combine both employment and LFP. Among the studies which *do* differentiate between these outcomes, the findings are mixed – Kanas et al. (2011) also find a positive link between education and employment for immigrant women in Germany, although Koopmans (2016) finds that education is one of the significant determinants of immigrant women's *LFP* but not of their employment.

More importantly, studies that try to explain gender differences by considering both immigrant women and men are unable to get to the root of these differences when they do not account for the separate stages of labor market entry. Existing studies certainly do find differences in the determinants which are important for explaining immigrant women's and men's labor market outcomes (Constant et al., 2006) and overall differences in their labor market positioning (Salikutluk et al., 2020), but the interpretation of these results is less concrete. The findings are often interpreted with relation to immigrant women's 'labor supply' or their 'labor market activity,' but because LFP only represents a component of their dependent variables, these interpretations are imprecise: It remains unclear if immigrant women's disadvantages in their labor market integration arise from problems translating their labor market resources to their new context, the discrimination they face on the labor market, or because of barriers to join the labor force in the first place.

To contribute to the existing literature, a gender-sensitive theoretical approach is an important starting point. The conventional approaches start off from human capital theory (Becker, 1975), which highlights labor market resources as key determinants of labor market integration. For the LFP decision, the level of education and prior work experience are theorized to be especially important: Individuals who have invested in high levels of human capital generally expect a payoff to this investment and seek work on the labor market (Becker, 1975). When it comes to first generation immigrants, however, their resources are often acquired in the home country, and additional knowledge and skills are needed to transfer the existing resources to the new labor market context (Chiswick, 1978; Friedberg, 2000). Most importantly, proficiency in the language of the host country helps with understanding the new surroundings and estimating one's chances of actually being hired (Chiswick & Miller, 2003).

While labor market resources may play a role in immigrant women's LFP deliberation, it is widely accepted that these are not the only relevant determinants. Some contextual factors may be included based on an economic model of household specialization (Becker, 1981), like marital status and the presence of children. These factors are supposed to represent constraints in a woman's decision to allocate time to paid work outside the household, both financial need and the burden of

domestic tasks, which often fall to women to complete (Altintas & Sullivan, 2016; Krieger & Salikutluk, 2021). Besides accounting for these determinants, a connection is sometimes drawn between immigrant women's labor market intentions and their initial migration motive: The labor market potential of family migrants in the destination country is thought to play a less important role in families' decisions to immigrate (Mincer, 1978), and thus may also impact the motivation that (tied) immigrant women have to enter the labor market.

Extending the resources-centric model of immigrant labor market integration with these factors is not enough to explain the complex processes behind immigrant women's LFP. Therefore, I expand my investigation to a wider range of determinants for this decision which I frame as *motivations* – factors which augment or dampen an individual's drive to participate in the labor force. This conceptual framework is inspired by van Hoof et al. (2021), and draws from motivation and self-regulation theories from the field of psychology. This framework classifies motivational factors into three different categories: context, attitudes, and personality. While some of these motivations may apply to any individual entering the labor market, others are specifically relevant when considering women, and especially immigrant women.

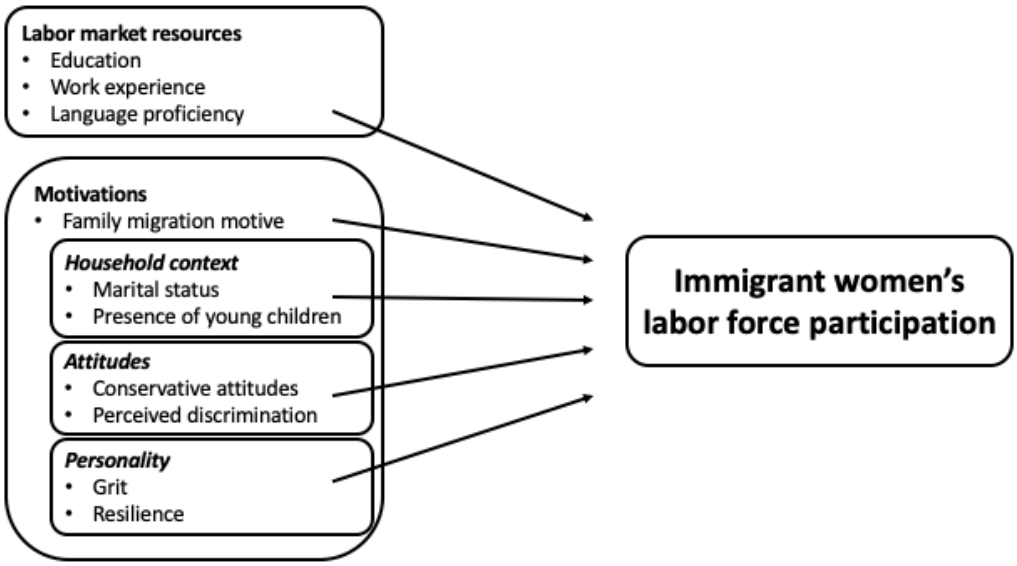
Contextual motivations to enter the labor force in search of a job relate to the factors and constraints stemming from an individual's living situation (van Hooft et al., 2021). For instance, the absence of another (potential) earner in the household may motivate this decision. Partnered women, on the other hand, traditionally experience less pressure to contribute to the household income (although economies are gradually shifting away from the single earner, male breadwinner model). Of course, the presence of children in the household is also a relevant contextual factor, since care duties may take up time that could otherwise be delegated to paid employment. Among immigrant groups, a low uptake of public daycare options has been found (Gambaro et al., 2017; Krapf, 2014), which suggests that childcare duties in households with children under the age of six are a particularly important constraint for immigrant women's LFP.

An individual's attitudes are also important for the LFP deliberation when they relate to "evaluative and affective beliefs, cognitions and judgements regarding unemployment, employment and job search" (van Hooft et al., 2021, p. 684). One relevant example here is an individual's attitudes towards gender roles. These attitudes are acquired via a socialization process, and thus are heavily context-dependent (Horst, 2014). Cross-country variation in gender role attitudes has been found by several studies (Horowitz & Fetterolf, 2020; Inglehart & Norris, 2003), and theoretically linked to levels of industrialization and the traditional cultural heritage in a given context (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). So far, empirical evidence on the relationship between LFP and gender role attitudes in the German context is mixed: Some studies using direct measures of attitudes (Kanas & Müller, 2021; Koopmans,

2016) or religiosity as a proxy measure for conservative gender role attitudes (Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021) find a significant relationship between conservative attitudes and female immigrant labor market inactivity, while another study on female refugees (Salikutluk & Menke, 2021) does not find supporting evidence.

When individuals perceive external constraints in the local labor market context, this can be another attitudinal consideration for the LFP decision. These are barriers which an individual estimates could prevent the achievement of a labor market goal, and thus they discourage a foray into the labor market in the first place (van Hooft et al., 2021). One example is an individual's perception of the discrimination faced by their origin group in the local context. These perceptions are subjective, and based on an individual's own experiences and attributional processes (Diehl & Liebau, 2017) as well as information transmitted via friends and the media. For females of color (specifically Turks, see Kaas & Manger, 2011; Quillian et al., 2019), and for Muslim females who wear a hijab, a symbol of 'otherness' in the German context (Weichselbaumer, 2019), experimental studies have measured significant levels of labor market discrimination. If female immigrants anticipate this type of unequal treatment, their motivation to enter the labor force may be dampened. This being said, existing studies which have investigated a link between perceived discrimination and immigrant women's LFP have not established a statistically significant relationship (Koopmans, 2016; Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021).

Figure 10: Determinants of immigrant women's labor force participation



Personality is a final dimension to consider, since LFP is a deliberative decision that involves psychological processes. After all, personality can be understood as 'psychological capital' (Luthans & Youssef, 2004) which influences an individual's decision-making and actions. Two potentially

important traits for immigrants' LFP – grit and resilience – both describe an individual's self-regulation and response to environmental factors (Wichert & Pohlmeier, 2010). Individuals with a high level of grit are very organized and diligent, and may be more oriented towards formally-structured work on the labor market. Individuals who score high on resilience are able to cope well with stressful situations and may be better positioned to 'hit the ground running' after a change in circumstances (for instance, immigrating to a new country). Existing research has linked these traits (among others) to an individual's decision to participate in the labor force (Wichert & Pohlmeier, 2010), but also to success during the job search (Berthung et al, 2021; van Hooft et al., 2021), and productivity on the job (Cubel et al., 2016).

In sum, the determinants important for immigrant women's LFP decision include their labor market resources, as well as the motivational factors related to their context, attitudes and personality. Many of these determinants may apply to any individual's LFP deliberation – women and men, immigrant and native alike – but the explanatory power they hold for *immigrant women's* deliberation is particular. **Figure 10** gives an overview of all the determinants discussed above.

4.3 Newcomers in Germany: Context, characteristics and expectations

I now turn to the immigrant groups of interest in this study – Poles, Italians, Syrians and Turks. Existing evidence has shown that these groups have different levels of LFP and employment, which to some extent should be accounted for by their different levels of labor market resources and motivations. Fleischmann & Höhne (2013) show not only that female immigrants from all groups have lower LFP rates compared to their male counterparts, but also that *EU* female immigrants display relatively high participation rates (Polish women at 72 percent and Italian women at 75 percent) and *non-EU* female immigrants comparatively low participation rates (Turkish women at 50 percent and other Middle Eastern women at 48 percent). Similarly, Kogan (2011) reports that the proportion of employed immigrant women from all origin groups is lower than that of immigrant men, though again Polish women and Italian women have higher levels of employment (52 percent and 53 percent respectively) compared to Turkish women (29 percent).

Poles and Italians: EU free-movers

Descriptive evidence shows that the labor market resources of EU immigrants are rather heterogeneous, likely related to the lack of entry barriers that they, as EU 'free-movers', encounter. According to Pichler (2017), many Italian families with lower qualifications immigrated to Germany during the economic crisis of 2008/09 in search of economic stability. This is apparent in the descriptive data on the general Italian population in Germany: For females of Italian origin, data from the 2013 German Microcensus shows that just 5 percent hold a university degree and an additional

11 percent have completed upper secondary school, and males are observed to have even lower qualifications (Haug, 2015). Poles appear to be slightly better educated, since 25 percent of the arrivals between 2010 and 2015 had completed tertiary education and an additional 59 percent had completed a vocational training program ('berufliche Ausbildung') (Babka von Gostomski, 2016).

Contextual factors, like household composition, may also be influenced by this barrier-free channel of admission. Descriptive evidence suggests that Polish immigrant women are slightly more likely to be single than married, and about 22 percent have children living in their household (Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021). A large proportion of Italian immigrants surveyed in the 2006 were married – about 60 percent (Babka von Gostomski, 2008). The same study reports that 69 percent of Italian respondents had at least one child in the household.

Regarding attitudes, the European context is typically characterized by liberal-leaning gender values, although regionally these attitudes are heterogeneous. Poland and Italy are both countries with close-knit ties between religion (Roman Catholicism) and their national identity (Coutinho, 2016; Requena & Stanek, 2014), and religiosity has been linked to more conservative gender role attitudes (Diehl et al., 2009; Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021). A study from the Pew Research Centre reports that 69 percent of respondents in Poland, and 74 percent in Italy, consider it very important that women have equal rights to men (Pew Research Center, 2019). Nonetheless, 42 percent of respondents in Poland (and 40 percent in Italy) still agreed with the statement that men have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce (in contrast to Germany, where only 20 percent agreed with this statement).

Turning to these groups' reception in German society, data from 2009 indicates that a proportion of recent Polish immigrant women (14 percent) perceived high levels of ethnic discrimination (Schieckoff & Diehl, 2021). Additional data on Polish immigrants arriving between 2010 and 2015 reveals that one in four Polish immigrants had themselves experienced a discriminatory situation in Germany (Babka von Gostomski, 2016). While few studies on the ethnic discrimination of Italians exist for Germany, secondary results from a 2019 audit study found that (second generation) Italians did not have significantly different callback rates from comparable Germans (Koopmans, Veit, & Yemane, 2019).

Syrians and Turks: Non-EU immigrants

Immigrants from countries outside of the EU have a very different experience when they immigrate to Germany, since candidates generally must meet the criteria of a certain immigration channel. This could impact the distribution of labor market resources within these groups, especially because the majority of immigrants from these origins arrive via non-labor channels (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2020, p. 61). Nonetheless, descriptive data shows that these groups are not necessarily low-skilled: Among first generation Turks in Germany, 30 percent of females have

completed either an occupational training or a tertiary degree – similar to the education levels of EU immigrant women – while about 56 percent of Turkish males have also done so (Schührer, 2018). For the group of Syrian asylum seekers who arrived in 2016, 25 percent had completed upper secondary education and another 21 percent held a university degree (Neske, 2017).

Contextual factors may also be shaped by the initial channel of entry. After all, individuals who arrive via the family reunification channel, which is especially popular for women from Turkey and Syria, are highly likely to be joining a spouse in Germany. Data confirms that first generation Turkish immigrants are likely to be married, though this is less prominent among more recent, younger arrivals (Schührer, 2018). The same study reports that on average, Turkish immigrants have more than one child in the household. For Syrians as well, 57 percent of asylum seekers in the year 2016 were married (Neske, 2017), and a high percentage of Syrian women had children in the household – 87 percent (Sauer et al., 2021).

Turning to attitudinal factors, it is also important to note that both Turkey and Syria are countries typically observed to hold conservative gender role attitudes, especially when it comes to labor market activity (El Feki, Heilman, & Barker, 2017). According to 2019 data, 70 percent of Turkish respondents agreed with the statement that 'men have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce' (Horowitz & Fetterolf, 2020). Data on gender role attitudes in Syria is more difficult to find. One German report suggests that among refugee groups in Germany, 86 percent agree that 'having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent' (Brücker et al., 2016), although respondents' attitudes seem to change depending on the specific measure of gender equality that is used.

Finally, non-Europeans are generally more visible – and less popular – among the German majority population compared to European immigrants (Liebe & Beyer, 2021; Mocan & Raschke, 2016). This is evident from the experiences (and perceptions) of discrimination among Turks: According to one study, 20 percent of Turkish immigrants had felt discriminated against on the labor market (Schührer, 2018), with feelings of discrimination higher among Turkish women wearing a headscarf (37 percent). This lines up with evidence from a German audit study, which found that Turkish women were less likely than German women to receive a callback from a job application, and headscarf-wearing Turkish women even less so (Weichselbaumer, 2016). Syrians can be expected to experience similar levels of discrimination, since they possess many similar ethno-religious features, but to date there is little descriptive data for this specific group. One general study of refugees in Germany found that only 10 percent report experiencing frequent discrimination, though the exact experiences of Syrian women remains unclear (Brücker et al., 2016).

Expectations

Against this backdrop of theoretical determinants and group characteristics, the following expectations for the ensuing analyses can be formulated.

Labor market resources are theorized to be key factors in the LFP decision of immigrant women, since individuals who have invested in higher levels of human capital likely pursue a payoff on the labor market. Thus, higher levels of education, work experience and German proficiency should increase the LFP probability.

Family migration motive is often linked to immigrant women's LFP, with the expectation that female family immigrants have low motivation to enter the labor force. While it likely does explain some of the variation in immigrant women's LFP, stemming from their bargaining position in the household's initial decision to immigrate, the theoretical considerations suggest that additional motivational factors play an equally important role in explaining this outcome. Hence, contextual motivations, like marital status and children, should be negatively related to their LFP probability. Similarly, attitudinal motivations, like conservative gender role attitudes and perceived discrimination, should also decrease the probability that a woman participates in the labor force. On the other hand, personality-related motivations should be positively related to immigrant women's LFP.

Since these explanatory factors are differently distributed across origin groups, and may particularly contribute to the low LFP of Syrian and Turkish women, origin group differences in LFP should decrease once they are controlled for in the regressions.

In comparison to immigrant women, there should be much less variation in immigrant men's labor market activity, and few of the above-mentioned determinants should play an important explanatory role. The findings for LFP should differ from employment, however, since immigrant women and immigrant men who are *active* on the labor market are expected to be more similar and should be influenced in their employment success by similar determinants.

4.4 Data and analytical strategy

The data for this analysis come from the first wave of the *Recent Immigration Processes and Early Integration Trajectories in Germany* (ENTRA) survey, conducted between May and October 2019 (Seuring et al, forthcoming). This survey targeted recently-arrived immigrants (who had been living in Germany for a maximum of 5 years) from Poland, Italy, Syria and Turkey. The survey sample was drawn from eight cities spread across Germany, and respondents had the option to complete the survey either in a personal, telephone, or online interview. The strength of this dataset is not just in the scope of immigrant groups, but also its comprehensive coverage of the socio-economic characteristics, perceptions and attitudes of the respondents. Nonetheless, investigations of the sample's selectivity indicate that, compared to national datasets like the German Socio-Economic Panel and the German

Microcensus, the educational level of ENTRA respondents is particularly high (Seuring et al., forthcoming). This will be an important consideration for the generalization of the results to the broader immigrant population in Germany.

Since the focus of this study is on LFP, individuals who were not identified as either 'employed', 'unemployed' or 'home-maker' at the time of the interview are excluded from the analysis sample. Respondents in the dataset range between the ages of 18 and 41. Excluding cases with missing information on the relevant variables, the analysis sample includes 1536 women (589 Poles, 415 Italians, 231 Syrians and 301 Turks).[33]

To investigate the effects of the determinants discussed above for immigrant women's LFP, as well as their relationship to origin group differences, I conduct logistic regressions and sequentially add the indicators of labor market resources and motivations. For immigrant men, as previously stated, there is much less variation to explain in their LFP, and these determinants of interest have little explanatory power. Therefore, only the full model for immigrant men is presented alongside for comparison. Moreover, analyses of immigrants' employment (conditional on LFP) are also presented as a counter-point to LFP, in order to highlight the different dynamics that are revealed (for both genders) when these outcomes are studied separately.

Dependent variables

The main outcome of interest, LFP, compares individuals who are inactive (i.e. home-makers) to individuals who are active on the labor market (both unemployed and employed). For the supplementary analyses of immigrants' employment, the analysis sample is restricted to individuals who are either unemployed or employed.

Explanatory variables

To account for an individual's labor market resources, I include in the analysis a respondent's *level of education* and *work experience* from the country of origin. The level of education is summarized into three categories, with respondents who hold qualifications from tertiary education in the highest category, respondents with upper secondary (or vocational) qualifications in a middle category, and respondents with lower educational qualifications in the reference category. Work experience from the country of origin simply indicates if the respondent had worked at any point prior to immigration.

[33] The analysis sample for men includes 1619 individuals (323 Poles, 422 Italians, 464 Syrians, 410 Turks).

Besides these measures of human capital, I also include a variable measuring self-assessed *proficiency in German*, which is a mean index of the respondent's reading, writing, speaking and comprehension skills (coded from 0 'poor' to 5 'native level').

The variable *family migration motive* is an indicator of the initial migration motive and differentiates between immigrants who do and do not state 'family' as a primary motivation for their migration.

As an indicator of contextual motivations, an individual's *marital status* is accounted for, differentiating between single and married individuals. Additionally, the variable *young child in household* indicates whether there is a child younger than six living with the respondent.

With regards to attitudinal motivations, an individual's *gender role attitudes* are included in the analyses. This indicator is compiled from two separate variables in the dataset. Respondents were asked to evaluate the following statements: 'Both the husband and the wife should contribute to the household income' and 'When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.' Individuals who agreed or strongly agreed with the first statement and disagreed or strongly disagreed with the second statement are considered to have liberal-leaning gender role attitudes. Individuals with a different combination of responses are considered to have more conservative attitudes towards gender roles. Respondents who refused to answer these questions were also included in the conservative group, since this is potentially a sign that they felt uncomfortable revealing their conservative leaning (knowing that this goes against the prevailing values of the majority population in Germany).[34]

The second indicator of attitudinal motivations, *perceived discrimination*, is based on individuals' responses to the question 'How often do you think [people from the same country of origin] are treated unfairly in Germany?' Individuals who answered 'very often', 'often' and 'sometimes' are grouped together as those who perceive discrimination against their origin group. Those who answered 'almost never' and 'never', as well as respondents who answered 'don't know' form the reference group who do not perceive discrimination.

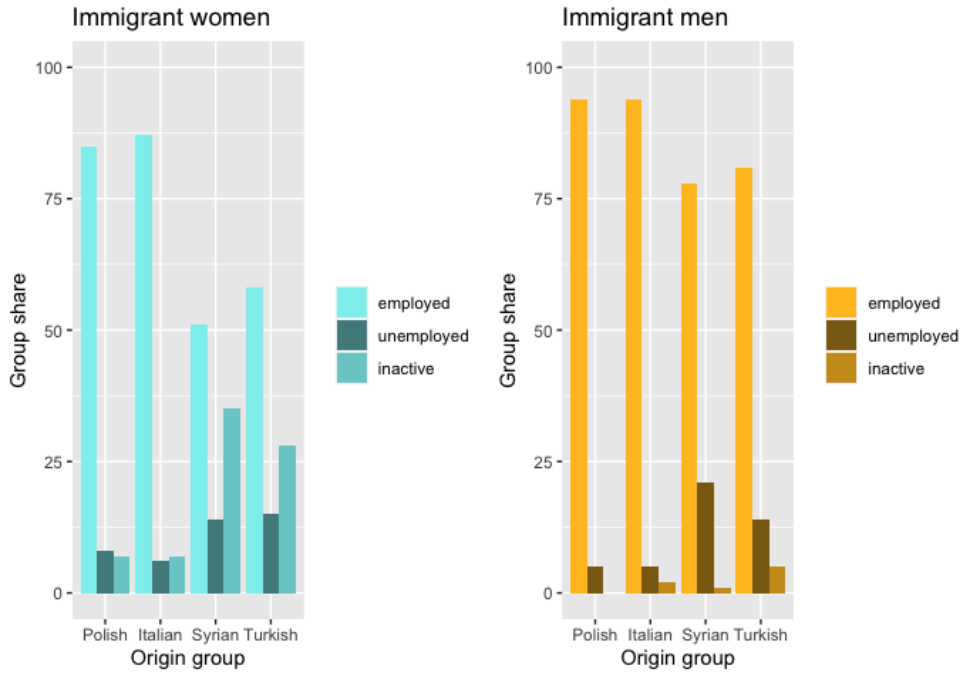
Finally, to capture the effect of personality on the motivation to enter the labor force, two indicators of personality traits are used: *Resilience* is based on respondents' agreement with the statement 'It does not take me long to recover from a stressful event.' *Grit*, on the other hand, is based on their agreement to the statement 'I am a hard worker.' Both variables are coded from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

[34] A robustness check shows that excluding these cases from the analysis does not substantively change the results.

4.5 Results

Starting with descriptive findings, **Figure 11** shows the share of respondents in each economic status at the time of the survey. For immigrant women, there is a clear contrast between the EU and the non-EU groups. Looking at Poles and Italians, a large majority of these women were employed, while for Syrians and Turks, the share is visibly lower. Conversely, the share of Syrian and Turkish women who were inactive is much higher than among the groups of Poles and Italians. Even with regard to unemployment, the proportions of Poles and Italians who were unemployed are about half those of Syrians and Turks. These trends are even more stark when contrasted with those of their male compatriots: Only a marginal proportion of immigrant men are not participating in the labor force and there are high rates of employment for all groups, although non-EU immigrant men are more often unemployed than EU men.

Figure 11: Share of immigrant groups by gender and economic status



A descriptive overview for the immigrant women in the analysis sample can be found in **Table 3**.[35] The average age across all groups varies between 28 and 30. Looking first at their labor market resources, immigrant women tend to have high levels of education, with 50 percent or more of Poles, Italians and Turks holding a university degree. Syrian women are the exception here, since over one quarter have low educational credentials (less than upper secondary). Nonetheless, many women in

[35] For immigrant men, refer to **Table 4** in the appendix.

all groups have prior working experience from the home country, and they rate their level of German proficiency similarly (Poles on average slightly higher, Turks slightly lower).

Table 3: Immigrant women's descriptive overview (col percent)

		Polish	Italian	Syrian	Turkish
Age	mean (SD)	29.1 (5.0)	28.1 (5.0)	30.5 (5.5)	29.4 (5.7)
Level of education	*low*	2.9	4.8	28.6	8.3
	upper secondary	28.0	41.7	35.5	25.9
	tertiary	69.1	53.5	35.9	65.8
Work experience	*no*	10.9	27.0	44.6	21.6
	yes	89.1	73.0	55.4	78.4
German proficiency (0-5)	mean (SD)	2.6 (1.2)	2.5 (1.4)	2.4 (1.0)	2.2 (1.1)
Motive: Family migrant	*no*	63.7	83.9	61.9	59.5
	yes	36.3	16.1	38.1	40.5
Married	*no*	70.8	82.9	22.1	36.2
	yes	29.2	17.1	77.9	63.8
Young child in household	*no*	82.0	88.9	42.0	75.4
	yes	18.0	11.1	58.0	24.6
Conservative attitudes	*no*	86.2	92.5	64.1	84.4
	yes	13.8	7.5	35.9	15.6
Perceived discrimination	*no*	40.9	47.7	52.4	38.9
	yes	59.1	52.3	47.6	61.1
Grit (0-4)	mean (SD)	3.2 (0.7)	3.3 (0.7)	3.2 (0.7)	3.2 (0.7)
Resilience (0-4)	mean (SD)	2.5 (1.0)	2.6 (0.9)	2.5 (1.1)	2.4 (1.0)
N		589	415	231	301

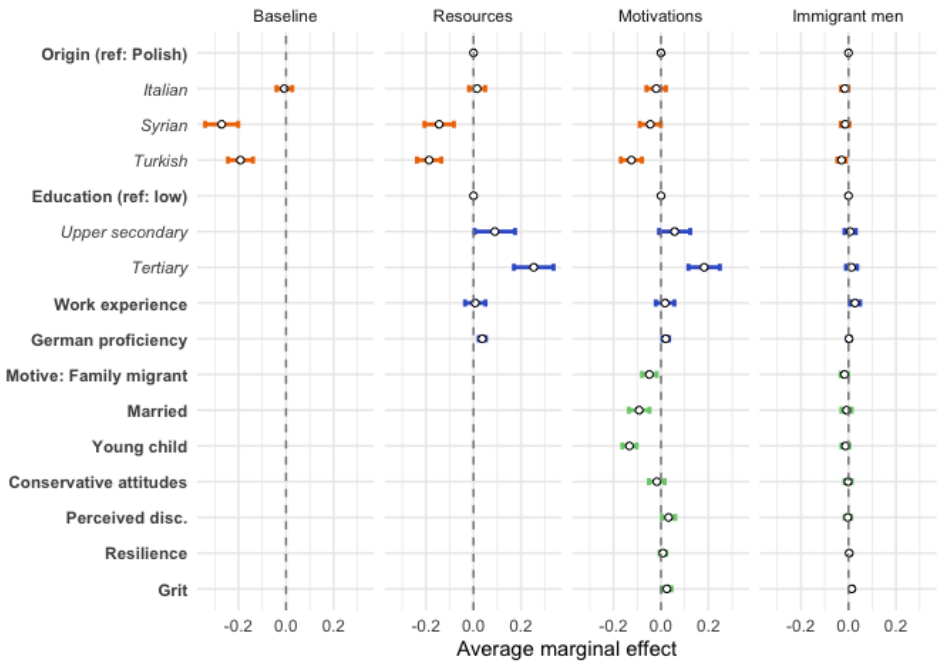
Family migration is clearly an important immigration channel for women in all these groups (although less so for Italians). Looking at other important motivational factors, we see that single women are most common among Poles and Italians, whereas married women are most common among Syrians and Turks. Of all the groups, Syrian women are particularly likely to have a child under six in their household, although so do one quarter of Turkish respondents. When it comes to gender role attitudes, the group that stands out as the most conservative is Syrian women. A significant

proportion of all groups of immigrant women perceive some discrimination against co-ethnics in Germany, even immigrant women of European origin, although this is most common among Turkish women (and slightly less common among Syrians). Finally, women from all groups rate themselves similarly for their personality traits.

The results of the logistic regressions, presented as average marginal effects, are shown in **Figure 12**. The first model presents the baseline differences between the LFP probability of immigrant women from different groups and only controls for age and time since migration. The ensuing models include a woman's labor market resources and motivations. A similar, fully-specified model for immigrant men is presented alongside.

For immigrant women's LFP, holding a university degree is an important determinant across the models. On the other hand, work experience does not seem to play a role. While the estimate for a woman's German proficiency is statistically significant, it has at best has a slightly positive impact on her LFP.

Figure 12: Logistic regressions of immigrant women's labor force participation (AMEs)



Note: All models control for age, age^2 and time since migration; estimates are presented with 95% confidence intervals; for models of immigrant women N= 1536, for immigrant men N= 1619; refer to **Table 5** in the appendix for complete table

In addition to labor market resources, the family migration motivation shows itself to be an important determinant of female LFP, associated with a decrease in a woman's likelihood of being active on the labor market. Married immigrant women have a lower probability of being active, and especially women with young children in the household. Contrary to expectations, however, holding conservative gender attitudes does not affect a woman's LFP probability. Women who perceive

discrimination are estimated to have a slightly higher probability of participating in the labor force, although since these analyses are based on cross-sectional data, it is possible that immigrant women's perceptions are influenced by the fact that they are active, and not vice versa. Finally, of the two indicators of an individual's personality, grit is found to have a small positive relationship with women's LFP.

Looking at immigrant group differences across the models, we see that Italian women never differ significantly from Polish women in their LFP probability. On the other hand, both Syrian and Turkish women start out with a sizeable disadvantage compared to the reference group. To some extent this changes across the models as different factors are controlled for: Most importantly, the disadvantage that Syrian women experience compared to Poles reduces substantially after accounting for labor market resources, and again after accounting for motivational factors. For Turkish women, on the other hand, although the disadvantage decreases slightly as more explanatory factors are taken into account, it still remains persistent. The estimates for both groups are statistically significant compared to the reference group in the full model.

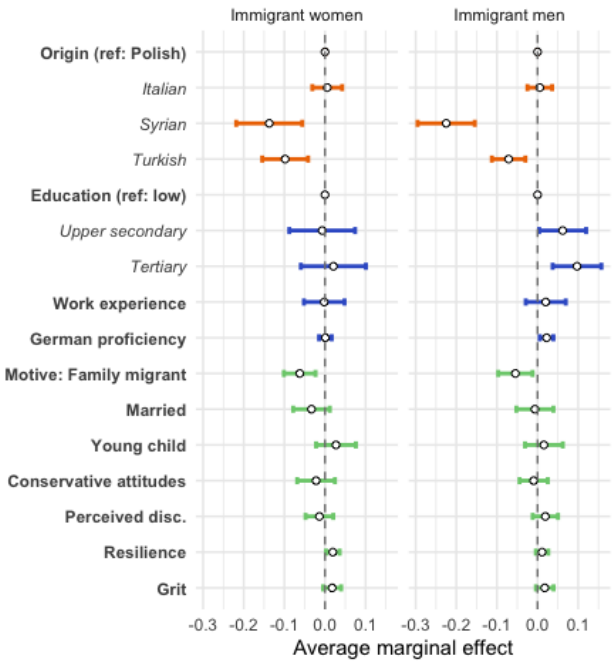
Finally, comparing the full model for immigrant women to the results for immigrant men, we can see that there is very little of interest happening in the males' model. Turkish and Italian men do in fact significantly differ from Polish men in their LFP, but the effect sizes are negligible. The same can be said about the few significant determinants: Work experience and grit are both positive and statistically significant, while being a family migrant is estimated to have a significant, negative effect on immigrant men's LFP. The results from this model should be interpreted with caution, given that the dependent variable for men is highly skewed: In the analysis sample, there are only 32 men who identify themselves as 'inactive.'

Immigrant employment

As a counter-point to the analyses of immigrants' LFP, I also present here analyses of immigrants' employment (for those who are active on the labor market). As previously mentioned, LFP and employment are often studied as one combined outcome, and especially for immigrant women, this can muddle the understanding of their labor market entry. Though they may not be a comprehensive list, many of the determinants included in the LFP model could also be important for explaining immigrants' employment, although via different mechanisms. After all, labor market resources are particularly important during the job search and hiring process (Becker, 1975), since they are signals to employers of an individual's fit for the job vacancy. Personality traits, as well, could help individuals achieve their goals in the job search, especially in the face of barriers and adversity (van Hooft et al., 2021).

In **Figure 13**, the results from the full model for immigrant women's employment is presented alongside the model for immigrant men. For immigrant women, very few of the determinants included in the model have explanatory power at this stage of their labor market entry. Labor market resources are not estimated to have a significant effect, although some of the motivational determinants are. The estimate for family migration motive is again a significant negative predictor, and resilience is estimated to have a small positive effect.

Figure 13: Logistic regressions of immigrant employment (AMEs)



Note: Both models control for age, age^2 and time since migration; estimates are presented with 95% confidence intervals; for models of immigrant women N= 1304, for immigrant men N= 1587; refer to **Table 6** in the appendix for complete table

Turning to origin group differences, again Italian women have similar probabilities to be employed compared to Poles, but both Syrians and Turks are estimated to have a statistically significant disadvantage.

Comparing the results for immigrant women to the results for immigrant men, there are both similarities and differences. For immigrant men, labor market resources – like having a higher level of education and German proficiency – are factors that increase their employment probability. Similar to women, migrating due to family reasons again has a statistically significant negative effect on employment. This is in line with existing research on 'tied' family migrants in Germany, which finds that trailing partners are disadvantaged in their employment regardless of their gender (Krieger, 2020). No other estimate of the motivational determinants is statistically significant. Finally, there are also significant origin group differences for immigrant men along the same lines as those estimated for immigrant women.

4.6 Discussion and conclusion

Many studies fail to account for the gender-specific integration trajectories that immigrant women follow compared to immigrant men, and this muddles the interpretation of their results. In this study, I separate LFP from employment success in order to isolate the gender-specific effect that certain determinants, especially *motivational* determinants, have on immigrant women's decision to join the labor force, and to pin-point where specific barriers to immigrant women's labor market entry arise. The gender-specific aspect of these processes is exposed by presenting analyses of immigrant men alongside.

Adding to existing research, this study finds that labor market resources, particularly education (and to a lesser extent German proficiency), play an important role in immigrant women's LFP decision. On the other hand, no significant relationship was identified with their employment success. This is in line with the findings from Koopmans (2016), that labor market resources are particularly correlated with the *LFP decision* for women, as opposed to men, where they appear to be more important in *employment success*. Nonetheless, this result should be interpreted with caution given the sample selectivity in the ENTRA data towards individuals with higher levels of education.

Regarding LFP, the results show that motivational factors also contribute to explaining immigrant women's decision. The family migration motive has some explanatory power, but so do indicators of a woman's contextual motivations (household composition and the presence of young children) and personality-related motivations (grit). Attitudinal motivations, like a woman's gender role attitudes, were not linked to LFP in a statistically significant way, and perceived discrimination seems to capture a reverse relationship (LFP potentially affecting perceptions of discrimination). In line with the findings from Salikutluk & Menke (2021), this calls into question explanations of immigrant women's poor labor market outcomes based on their 'incompatible' cultural attitudes. Robustness checks show that these gender role attitudes do have some explanatory power for immigrant women's LFP, but are correlated with an individual's education and household composition, resulting in a non-significant estimate in the full model.

While many of the factors considered here are found to be related to immigrant women's LFP, they are much less relevant when it comes to their employment success. Of course, if the aim of this study was to investigate the comprehensive determinants related to immigrants' employment, there are other explanatory factors (like social networks and the labor market context) that might help to clarify this picture. However, what the juxtaposition of these two outcomes serves to do here is to highlight the ambiguity that results from a combined outcome variable for immigrant women's LFP and employment. Different explanatory factors are relevant at different stages, and indeed, the

disadvantages of immigrant women from different origin groups have different magnitudes. This is not the case for immigrant men, for whom LFP is less relevant.

Considering the labor market experiences of women from different immigrant groups, the analyses show that a large portion of the disadvantage faced by Syrian women in their LFP rates (relative to Poles) can be explained by a combination of their labor market resources and their motivations. A more detailed investigation shows that the change in the estimate is driven by differences in the household composition: After accounting for the large proportion of married women with young children (which is also reflective of the wider community of Syrian refugees, see de Paiva Lareiro & Schwarzmüller, 2021, p.2), single Syrian women represent a small and selective component of this immigrant group. The initiative of these women who migrate independently is likely correlated with other factors important for their labor market integration after arrival. Turkish women, on the other hand, continue to have a lower probability of participating in the labor force even when they are compared to other immigrant women with similar levels of labor market resources and motivations. This persistent disadvantage does line up with some existing findings (for example Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013) and highlights the particular positioning of Turkish immigrant women in Germany. Additional analyses (not shown here) were unable to account for this disadvantage by including other potential explanatory factors.

In conclusion, the results from the analyses reveal that the LFP decision is an important stage in the labor market entry of immigrant women in Germany, representing a point where female-specific barriers arise. The most influential detractor to female immigrants' LFP identified in this study is the presence of young children in the household. However, future research should clarify the exact link between this factor and labor market inactivity in order to inform an effective labor market activation policy directed at immigrant women. If immigrant women simply are not aware of childcare options in their neighbourhood, or are unable to secure a spot for their child, the solutions would involve providing more information and funding for these services. If, on the other hand, immigrant women simply prefer to take care of their own children (as one report finds for groups of refugee women, see Tissot, 2020), the policy response is much more ambiguous.

4.7 Appendix

Table 4: Immigrant men's descriptive overview (col percent)

		Polish	Italian	Syrian	Turkish
Age	mean (SD)	29.7 (5.1)	29.6 (4.9)	28.5 (5.0)	30.7 (4.9)
Level of education	*low*	4.3	5.7	22.4	12.4
	upper secondary	35.9	46.2	47.4	32.7
	tertiary	59.8	48.1	30.2	54.9
Work experience	*no*	8.4	16.8	21.8	9.0
	yes	91.6	83.2	78.2	91.0
German proficiency (0-5)	mean (SD)	2.1 (1.1)	2.1 (1.4)	3.2 (0.8)	2.2 (1.1)
Motive: Family migrant	*no*	81.1	88.9	92.9	55.6
	yes	18.9	11.1	7.1	44.4
Married	*no*	74.9	85.1	71.8	34.6
	yes	25.1	14.9	28.2	65.4
Young child in household	*no*	87.6	91.5	82.3	70.0
	yes	12.4	8.5	17.7	30.0
Conservative attitudes	*no*	82.0	86.7	67.2	75.9
	yes	18.0	13.3	32.8	24.1
Perceived discrimination	*no*	43.7	52.1	40.7	43.7
	yes	56.3	47.9	59.3	56.3
Grit (0-4)	mean (SD)	2.9 (0.9)	3.3 (0.7)	3.4 (0.7)	3.4 (0.7)
Resilience (0-4)	mean (SD)	2.7 (0.9)	2.7 (0.9)	2.8 (1.0)	2.6 (1.1)
N		323	422	464	410

Table 5: Logistic regressions of immigrant women's labor force participation (log odds)

		Baseline	Resources	Motivations	Immigrant men
Origin group (ref: Polish)	*Italian*	-0.109	0.231	-0.306	-1.962*
		(0.256)	(0.268)	(0.312)	(1.105)
	Syrian	-2.018***	-1.371***	-0.640**	-1.870
		(0.231)	(0.268)	(0.309)	(1.186)
	Turkish	-1.620***	-1.650***	-1.518***	-2.556**
		(0.213)	(0.229)	(0.275)	(1.074)
Age		0.029	-0.115	-0.017	0.156
		(0.062)	(0.071)	(0.082)	(0.171)
Age^2		-0.005*	0.0003	-0.002	-0.009
		(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)
Time since migration		0.010	0.007	0.020**	0.018
		(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.016)
Level of education (ref: low)	*upper secondary*		0.567**	0.535*	0.321
			(0.259)	(0.298)	(0.518)
	tertiary		2.165***	2.064***	0.678
			(0.284)	(0.329)	(0.553)
Work experience			0.076	0.229	1.548***
			(0.231)	(0.266)	(0.581)
German proficiency			0.388***	0.267***	0.129
			(0.081)	(0.094)	(0.190)
Motive: Family migrant				-0.652***	-0.967**
				(0.210)	(0.441)
Married				-1.220***	-0.466
				(0.297)	(0.610)
Young child				-1.761***	-0.718
				(0.223)	(0.466)
Conservative attitudes				-0.234	-0.096
				(0.226)	(0.425)
Perceived discrimination				0.423**	-0.148
				(0.191)	(0.388)
Resilience				0.109	0.173
				(0.095)	(0.175)
Grit				0.331**	0.790***
				(0.132)	(0.233)
Constant		2.841***	1.381***	0.803	1.226
		(0.407)	(0.500)	(0.712)	(1.600)
Observations		1,536	1,536	1,536	1,619
Log Likelihood		-555.457	-483.961	-380.746	-124.636
Akaike Inf. Crit.		1,124.914	989.922	797.492	285.272

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Table 6: Logistic regressions of immigrants' employment (log odds)

		Immigrant women	Immigrant men
Origin group (ref: Polish)	*Italian*	0.081	0.125
		(0.275)	(0.351)
	Syrian	-1.225***	-2.078***
		(0.304)	(0.341)
	Turkish	-0.960***	-1.000***
		(0.252)	(0.312)
Age		-0.087	-0.015
		(0.086)	(0.076)
Age^2		0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)
Time since migration		0.018**	0.013*
		(0.008)	(0.008)
Level of education (ref: low)	*upper secondary*	-0.068	0.512**
		(0.412)	(0.226)
	tertiary	0.223	0.905***
		(0.416)	(0.254)
Work experience		-0.020	0.210
		(0.278)	(0.261)
German proficiency		0.011	0.231***
		(0.087)	(0.089)
Motive: Family migrant		-0.680***	-0.568**
		(0.218)	(0.225)
Married		-0.363	-0.068
		(0.251)	(0.242)
Young child		0.295	0.162
		(0.274)	(0.247)
Conservative attitudes		-0.240	-0.100
		(0.259)	(0.184)
Perceived discrimination		-0.150	0.199
		(0.190)	(0.165)
Resilience		0.211**	0.116
		(0.094)	(0.081)
Grit		0.192	0.184
		(0.124)	(0.115)
Constant		1.948***	0.809
		(0.725)	(0.646)
Observations		1,304	1,587
Log Likelihood		-412.776	-517.469
Akaike Inf. Crit.		861.551	1,070.938

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion

5.1 Summary of findings

The components of this dissertation work together to meet the aims laid out in the introduction. In line with the first aim, Chapter 2 provides a much-needed overview of the field of integration research which investigates the disadvantage that immigrant women face on labor markets across Europe. Besides situating these studies in a historical and theoretical context, and presenting findings from different countries together in one place, this chapter exposes the successes and shortcomings of standard theoretical approaches to explaining immigrant women's labor market integration. In particular, it is apparent that these theories *do* identify important determinants of immigrant women's labor market integration – i.e. human capital theory outlines the mechanisms linking many labor market resources to labor market outcomes, assimilation theory does the same for host country-specific resources and time since arrival – but rarely do these determinants manage to explain the entire variation seen in immigrant women's labor market outcomes. Regardless the reference group, accounting for the theoretically-important determinants may explain the disadvantage for some origin groups, but often persistent disadvantages remain for others (particularly non-Western immigrant women). For some labor market outcomes, like employment success or wage, this could potentially be evidence of discrimination (which experimental studies also confirm), while in other cases, additional research on less common determinants is also necessary: The review finds that few studies investigate the role that cultural attitudes and perceptions of the local labor market context play in immigrant women's labor market behavior, often because reliable data on these factors is not available. Qualitative research methods are also suggested to complement quantitative approaches in answering questions around women's preferences and habits.

The second aim of this dissertation was to explore the female-specific determinants of LFP that are often left to the wayside in male-centric approaches, something that Chapter 2 identifies as a shortcoming in the existing research, and that both Chapters 3 and 4 respond to. In line with existing research, several of the determinants classified as labor market resources are found to play an important role in immigrant women's LFP: Chapter 3 finds German proficiency to be a significant predictor, and to some extent, work experience from before migration also leads to a higher probability of LFP. Chapter 4 as well identifies German proficiency as positive predictor of immigrant women's LFP, but also the level of education. These findings confirm that there are indeed mechanisms linking labor market resources to women's *LFP*, even though these factors are often thought to have a stronger effect on women's labor market *success* (related to outcomes like the employment probability, occupational status and wage). While the relationship to these other outcomes is not comprehensively explored in this dissertation, Chapter 4 does seem to indicate that

a lack of resources does not hold women back from finding employment, at least for groups of recently-arrived immigrant women (something that is masked when the different stages of labor market entry are analyzed together).

These are certainly important findings, but the main focus of both Chapters 3 and 4 is specifically on the relationship between *motivational* factors and the labor market behavior of immigrant women, especially in the early stages of their labor market entry. Motivational factors, which have often been reduced to household composition and the migration motive, are investigated more thoroughly, with a broader array of determinants (including attitudes, perceptions and personality) and direct measures of variables that are often not available. This builds directly on the take-away from Chapter 2 that certain female-specific determinants are understudied in the existing body of research. One of the factors that is investigated in both Chapter 3 and 4 is perceived discrimination. Although this is something that may impact the labor market behavior of any minority group accessing the labor market, in this dissertation I argue that this could be an even more important factor for some of the groups of immigrant women I analyze, who not only differ from native Germans in their physical characteristics, but may also anticipate discrimination against visual signals of their religion (i.e. the hijab). However, the studies in this dissertation were unable to find the expected relationship – in Chapter 3, no statistically significant relationship was found between LFP and perceived discrimination, while in Chapter 4, a *positive* relationship was identified. While this finding speaks to the limitations of cross-sectional analyses in disentangling causal relationships, it seems that there is little support for the idea that immigrant women are held back from entering the German labor market because of fears of encountering labor market discrimination.

These chapters also sought to clarify the role that gender role attitudes play in immigrant women's LFP decision. After all, the prevailing narrative is that immigrant women from Muslim-majority countries of origin are held back from LFP because of these attitudes (Lokot, 2018, from Salikutluk & Menke, 2021), but few studies are actually positioned to investigate this from a quantitative angle (exceptions are Kanas & Müller, 2021; Koopmans, 2016; Salikutluk & Menke, 2021). In Chapter 3, I attempt to investigate this mechanism with the help of a proxy variable, religiosity, which has been linked to conservative gender role attitudes in prior literature (Diehl et al., 2009). Indeed, the analyses in this chapter show that higher levels of self-proclaimed religiosity are associated with a lower likelihood of LFP, a possible confirmation of this expected relationship. However, the analyses also show that Muslim religiosity does not have a more negative effect on immigrant women's labor market behavior than Christian religiosity – conservative gender role attitudes are similarly restrictive of women's behavior, regardless the context that they stem from. Of course, one cannot be certain that proxy variables capture the mechanism of interest, and in Chapter

4, I had the opportunity to investigate this relationship again using a new dataset that included data on respondents' gender role attitudes. In contrast to the findings for religiosity, the direct measure of immigrant women's gender role attitudes was not found to have a statistically significant effect on the probability of participating in the labor force. It is important to note that this variable is highly correlated with other indicators, like the level of education and household composition, which partially absorb the effect that this variable otherwise would have. Nonetheless, the quantitative findings on this mechanism from both chapters generally do not support the commonplace perception of the negative role that (Islamic) gender role attitudes play in women's labor market integration.

While not every expectation was confirmed, overall the investigation into the role of motivational determinants in immigrant women's was very fruitful. The well-documented relationships between women's LFP and the migration motive, as well as household composition (especially the presence of children) were confirmed again in my quantitative analyses, but supporting evidence for other motivational determinants (like personality traits) was also found. The female-specific aspect of these relationships was also highlighted in Chapter 4, where a model of immigrant men's LFP was presented alongside: Motivational determinants are largely irrelevant factors in their LFP (although most factors were not important predictors at this stage).

The third aim of this dissertation was to investigate the variance in labor market integration between immigrant women from different origin groups. Again, this aligns well with the summary from Chapter 2, which calls for more investigation into the different integration trajectories of immigrant women by their country of origin. The analyses in both Chapters 3 and 4 compared the outcomes of different origin groups in order to assess the extent of differences in their LFP, and how these can be explained by compositional differences in the theoretically-important determinants. Turkish women are compared to Polish women in both chapters, while the ENTRA dataset used in Chapter 4 enables the extension of the comparison to Italian and Syrian women as well.

Descriptive analyses in both chapters highlight the different experiences that immigrant women from different origins have entering the German labor market. Importantly, non-European immigrant groups consistently show higher shares of labor market inactivity compared to Europeans: In the SCIP data from 2011, 30 percent of Turkish immigrant women were inactive home-makers, while only 20 percent of Polish immigrant women identified themselves as such. In the ENTRA data from 2019, 28 percent of Turkish women (and even 35 percent of Syrian women) declared themselves to be inactive, compared to about 7 percent of Polish and Italian immigrant women alike. These descriptive findings highlight the fact that immigrant women coming to Germany from other European countries appear to have a more seamless experience of labor market entry compared to immigrant women from the Middle East. The quantitative analyses seek to answer the question of why this is.

The quantitative analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 both control for compositional differences in observable characteristics between the immigrant groups, and to some extent, these are found to explain parts of the disadvantage that some immigrant women face. In Chapter 3, accounting for differences in the relevant determinants of LFP accounts for the disadvantage that Turkish women experience compared to Polish women. In Chapter 4, accounting for compositional differences also explains some origin group differences, particularly for Syrian women compared to Polish women. Italian women do not start off with an estimated disadvantage in LFP compared to Poles, and controlling for explanatory factors does not change this. On the other hand, Turkish women's lower LFP probability changes only slightly after accounting for compositional differences in the important explanatory factors. These findings highlight the heterogeneity in immigrant women's experiences and also the complexity in disentangling the causes behind some immigrant women's disadvantages.

Of course, these compositional differences in observable characteristics are not the only factors contributing to differences in labor market outcomes. Discrimination is another factor often raised in such group comparisons, especially when the groups are phenotypically divided. In the case of LFP, there is less opportunity for discriminatory treatment to influence group outcomes (except for the possibility that their perceptions deter the initiation of a job search, as previously discussed). It is also possible that the groups differ in *unobserved* characteristics that matter for their LFP, which contribute to observed differences in the outcomes.

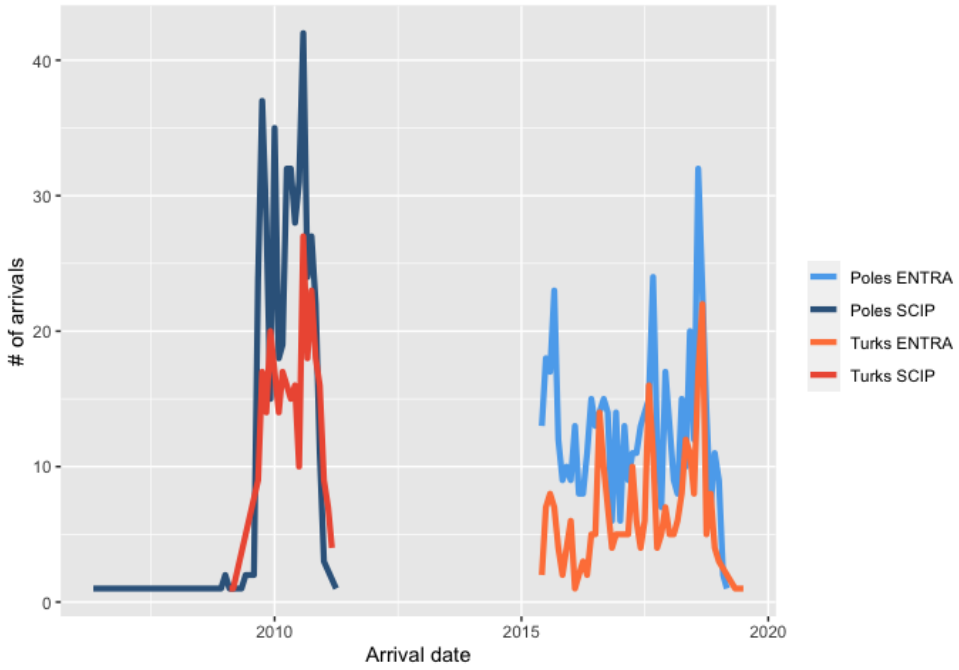
Overall, the results of these analyses provide some important findings for immigrant groups in Germany, like the fact that the groups of European women studied here are very similar in their labor market behavior. It is also interesting to better understand the labor market behavior of Syrian women, who stand out from the other groups included in these studies as largely asylum-seekers (or partners of asylum-seekers) and may not have been subjected to the same formal or informal selection processes. However, the main take-aways from the group comparisons mostly relate to the Poles and Turks, being the sole groups of interest included in the analyses in Chapter 3, and also prominent groups in the analyses in Chapter 4. One striking finding is that the results of these two chapters do not tell a particularly cohesive story about the differences between immigrant women from these groups. In fact, the findings differ in significant ways: In Chapter 3, which looks at Poles and Turks in the SCIP dataset, I find that Turkish women's disadvantage in their LFP compared to Polish women can simply be explained by compositional differences in their labor market resources. Accounting for motivational differences also changes the estimated gap between the two groups, so that in the fully-specified model, Turkish women are estimated to have a slight advantage over Polish women in their LFP probability (although this is statistically insignificant). Turning to the results from Chapter 4, which compares Poles and Turks (among other groups) in the ENTRA dataset, the picture

is quite different: Here, Turkish women are again estimated to have a baseline disadvantage compared to Polish women in their LFP, but this gap is largely unaffected by controls for labor market resources and motivations. These almost contradictory findings merit some additional investigation.

5.2 Immigrant women from Poland and Turkey: Cohort differences and immigrant selectivity

Figure 14 shows the distribution of the arrival dates of immigrant women in the SCIP and ENTRA datasets. The immigrants captured by these two surveys can be conceptualized as successive arrival cohorts, separated by a period of at least four years. It is certainly plausible that over this period, the profile of immigrants arriving from these origins evolved, which might contribute to the differences in their labor market outcomes. Descriptive data on the LFP rates of these groups in Chapters 3 and 4 certainly do show that the differences in labor market behavior between Polish and Turkish women expanded over time: While the proportion of inactive Turkish women remained relatively stable between the SCIP data and the ENTRA data (30 percent and 28 percent respectively), the proportion of inactive Polish women dropped from 20 percent in the SCIP data to 7 percent in the ENTRA data. This is already an indication that the respondents in these two datasets differ significantly.

Figure 14: The arrival of immigrant women in Germany, SCIP and ENTRA analysis samples



A descriptive comparison of some average characteristics helps to further investigate the variation in the groups' compositions between the two samples: **Table 7** presents an overview of immigrant women from Poland and Turkey in wave one of the SCIP and ENTRA datasets across the

most important determinants of their LFP. We can see that there are significant differences between SCIP Poles and ENTRA Poles: When it comes to the level of education, Polish women in the ENTRA sample tend to have university degrees, while those in the SCIP data are split between university and upper secondary qualifications. It was already mentioned that the ENTRA dataset is biased towards higher-educated individuals (Seuring et al., forthcoming), so this finding does not come as a surprise.[36] However, Polish women in the SCIP data also have a lower self-assessed level of German than Polish women in the ENTRA data, a higher proportion of them are married, and a higher proportion have a child in the household. Given the important relationships identified in Chapters 3 and 4 between these variables and immigrant women's LFP, it makes sense that the ENTRA Polish women show better descriptive outcomes compared to the SCIP group.

Table 7: Polish and Turkish women in the SCIP and ENTRA datasets (col percent)

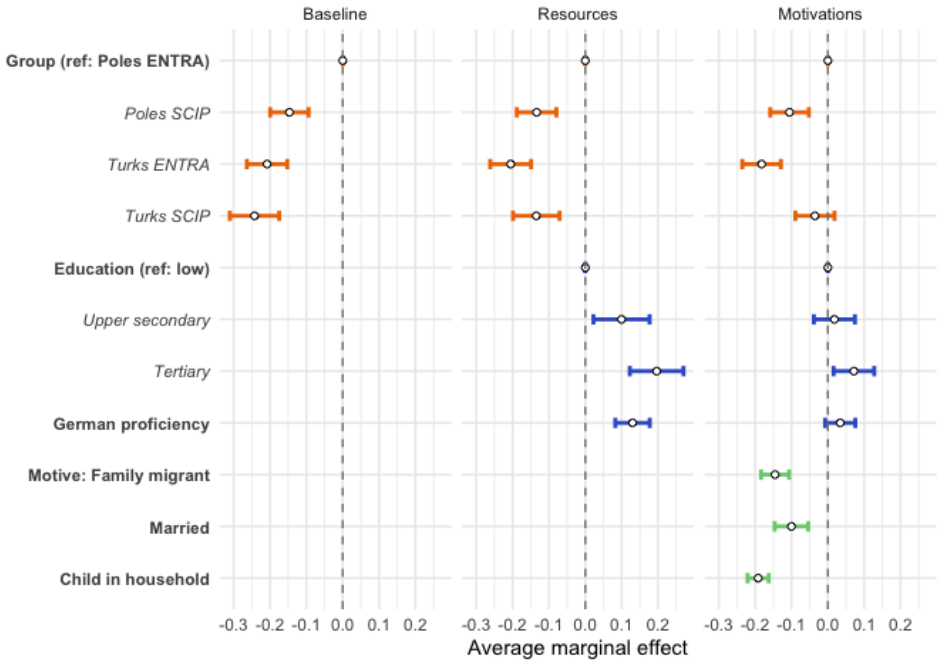
		Poles ENTRA	**Poles SCIP**	**Turks ENTRA**	**Turks SCIP**
Age	mean (SD)	29.1 (5.0)	34.1 (10.6)	29.3 (5.6)	29.9 (7.9)
Level of education	*low*	2.8	6.5	7.7	48.7
	upper secondary	27.4	44.8	26.2	22.8
	tertiary	69.8	48.8	66.1	28.5
German proficiency	*low*	56.6	71.9	69.5	84.2
	high	43.4	28.1	30.5	15.8
Family migrant	*no*	63.8	68.4	59.7	9.7
	yes	36.2	31.6	40.3	90.3
Marital status	*single*	70.7	51.2	36.2	6.7
	married	29.3	48.8	63.8	93.3
Child in household	*no*	76.6	67.3	70.5	65.4
	yes	23.4	32.7	29.5	34.6
N		580	449	298	298

There are also important differences between the groups of Turks. The ENTRA Turkish women again have higher levels of education and have a higher German proficiency, but what stands out in

[36] One reason for the discrepancy between the two samples could be the different sampling strategies: Whereas all individuals identified in the sampling procedure were personally approached by interviewers for the SCIP survey (Gresser & Schacht, 2015), ENTRA interviewers only conducted the survey with individuals who responded positively to an invitation letter in the post (Seuring et al., forthcoming). The initiative that is takes to respond to a surveyor standing at one's front door is much lower than to proactively follow up on a letter, something that could be correlated with other measured factors like the level of education.

particular is the change in the distribution of the migration motive and marital status: For SCIP Turks, there is only a small share who are single and who did not migrate for family reasons, something that changes substantially in the ENTRA sample. Given the significant evolution in the characteristics between the two cohorts, it is striking that their labor market behavior seems to remain the same.

Figure 15: The labor force participation of Polish and Turkish women in the SCIP and ENTRA datasets (AMEs)



Note: All models additionally control for age, age^2 and time since migration; estimates are presented with 95% confidence intervals; N= 1611, refer to **Table 8** in the appendix for complete table

If the different Pole-Turk comparisons in Chapter 3 and 4 boil down to changes in the composition of their observable characteristics over time, then this can largely be accounted for in a regression analysis. Thus, **Figure 15** presents the results of an additional analysis which pools the data from these two sources. As before, this figure presents estimates from logistic regressions as average marginal effects, and the dependent variable is LFP (inactive vs. active). The independent variables include a categorical variable for the level of education (low/upper secondary/tertiary), as well as dichotomous variables for German proficiency (low - 0/high - 1), family migration motive (no - 0/yes - 1), marital status (single - 0/married - 1), and child in the household (no - 0/yes - 1). The models additionally control for age, age squared and time since migration (an important control, since this varies considerably between the two datasets). These regressions are based on a reduced list of predictors, because not all of the variables are available in both datasets. In any case, the factors included here proved to be the most important when it came to explaining immigrant women's LFP in the main analyses.

The results from **Figure 15** indicate that there are more than just compositional differences in observable characteristics between the groups of Polish and Turkish women represented in these samples. For the most part, these variables are unable to account for the gaps in LFP between the groups. Polish women in the ENTRA data (the reference group) have the highest probability of LFP out of all the groups. As already seen in Chapter 4, and replicated here, Turkish women in the ENTRA data have a much lower LFP probability in comparison, and this persists across the models. Moreover, in the baseline model, both Polish and Turkish women from the SCIP data also have lower probabilities of LFP than ENTRA Poles. While the disadvantage remains for SCIP Poles even after compositional differences in the determinants are taken into account, the estimated disadvantage for SCIP Turks relative to ENTRA Poles eventually becomes statistically insignificant.

Of course, it is always a possibility that omitted variables could help to clarify the persistent disadvantages we see here, but given the fact that few other personal characteristics available in the data were observed to have an effect on group differences in the main analyses, I would also not expect them to change the group comparison between the datasets in a significant way. Instead, these results seem to reflect immigrant selection on unobserved characteristics, and different selection processes by origin group and cohort. Selection can happen at several points of the immigration trajectory: On the one hand, it often happens on a bureaucratic level, in Germany's case for non-EU immigrants. These individuals must meet the criteria of a specific immigration channel in order to receive immigration authorization. This type of selection usually happens on observable characteristics, and can be seen in the data and controlled for in analyses. On the other hand, it takes a certain type of individual to choose to upend their life and move to another country, sometimes described as a 'migration personality' (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Boneva et al., 1998; from Polavieja, Fernández-Reino, & Ramos, 2018). Assumedly, these types of individuals have (often unobserved) motivational and personality traits which help them to cope with the costs associated with migration and integration. Although the evidence for immigrant selection with regard to the non-immigrant population in the sending country is mixed, there certainly seem to be differences in selection between immigrant groups residing in Germany, depending on factors like the country of origin, the country of destination and the immigration channel (see, for example, Polavieja et al., 2018; Spörlein, Kristen, Schmidt, & Welker, 2020). When comparing immigrants across origins and cohorts, it would also be important to consider differences in contextual factors on the macro-level, which might influence the opportunity structures that immigrants are faced with when making the migration decision.

With this in mind, there are certainly explanations for why the profile of Polish and Turkish immigrants might differ, both between origin groups and across arrival cohorts. For instance,

immigrants interviewed for the SCIP survey arrived just after the 2007/08 financial crisis, which had wide-reaching economic consequences. Indeed, the methods report for the survey points out that the number of arrivals from both these origins reduced in the years after 2007 (Gresser & Schacht, 2015). It is likely that some of this reduction in arrivals was due to changes in the economic situation in Germany and the countries of origin. Compared to other countries, Germany's economy is seen as having weathered the crisis quite well, but it certainly did experience a decline in its economic growth.[37] To some extent, EU immigrants were drawn to Germany in this period because of its perceived economic stability (especially immigrants from Southern Europe, see OECD, 2013; Pichler, 2017), but Poland's economy also weathered the crisis quite well, being one of the only EU Member States which continued to experience economic growth during this period (Richter & Krzak, 2011). Nonetheless, the effects of the economic slowdown in Poland were felt most strongly by young workers with low levels of education and little work experience (Richter & Krzak, 2011), which may have prompted emigration.[38] For non-EU immigrants, emigration to Germany in search of better economic opportunities could not be taken for granted. There is evidence of a slight decrease in labor migration from Turkey during this time (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2010), which could be due to a lower domestic demand or lower initiative to migrate among Turks, but it is also important to note that labor migration only represents a marginal proportion of immigration from this country (at least since the end of guest worker recruitment schemes in 1973), and data on immigration entry channels is not disaggregated by gender. Still, the descriptive data from the SCIP dataset indicates that Turkish women from this period overwhelmingly emigrated for family reasons.

Jumping forward in time, the descriptive statistics show that the Polish and Turkish women in the ENTRA data are better positioned to enter the German labor market, but also that these groups are more similar in their characteristics than the women in the SCIP data. Even the share of Turkish women who did not arrive for family reasons is much closer to that of Polish women. While this change in group characteristics between the two cohorts could partially be due to the identified sampling selectivity in the ENTRA survey, there was also a significant improvement in the economic context within which these women immigrated, as well as an evolution in Germany's immigration objectives. Since 2012 (with the implementation of the EU Blue Card Directive), Germany's immigration policy has focused on attracting high-skilled workers from non-EU countries, and particularly programs targeted at workers in the female-dominated care sector (like the Triple Win nurse recruiting

[37] Annual growth in Germany's GDP declined from 3 percent in 2007 to -5.7 percent in 2009. World Bank: GDP growth (annual percent) – Germany https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=DE Accessed 12.09.2022.

[38] Moreover, the full extent of EU citizenship (free movement and labor market access) was finally extended by Germany to Poles in early 2011, which would have benefited low-skilled individuals the most.

scheme[39]). Thus, there certainly was encouragement from Germany for individuals with specific skill-sets to migrate. On the other hand, there were also 'push' factors from both Turkey and Poland that may have prompted higher-skilled individuals to leave the country. Turkey has experienced some political instability after an attempted coup in 2016, and since then the ruling party has had a rather hostile attitude toward government critics and political opponents in academia and the media.[40] This has resulted in an increasing number of asylum seekers from Turkey (Schührer, 2018). Poland as well has experienced setbacks to its democracy and gender equality since the rise of the Law and Justice party (PiS) in 2015,[41] which may have contributed to a less enticing environment for young, single, mobile and highly-skilled women.

These considerations should contribute to the interpretation of the results of the analyses based on these two different samples. There seems to be a negative selectivity of SCIP Poles compared to ENTRA Poles – or conversely a positive selectivity of ENTRA Poles – which cannot be reduced to human capital or observed motivational factors. Certainly, the brunt of the impact of the financial crisis felt by young individuals with few labor market resources, coupled with low migration costs, may have contributed to the negative selectivity of the earlier arrival cohort. It has also been suggested that the migration flows from Poland to Germany around 2011 were rather unskilled because higher skilled Poles who were oriented toward emigration had already left for other EU countries which had not imposed labor market restrictions after Poland's accession (Elsner & Zimmermann, 2013). In addition, the evolution in the political context between the two periods may have something to do with the more recent emigration of liberal-leaning, labor market-oriented women from Poland to Western Europe. These are reasonable explanations for the substantial gap in LFP estimated between these two cohorts.

The negative selectivity of SCIP Turks seems to be attributed mostly to observed human capital and motivational factors, something that does not hold true for the ENTRA Turks. Negative motivational selection among Turkish immigrants is found by Polavieja et al. (2018) in analyses based on data from 2002-2014 (although in that case, the reference group was non-immigrants in Turkey). While they argue that immigrant *women* from more traditional societies who enter via family migration channels are a particularly negatively selected group, Polavieja et al. do not observe gender differences for Turkish immigrants in their results which might confirm this. The results presented in this section of the dissertation, however, also explicitly control for migration motivation, and find that

[39] GIZ: Sustainable recruitment of nurses (Triple Win). https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/41533.html Accessed 13.09.2022.
[40] Human Rights Watch World Report 2022: Turkey. https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/turkey Accessed 14.09.2022.
[41] Freedom in the World: Poland. https://freedomhouse.org/country/poland/freedom-world/2022 Accessed 14.09.2022.

this does not contribute to explaining the overall disadvantage in Turkish immigrant women's LFP decision (for ENTRA Turks at least, compared to ENTRA Poles).

Overall, this discussion tries to harmonize the results from Chapters 3 and 4, which estimate different disadvantages for Turkish immigrant women compared to Polish women. Considering the results side by side, and the possible explanations related to unobserved dynamics in the immigration process, puts the conclusions about Turkish women's positioning on the German labor market in a new light. Chapter 3 states that the disadvantage faced by Turkish women on the German labor market may slowly be 'fading away,' but this take-away seems a bit too optimistic. Certainly, a small number of Turkish immigrant women do seem to perform well on the German labor market, but this is not necessarily reflective of the overall experience of women from this group. The persistent gap in LFP shown by Turkish women (also found by Fleischmann & Höhne, 2013, for example) has resisted many explanations, and requires further study, perhaps with qualitative methods which can better investigate individuals' apparent low motivation.[42]

5.3 Limitations and avenues for future research

While this dissertation contributes much to the existing literature, it is also important to explicitly define the limitations of this research. For instance, the data used in the empirical analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 is drawn heavily from immigrant communities in urban areas of West Germany (Berlin being the only region in the former East where respondents were sampled). This is generally reflective of the spatial distribution of immigrants in Germany (Heider et al., 2020), but there are certainly immigrants who do not conform to these patterns. The extent to which these findings would apply to immigrants in rural areas is unclear, and because of the likely substantial differences in the observable and unobservable characteristics between them and immigrants who opt to live in urban areas, inferences should probably not be made.

Speaking of restrictions to the sample of immigrants analysed in the main body of this dissertation, students are an important group excluded from the conceptual framework on labor market integration. This was purposeful, and the reasoning given for this exclusion is that LFP simply is not a consideration for students: LFP is (within this dissertation) conceptualized as a deliberation process with a binary choice between remaining inactive or transitioning to labor market activity. Students not are considered 'at risk' of making this choice, since the majority of their time is already allocated towards studying. In reality, choosing to study could be seen as a third choice in this decision

[42] As a caveat to this discussion of immigration movements and the samples in the ENTRA and SCIP datasets, it must also be kept in mind that I do not consider the entire representative sample available, but only the inactive and active portions that are relevant to labor market integration. Most importantly, students are not considered here, but in the datasets they represent a large component of immigration inflows, and the conditions around migration may also have influenced their choice of migration channel.

structure, and one that is in fact more oriented towards labor market activity than not. Immigrants who arrive in the host country often find that their existing skills are devalued, and entering a study program in the host country is one way of improving their job perspectives (especially long-term). It is also a possibility that immigrants who arrive without any skills seek to benefit from high-quality educational institutions in the destination country (especially in a country like Germany, where tuition fees are relatively low).

In the context of this dissertation, this is an important caveat, because a large proportion of the immigrant women in the datasets used for the analyses identified themselves as students at the time of survey. This is particularly the case among certain groups: 26 percent of Turkish immigrant women in the ENTRA sample were filtered out because they were students, as were 34 percent of Syrian women. This compares to 8 percent of Polish and 15 percent of Italian women. Similar proportions of Polish and Turkish women were students in the SCIP data as well. Not only does this present an issue for the sample sizes of the analyses, but it also hints at group-specific dynamics around the opportunity structures that different groups of immigrants encounter after their arrival in Germany.

Conceptualizing education as one step along a labor market integration trajectory highlights another aspect that is not explicitly considered in the empirical analyses, namely, that integration is a *process*. When it comes to studying the evolution of this process over time, or identifying causal relationships, cross-sectional analyses are limited in their efficacy. For factors like perceived discrimination or German language proficiency, cross-sectional analyses have difficulty confirming if these are *determinants* of LFP, or if the causal relationship works the other way around. Both the SCIP and the ENTRA dataset have a two-wave panel design, which would be conducive to longitudinal analysis. However, a large drop in case numbers between waves one and two in both datasets (which is typical of panel surveys) was one factor that prompted my decision to focus on the cross-sectional approach using wave one data. Moreover, during the ENTRA data collection, the COVID-19 pandemic occurred in between the two waves of the survey. Such an unprecedented shock to the labor market intermingles with the effect of individual determinants on labor market outcomes, and any conclusions drawn from this data are difficult to generalize to immigrant integration in Germany during 'normal' times. Thus, future studies of immigrant women's labor market entry are needed to explore the causal relationships between determinants and labor market outcomes, and also how the process of labor market entry evolves after the initial period of settling in.

Besides difficultly attributing a causal effect to some factors, there also remains some uncertainty around the take-aways from the investigation into gender role attitudes. In Chapter 3, religiosity was used as a proxy measure of an individual's gender values, with the assumption that

higher levels of religiosity correlate with more conservative gender role attitudes. Indeed, the expected relationship was found: The results showed a negative (and statistically significant) effect of religiosity on female LFP (regardless the religious denomination). However, Chapter 4's investigation of the same mechanism, this time using a direct measure of gender role attitudes, found no effect (outside of correlations with education and household composition).[43] This might be taken to mean that religiosity captures something relevant to women's LFP that is not part of the gender values indicator. Another study from the German context, Kanas & Müller (2021), also hints at this: They find that gender role attitudes explain some of the effect that religiosity has on immigrant women's LFP, but religiosity retains a significant negative effect, something they expect has to do with the complex relationship it has with individual decisions about investing in labor market resources, ethnic networks and marriage choices. On the other hand, perhaps this disparity in results has to do with social desirability and respondents' discomfort around answering a direct question about their gender role attitudes: In fact, there was not much variation in the direct measure available in the ENTRA data, most individuals simply responded that they had rather liberal views towards female LFP. The extent to which this is actually reflective of an individual's attitudes is questionable. They certainly are more liberal than the attitudes of non-migrants in the origin country, although this could also be due to selective immigration. Future studies should continue this line of research, especially the potential bias in direct measures of gender role attitudes as sensitive questions in surveys of immigrants.

Another highlight from the results of this dissertation is that children in the household are a crucial consideration in immigrant women's decision to stay at home, although this is not a particularly novel finding. What this dissertation was not able to disentangle, however, is the reason *why* children beget labor market inactivity. As briefly mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter 4, the assumption is usually that children represent a care burden for the household that is undertaken by women, and that by increasing the availability of childcare spots, immigrant women would be freed of this duty and could allocate this time to wage-earning activities instead. Indeed, the use of publicly-funded childcare differs between migrant and native families: According to data from 2017, 40 percent of native German families with children under the age of 2 make use of public childcare, while only 20 percent of immigrant families do (Scholz et al., 2019). However, there is little quantitative evidence confirming the assumption that immigrant women *would* take advantage of public childcare if only there were more spots available.

On the one hand, immigrant families may lack information on their childcare rights upon arrival in Germany. The system can be quite complex for outsiders to understand, since there are

[43] This lines up with findings from other studies, like Salikutluk & Menke (2021) who research gender role attitudes and LFP specifically among refugee women in Germany.

actors involved at different administrative levels (*Bundesland, Kommune, Landeskreis*), and regulations for access and financing differ across the country (Seibel, 2021; Tissot, 2020). In fact, a recent study using data on immigrants in (West) Germany shows that knowledge of the childcare system differs by origin group, and accounting for important factors like German language skills and social contacts does not explain most of the origin group gaps (Seibel, 2021). Of course, besides differences in immigrants' access to information, it is also possible that immigrant mothers simply prefer to take care of their children themselves. One qualitative study reports that some (refugee) immigrant mothers in Germany want to spend more time with their children, especially when they are younger than three, but also that they are afraid of negative experiences that their children may have in the kindergarten, or averse to the possibility of a male caregiver caring for their child (Tissot, 2020). These are not barriers that can be addressed by providing more childcare spots, but preferences and attitudes towards who should be responsible for childcare and what it takes to be a 'good mother.' Even among the native German population there are heterogeneous views, especially between former East Germany and West Germany, although a convergence of attitudes towards working mothers is visible over the time since reunification (Barth et al., 2020). This exposes the policy relevance of this issue, which applies to native and immigrant populations alike: More research should be devoted towards untangling the exact mechanism at play here, in order to construct more efficient activation policies for immigrant mothers which take advantage of their full labor market potential.

5.4 Appendix

Table 8: Labor force participation of Polish and Turkish women in SCIP and ENTRA (log odds)

	Baseline	Resources	Motivation
Origin group (ref: Poles ENTRA)			
Poles SCIP	-1.322***	-1.165***	-1.068***
	(0.239)	(0.243)	(0.282)
Turks ENTRA	-1.655***	-1.575***	-1.681***
	(0.209)	(0.214)	(0.258)
Turks SCIP	-1.822***	-1.172***	-0.407
	(0.245)	(0.268)	(0.314)
Age	-0.028	-0.065**	0.070**
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.034)
Age^2	0.001	0.002**	-0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Time since migration (months)	-0.001	-0.004	0.015*
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)
Level of education (ref: low)			
upper secondary		0.558***	0.153
		(0.211)	(0.243)
tertiary		1.283***	0.660***
		(0.216)	(0.249)
German proficiency		0.954***	0.323
		(0.181)	(0.203)
Family migration motive			-1.388***
			(0.198)
Married			-0.958***
			(0.227)
Child in household			-1.831***
			(0.170)
Constant	2.818***	1.853***	3.394***
	(0.312)	(0.353)	(0.455)
Observations	1,611	1,611	1,611
Log Likelihood	-728.930	-689.649	-536.729
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,471.860	1,399.297	1,099.458

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Author contributions

Chapter 2 was written in collaboration with Maximilian Sprengholz, a PhD candidate at the Humboldt University of Berlin. Maximilian was responsible for the creation of the descriptive graphs throughout the chapter, the first draft of the historical context (Section 2.2.2) and the empirical findings sections on labor market success (Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). I was specifically responsible for the first drafts of the theoretical section (Section 2.2.3), the empirical findings section on LFP (Section 2.3.1) and the conclusion (Section 2.4). This being said, both of us had a hand in editing and revising the final manuscript.

Chapter 3 was written in conjunction with the first supervisor of my dissertation, Claudia Diehl, with whom I collaborated for the direction of the paper and the structuring of the theoretical argumentation. While I conducted the data analysis and prepared the initial draft, Claudia contributed paragraphs about the German labor market context (at the end of Section 3.3) and parts of the discussion.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

In dieser Dissertation sollen die Faktoren für frauenspezifischer Nachteile bei der Arbeitsmarktintegration von Zuwanderinnen untersucht werden. Deskriptive Befunde belegen Unterschiede in der Arbeitsmarktintegration zwischen Zuwanderinnen und Zuwanderern sowie einheimischen Frauen und einheimischen Männern gleichermaßen, aber nur wenige Studien untersuchen die spezifischen Determinanten der Arbeitsmarktintegration von Zuwanderinnen oder die Heterogenität zwischen Frauen verschiedener Herkunftsgruppen. Daher zeigt diese Dissertation zunächst anhand eines Überblicks über den aktuellen Forschungsstand in Europa die bisherigen Erkenntnisse und vorhandenen Forschungslücken auf. Anschließend wird anhand von Umfragedaten zu kürzlich zugewanderten Gruppen ein Einblick in den Arbeitsmarkteintritt dieser Frauen gegeben. Die Literaturübersicht macht deutlich, dass es im europäischen Kontext immer noch an frauenspezifischen Studien mangelt. Dies unterstreicht die Notwendigkeit für neue Forschung mit einem geschlechtsspezifischen theoretischen Ansatz zur Untersuchung von selten berücksichtigten Faktoren der Arbeitsmarktintegration von Zuwanderinnen. Die beiden darauffolgenden empirischen Kapitel beschäftigen sich mit der Erwerbsbeteiligung von Migrantinnen, eine Stufe des Arbeitsmarkteintritts, die insbesondere für Zuwanderinnen relevant ist. Die Fokussierung auf die Erwerbsbeteiligung, also auf die Frage ob Migrantinnen aktiv nach Arbeit suchen, hat sich hier als besonders fruchtbar herausgestellt, da im Gegensatz zu männlichen Zuwanderern, ein höherer Anteil der Frauen aktiv nach Arbeit sucht, allerdings (noch) keinen Beruf gefunden hat. Die Ergebnisse heben die Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern in dieser Phase hervor und zeigen, dass für die

Entscheidung von Frauen außerhalb des Haushalts zu arbeiten, sowohl ihre Arbeitsmarktressourcen (z.B. Bildung, Arbeitserfahrung, Sprachkenntnisse) als auch ihre Motivation (z.B. die Haushaltszusammensetzung, das Migrationsmotiv, Einstellungen und Persönlichkeit) relevant sind. Migrantinnen aus europäischen Ländern weisen im Vergleich zu Migrantinnen aus dem Nahen Osten (Türkei und Syrien) meist eine hohe Erwerbsbeteiligung auf. Bis zu einem gewissen Grad lassen sich diese Unterschiede durch die Berücksichtigung beobachtbarer Merkmale, wie zum Beispiel Arbeitsmarktressourcen und Motivation, erklären, aber häufig bleibt ein Unterschied bestehen, insbesondere für türkische Frauen. Diese weisen auch unter Kontrolle der oben genannten Faktoren einen Nachteil gegenüber den anderen Gruppen auf, welcher nicht durch die vermuteten theoretischen Mechanismen erklärt werden kann. Insgesamt werden auch die Unterschiede in den Zuwanderermerkmalen zwischen den Ankunftskohorten aufgezeigt. Mittels zusätzlichen Analysen wird es deutlich, dass herkunfts- und ziellandbezogene Makro-Faktoren eine wichtige Rolle bei Gruppenvergleichen spielen. Hierzu zählen etwa die unterschiedlichen Zugangsbeschränkungen zum Arbeitsmarkt in Deutschland, aber auch die soziodemographische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung im Herkunftsland.

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