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Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper Series

Working Paper No. 536

Economic and Occupational Integration of Newcomers

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Economic and Occupational Integration of Newcomers

In my opinion, the key to [economic] integration [of Luxembourg's immigrants] is education.

Luxembourg government statistician Jean Langers (2008)

Compared to the situation for education, the economic environment that immigrants in Luxembourg face appears relatively benign. While every foreign-born worker is not necessarily rising to the top of the country's occupational and income pyramid, the economic system is fluid enough that a substantial minority of non-nationals outperforms even native, "old-stock" Luxembourgers in the competition for jobs, income, and desirable vocations. Moreover, no respected political or economic leader in the Grand Duchy accuses migrants of taking natives' jobs or reducing their wages; rather, almost everyone recognizes that the Grand Duchy continues to have "a structural need for foreigners" (Langers 2008; see also "B" 2008), even after the disappearance of the labor-intensive mining and steel industries from the southern cities of Differdange, Dudelange, and Esch-sur-Alzette.

The "Luxembourg Model" of Economics

Before delving further into the labor market and wage rates for immigrants, we might first summarize the economic context in which immigration occurs. What natives refer to as the "Luxembourg model" combines continuous, institutiona-

lized dialogue among management, unions, and the government to produce low inequality, little poverty, and “industrial peace” (Feyereisen 1997). Perhaps the most important institution in this corporatist system is the “Tripartite,” a kind of on-going, de facto policy-making roundtable discussion among the government, management, and unions that is so consensus-oriented and influential that it may well improperly undermine the legislative powers of parliament. Six officially recognized chambers of commerce (for management) and two principal, highly representative unions (the LCGB and OGB-L, for labor) comprise the second corporatist element in the country’s economic system (Hirsch 2003, 2008).

Perhaps most importantly for immigration policy, this economic-governance system also tends to reduce overall poverty and inequality (Allegranza, Heinrich, and Jesuit 2004). According to Jean Langers (2008), the Director of the Social Statistics Division of STATEC (the Luxembourgish equivalent to Eurostat in the EU or parts of the Commerce Department in the US), “If you look at the salaries, the differences are much smaller” in Luxembourg than in other countries. The net salaries are relatively high in the Grand Duchy because social-security taxes are relatively low for an EU country. Pension payments are also comparatively high, reducing the likelihood that retirees will fall into poverty. Social-security taxes can remain moderate because the welfare state is perhaps less generous in Luxembourg than in, say, Sweden (Langers 2008; see also Ametepe and Hartmann-Hirsch 2010) but also because roughly one third of the social-security system is financed primarily by taxes on banks or the broader financial sector, rather than on individuals (OECD 2006; Langers 2008). Social-security payments can remain restrained for the immediate future because Luxembourg’s workers (especially foreign-born residents and the *frontaliers*) are still comparatively young, with only limited need for social spending. Immigrants belong to the health insurance program, for example, but are, on average, not yet old enough to need particularly expensive medical care (Langers 2008).

A more political reason for generous immigration and integration policy in the Grand Duchy is that, often in contrast with the historical immigration stance of labor organizations in most other developed countries (Saxton 1975; Penninx and Roosblad 2002; Tichenor 2009), the migration policy advocated by the dominant unions in Luxembourg emphasizes equality between foreign-born and native-born workers and the social and economic integration of newcomers. Far from scapegoating and demanding the deportation of even undocumented immigrants (see Clement and Maas 2007), leaders such as “B” (2008) urge the government to legalize such migrants as soon as possible. By advocating on behalf of such “clandestine” workers, “B” contends he is helping to avoid unproductive conflicts between native and immigrant labor such as one observes in less union-friendly countries such as the United States. For labor organizations to maintain a strong presence in Luxembourg’s society, he argues, unions need to reach out to as many workers as possible and not restrict recruitment simply to the native-born. “B” estimates that the proportion of non-citizen union members is probably just slightly lower than that in the workforce (i.e., a little less than 63 percent). At least unconsciously, labor’s pro-immigration stance may also stem from the knowledge that Luxembourg’s major jump out of poverty during the

development of the steel industry was spurred in part by the arrival of massive numbers of foreign engineers and manual laborers and that even today, the country gains much of its income from the efforts of frontaliers and immigrant residents — many of whom are themselves union members (“C” 2008).

The bulk of the rest of this chapter will look at the causes of immigrants’ average unemployment rate, income, and occupational prestige. The analysis in each of these three sections looks at economic prospects by nationality before modeling the causes of a particular immigrant’s probability of success. Where cross-EU comparison suggests that Luxembourg’s policy is especially likely to help immigrants integrate economically (e.g., for occupational mobility), the section also evaluates the cross-national determinants of the given economic indicator.

2004 Unemployment Rate in Luxembourg by Nationality

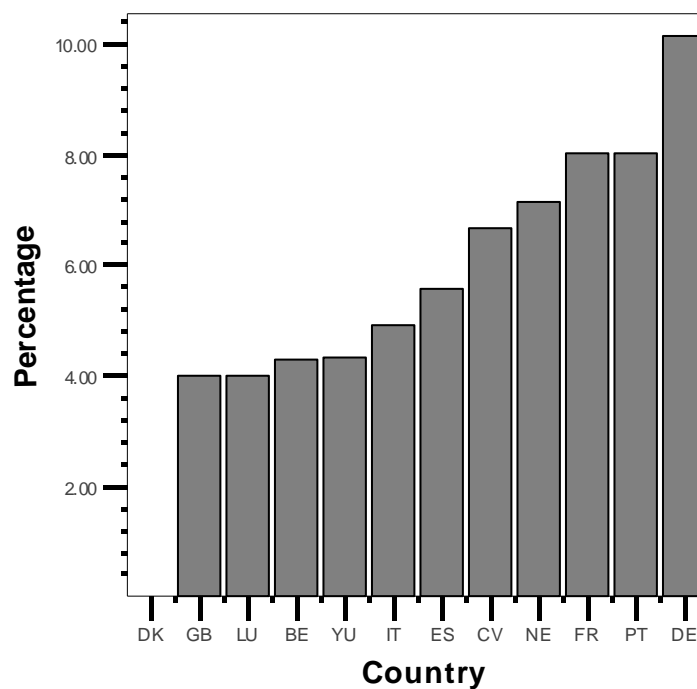
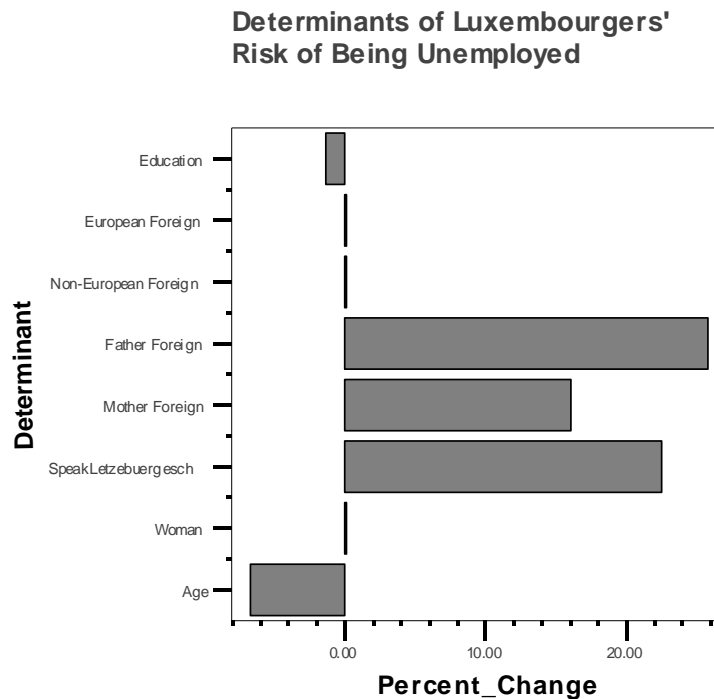


Figure 4.1. Unemployment in Luxembourg by Nationality (Luxembourg Income Study).

Unemployment

As Figure 4.1 documents, the odds of a particular resident of the Grand Duchy being out of work depend very much on her or his nationality (see Besch 1997:50-57; for more on employment discrimination, see Hartmann-Hirsch 2002; Besch et al. 2005). At least in this 2004 sample (Luxembourg Income Study¹), Danes experienced no unemployment, British and Luxembourgish nationals averaged 4.0 percent, Belgians and ex-Yugoslavs followed at 4.3 percent, Italians and Spaniards were slightly higher at 4.9 percent and 5.6 percent, respectively, and Germans brought up the rear at 10.1 percent. Curiously, Cape Verdeans, whom one might expect to have particularly high unemployment rates because of the poverty in their homeland and the relatively low skill level of their first generation, registered a relatively restrained out-of-work rate of 6.7 percent; this proportion is a little better than that for the Dutch (7.1 percent) and much better than the statistics for the French (8.0), Portuguese (8.1), and Germans.



Note: Only statistically significant results shown

Figure 4.2. Causes of Individual Unemployment in Luxembourg (2004-2005 European Social Survey).

The theoretical literature on the causes of individual unemployment posit that one is more likely to be out of work if one lacks education, belongs to a disadvantaged or minority ethnic or national group, is a woman, or is younger (see Bowen and Finegan 1969). Figure 4.2 summarizes the results of a regression testing these hypotheses for residents of Luxembourg. Although education appears to have practically no effect on one's risk of employment net of ethnicity and the nationality of one's parents, speaking Lëtzebuergesch at home (likely a proxy for being old-stock Luxembourgish) and having a mother or, especially, father who were born abroad substantially reduce one's chance of holding a job. Gender likely plays little or no role in unemployment in the Grand Duchy, but older residents appear slightly more likely to be out of work. Because being an immigrant and having foreign-born parents are closely related (r between European Foreign and Father or Mother Foreign = .7, $p < .001$), the model reported in Figure 4.2 and parallel regression graphs below could conceivably understate the effects of immigration status on the various economic or occupational variables. If one excludes the nationality of one's parents from the analysis, however, the influence of being an EU- or non-EU-origin immigrant still does not achieve statistical significance ($p > .10$). Even removing the language spoken at home fails to produce a significant result for these two nationality variables ($p > .10$).

2008 Unemployment Rate for Immigrants versus Natives

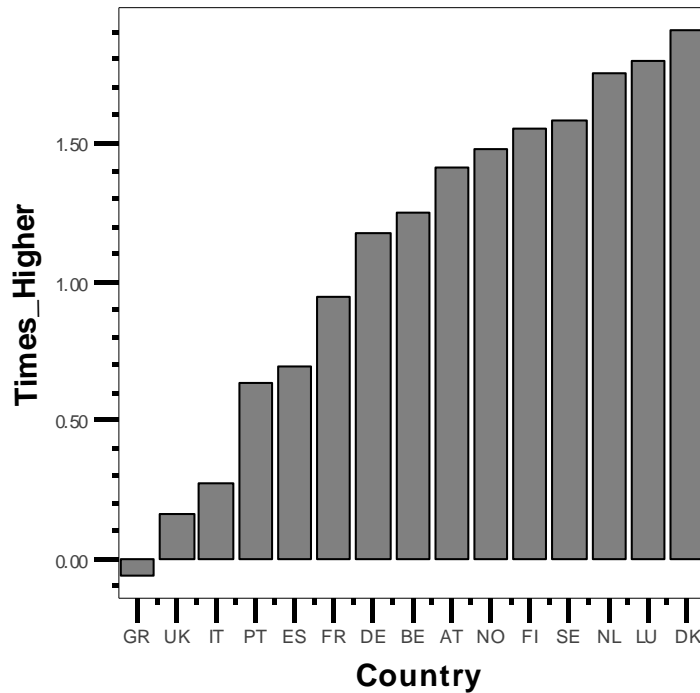


Figure 4.3. Extent to which Unemployment Rate for Immigrants Exceeds that for Natives (2008 Eurostat data).

These findings therefore confirm Luxembourg statistician Jean Langers' (2008) view of the causes of immigrant unemployment: "As in all countries, the unemployment rate is higher among the low-skilled. Since the foreign population has a higher proportion of low-skilled [persons], their unemployment rate is higher." As he claims, when one controls for skill level (measured as level of education), immigrants and natives have the same risk of unemployment (i.e., the variables European Foreign and Non-European Foreign do not achieve statistical significance if the model only includes these regressors plus education, gender, and age).

As displayed in Figure 4.3, Luxembourg does not have an enviable record in ensuring that the unemployment rate for immigrants approximates that for natives. If one ranks EU countries with available 2008 Eurostat data based on how many times greater the unemployment rate for immigrants is than that for

natives, the Grand Duchy comes in second-to-last with a 1.79-times-greater unemployment rate for migrants than for natives, bettering only Denmark (1.91 times greater). Overall, this graph suggests that maintaining equal unemployment rates may be easier in relatively low-social-welfare economies such as the UK's (0.16 times greater) than in generous welfare states such as Sweden's (1.58 times) or the Netherlands' (1.75 times). Given Luxembourg's comparatively poor performance on "unemployment equity," further cross-national analysis is unneeded in this chapter. Of course, Luxembourg's absolute unemployment rate for immigrants (8.1 percent) is slightly better than the mean for all EU countries with available data in 2008 (11.1 percent), but the likely cause is simply the Grand Duchy's relatively strong economy; across these 15 EU member states, native- and immigrant are highly correlated ($r = .739$, $p = .002$, $n = 15$).

2004 Mean Annual Income in Luxembourg by Nationality

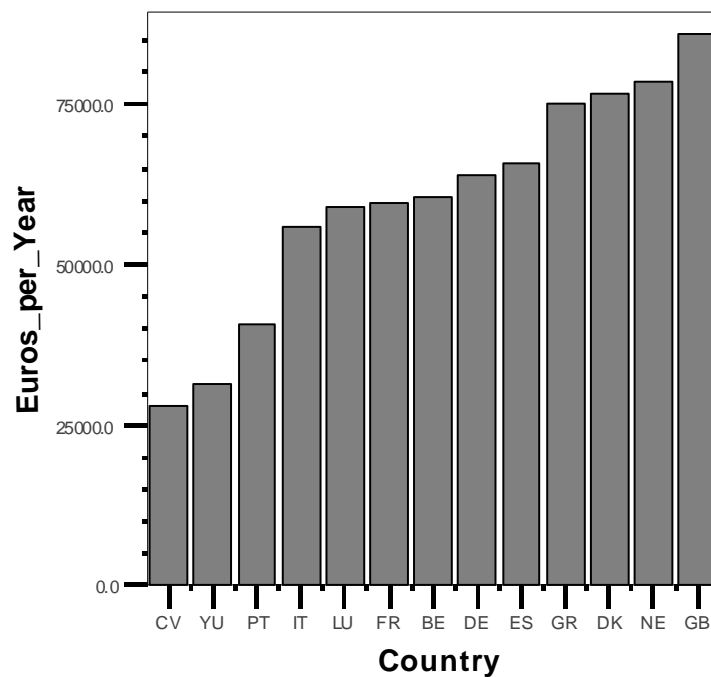
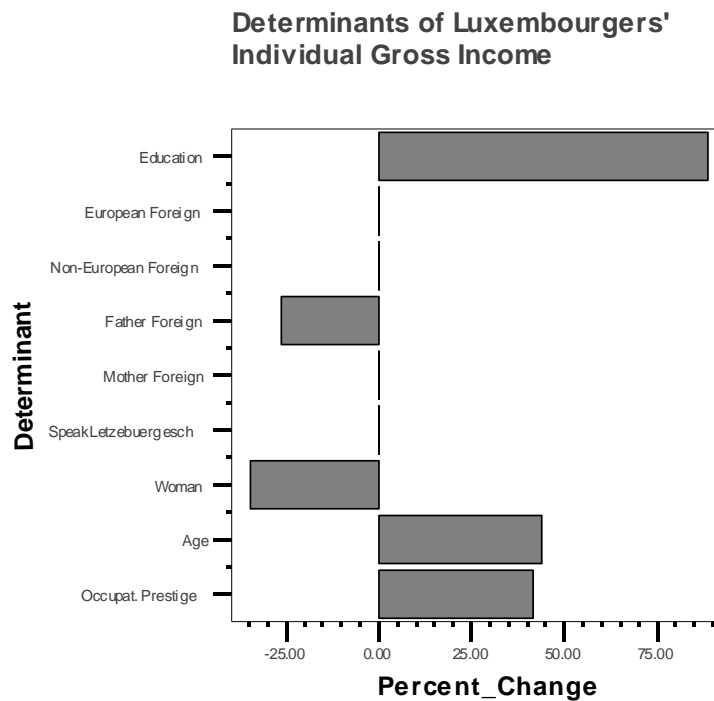


Figure 4.4. Average Income in Luxembourg by Nationality (Luxembourg Income Study).

Income

The income data presented in Figure 4.4 generally confirm what one would expect about the economic conditions of the different nationalities. British citizens — perhaps predominantly bankers or EU bureaucrats — earn the most money per year and are followed by the usual list of Western Europeans (minus perhaps the curiously affluent Greeks and Spaniards) through to native Luxembourgers. At the bottom of the income distribution sit the major immigrant groups, beginning with the relatively well-off Italians, dropping to the mean income of the Portuguese, and ending up with the relatively poor ex-Yugoslavs and Cape Verdeans.²



Note: Only statistically significant results shown

Figure 4.5. Causes of Individual Monthly Income in Luxembourg (2004-2005 European Social Survey).

Using similar hypotheses as those for the roots of individual unemployment, a regression model of Luxembourgers' income presents few surprises (see Figure 4.5). Age, occupational prestige, and, especially, education yield higher sala-

ries, while being a woman or the child of a foreign-born father reduces one's income. In contrast with the results for unemployment, speaking Luxembourgish at home is not associated with lower gross income. One's mother's nationality also has no economic effect in this regression. The nationality of the resident him- or herself likewise fails to achieve significance both in Figure 4.4 and in a parallel analyses with the variables for parents' nativity removed and with the variables for both parents' nativity and language spoken at home excluded. The major nativity-related disadvantage that immigrants would face in maximizing their income is thus having a foreign-born father (perhaps leading to less education and lower occupational prestige), not being an immigrant per se.

Income for Natives versus Immigrants in 2000

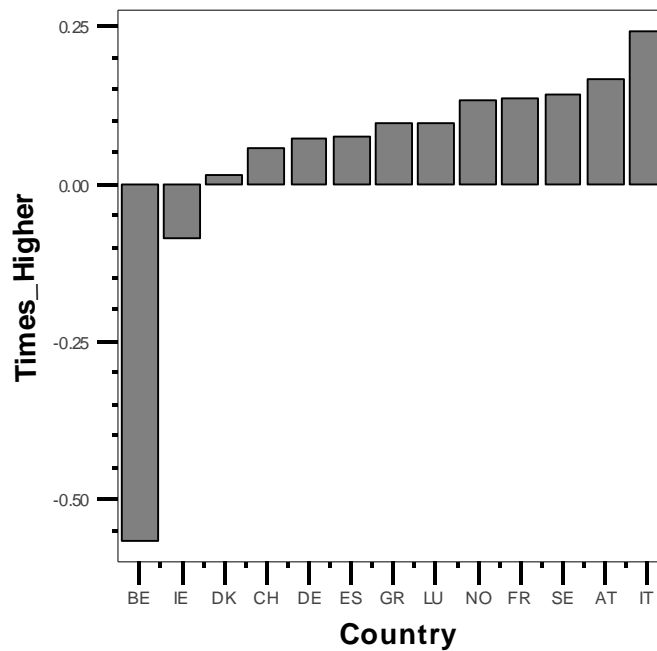


Figure 4.6. Extent to which Income for Natives Exceeds that for Immigrants (2000 Luxembourg Income Study).

Next, Figure 4.6 ranks available EU states by the extent to which natives earn a higher income than immigrants do. Luxembourg falls towards the middle of the pack in data from the 2000 Luxembourg Income Study, with native Luxembourgers making 0.10 times more money than non-natives. Italy records the highest level of income discrimination (.24 times greater income for natives), while Belgium shows the lowest (here *immigrants* received .57 times *more* in-

come than natives, which is likely the result of high Eurocrat salaries in Brussels). Since the Grand Duchy does not necessarily shine on this economic criterion, this chapter will not proceed further with cross-national comparison.

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Luxembourg by Nationality

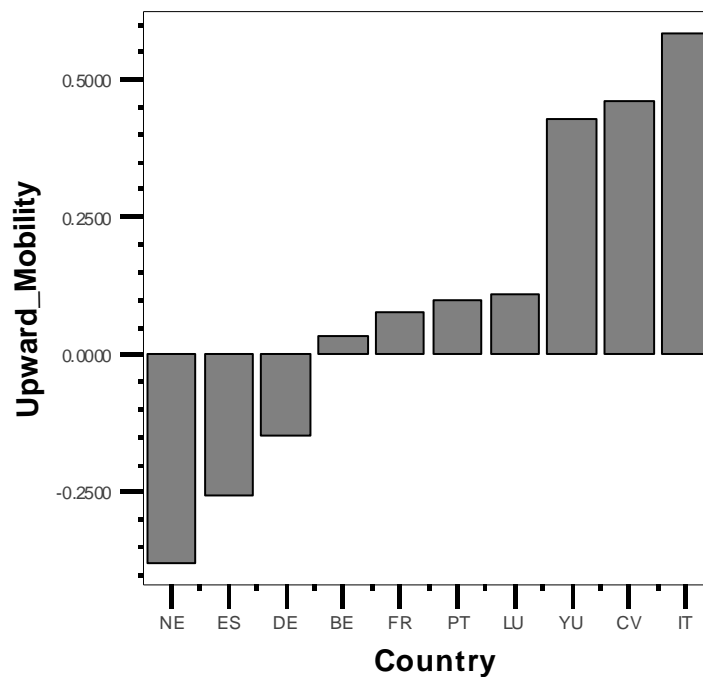


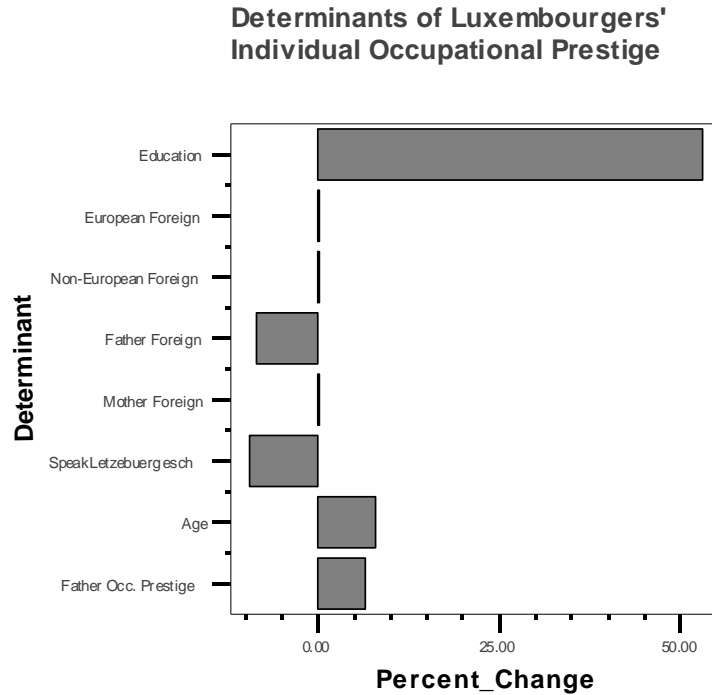
Figure 4.7. Father-Son Occupational Mobility in Luxembourg by Nationality (2004-2005 European Social Survey).

Intergenerational Occupational Mobility

The degree of upward occupational mobility from father to son, like the other economic outcomes analyzed in this chapter, is highly correlated with national origin (see Figure 4.7). Italians, Cape Verdeans, and ex-Yugoslavs all appear to have benefited greatly from having immigrated to Luxembourg. On the other hand, migrants from Germany, Spain, and, especially, the Netherlands, either seem to have been occupationally disadvantaged in the Grand Duchy or are

somehow negatively self-selected (e.g., if Germans, Spaniards, and Dutch people with below-average skills and/or ambition are more likely to move to Luxembourg). Belgians, Luxembourg natives, and the French and Portuguese apparently achieve only minimal levels of upward mobility in the Luxembourgish occupational structure.

Though the almost-exclusively first-generation immigrant men from the Cape Verdes appear in Figure 4.7 to have progressed greatly compared to their fathers, the greatest concern of Luxembourg-based “A” (2008) is still the educational and occupational advancement of the second generation, who, by and large, have not advanced significantly relative to their parents. According to “A,” the second generation remains in “almost the same sectors” of the economy, such as service occupations, restaurants, factories, construction, cleaning (also the usual occupations for the relevant respondents summarized in Figure 4.7), even after decades of the community’s presence in the Grand Duchy. “Cape Verdeans have been in Luxembourg for [about] 40 years. . . . When I look at the second generation, the number of professionals is perhaps too low. . . . I don’t know a single Cape Verdean medical doctor here, for example. . . . I could count on my hand the number of Cape Verdeans professionals who completed their graduate work” in the Grand Duchy. So although Cape Verdean immigrants might be succeeding in relative terms, by absolute measures of occupational prestige they appear to remain behind the typical “old-stock” Luxembourger.



Note: Only statistically significant results shown.
Analysis for men only.

Figure 4.8. Causes of Men's Individual Occupational Prestige in Luxembourg (2004-2005 European Social Survey).

If we next consider the whole working population, previous theoretical and empirical work on the roots of individual, upward “intergenerational mobility” (generally measured as distance from father to son) in other countries points to the role of education (Blau and Duncan 1967:234-237; see also Western and Wright 1994), ethnicity (Blau and Duncan 1967:219-227 & 231-238; Li 1978), nativity (Blau and Duncan 1967:227-231), age (Blau and Duncan 1967:82-90), and gender (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:231-277). In Luxembourg, by far the greatest cause of upward intergenerational mobility is the level of the son's education (see Figure 4.8). Other minor determinants include age and the occupational prestige of the father. If one's father was born abroad or one speaks Luxembourgish at home, in contrast, the result is moderate downward mobility. In a model lacking Father Foreign and Mother Foreign, European Foreign just barely fails to achieve statistical significance ($b = -.174$, $p = .104$), suggesting that EU-origin immigrants may be slightly disadvantaged in their efforts to climb the

occupational-status ladder. In this same regression, Non-European Foreign did not come close to producing a statistically significant effect ($p > .10$). If one eliminates both parental-nativity variables as well as Speak Lëtzebuergesch, however, even European Foreign is not significant.

Occupational Mobility of Immigrants

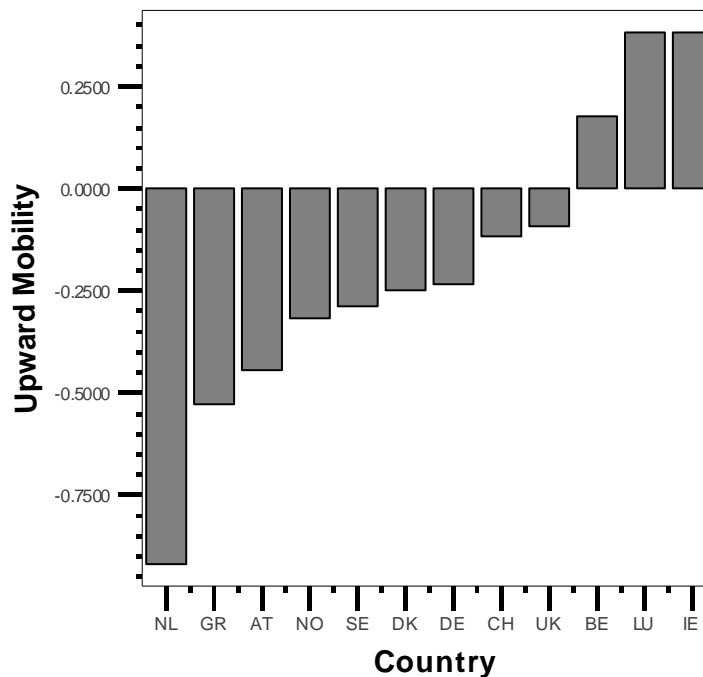
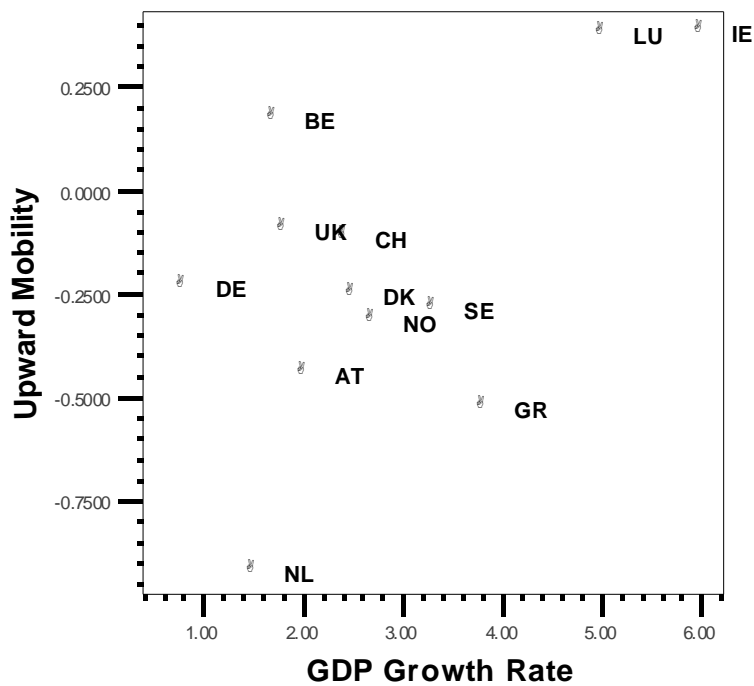


Figure 4.9. Intergenerational Occupational Mobility of Immigrants (2004-2005 European Social Survey).

Cross-nationally, Luxembourg ranks number two out of the twelve EU member states for which we have data on the extent to which immigrants achieve occupational mobility (see Figure 4.9). For policy analysts and political leaders, determining why the Grand Duchy performs so well on this measure could lead to more rational immigration and integration policy across the continent. Earlier theoretical studies indicate that economic growth or development (Parsons 1971; Kerr 1983; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:3-9 & 19-26; but see Lipset and Zetterberg 1959; Sorokin 1959; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:366-369) and socialist or social-democratic control of government (Parkin 1969, 1971:chs. 5-6; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:16-18 & 373-374) produce societies with high rates of upward mobility. A parallel literature claims that egalita-

rian political culture (Samson 1935:16-21; Tocqueville 1968:243-244; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:309-311) causes similar effects, and a different set of investigators believes investment in education (Blau and Duncan 1967:402-403 & 432-435; see also Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992:302-305) enhances mobility.

Effect of Current Economic Growth on Occupational Mobility of Immigrants



Note: Father-son mobility from 2004-2005 European Social Survey; 2005 growth rate from World Bank

Figure 4.10. Economic Growth and Intergenerational Occupational Mobility of Immigrants.

Figure 4.10 summarizes the relevant analysis for Luxembourg, showing that upward occupational mobility of immigrants appears to be primarily driven by contemporaneous growth in the gross domestic product. If one measures mobili-

ty using European Social Survey data collected from late 2004 through 2005 and economic growth using World Bank statistics from 2005, the two variables are positively correlated ($r = .553$, $p = .062$, $n = 12$). Apparently, Luxembourg's foreign-born thus achieve relatively high occupational mobility primarily because the country's parallel growth rate has remained impressive (around five percent for the mid-2000s). Related analysis suggests that positive mean growth in the GDP over the previous two decades may also help boost immigrants' occupational mobility. Neither the number of years of post-WWII government control by social-democratic parties (see Nordsieck 2009) nor per-capita spending on education in 2005 had any statistically significant relationship with upward mobility, however. cursory examination of Figure 4.7 similarly reveals that countries reputed to have relatively egalitarian cultures (e.g., Sweden, Denmark) do not necessarily outperform states with supposedly less egalitarian social concepts (e.g., the UK). Finally, contemporaneous economic growth apparently boosts the mobility for immigrants more than for natives (r for natives = $.343$, $p > .10$, $n = 12$).³

The economic lessons Luxembourg offers, then, are that high economic growth — at least in the context of a moderately welfarist state (see Hartmann-Hirsch 2008) — is one of the best ways to advance the occupational prospects of immigrants as a group. For individual migrants in the Grand Duchy, the data confirm Jean Langers' view from the epigraph that education largely determines one's income and occupational advancement. That Luxembourg's relatively rigid educational system appears to be failing many of today's immigrants (see chapter 3 and Hartmann-Hirsch 2002:35-41; but see Hartmann-Hirsch 2007) may therefore bode ill for the future success of the country's immigration and integration policies.

Notes

1. While this chapter uses data from the Luxembourg Income Study to compare various economic measures across EU member states, the results of such analysis likely lack precision because of cross-national variation in the methods used to collect LIS statistics. As the technical report notes, "cross-country results might not be fully comparable because of differences in sample methods and targeted populations in each nation" (LIS 2009a). Even within the Luxembourg sample, the "population covered is limited to those persons who are directly or indirectly linked to the social security system of Luxembourg, and not the totality of the population residing in the country." In other words, "the foreign civil servants, employees of foreign firms who are only temporarily installed in Luxembourg and who are linked to the social security systems of their country, as well as the Luxembourg nationals who live in the country but work abroad are not covered" (LIS 2009b).

2. On the bimodal nature of the income distribution by immigrants' country of origin, see Hartmann-Hirsch's more extended analysis of "advantaged" and "disadvantaged" nationalities (2002:26-30).

3. For a more theoretically tentative cross-European analysis of immigrants' economic integration by country (also including Luxembourg), see Büchel and Frick (2005). They especially emphasize the extent to which labor-market discrimination against the foreign-born retards immigrants' economic advancement.

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