The role of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes of immigrants and natives

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1. Introduction

Since 1945, migration has involved all regions of the world. One can distinguish between traditional receiving and sending countries. Traditional receiving countries are, the United States, Canada and Australia. Because of globalization, more and more countries got involved in migration and the sharp distinction between receiving and sending countries disappeared. Earlier, European countries were sending countries, while nowadays many of these countries are receiving countries as well (Castles & Miller, 2009). Thus, migration has become more diverse and has become a worldwide phenomenon. Therefore, much attention has been paid to the integration of immigrants in – new - receiving countries.

An important issue of integration in the migration literature is the economic integration of immigrants. In many countries, immigrants hold disadvantaged positions in the host country (Van Tubergen, 2006). Many immigrants experience trouble finding a job, which results in higher levels of unemployment as compared to natives. In most OECD-countries the levels of unemployment are higher for immigrants than for natives. The highest ratio is found in the Netherlands and Switzerland, where the chance of being unemployed is 2.9 times higher for immigrants than for natives (OECD, 2009). Furthermore, immigrants who do have a job, occupy jobs with low status and low income. Again, this can be made clear with an example from the Netherlands. Of the Turkish, Moroccan and Antillean immigrants, three out of ten households have got a low income, which is four times higher than among natives (SCP, 2005). Furthermore, even almost half of the Somali, Afghan and Iraqi households in the Netherlands have got a low income (SCP, 2005).

One important explanation for the economic integration of immigrants is the human capital theory. A large number of studies showed that immigrants with a higher education and a good language ability are more likely to be employed, and have a higher occupational status and income than immigrants with low education and poor language ability (SCP, 2009; Van Tubergen, 2006).

This study will focus on another important determinant of economic integration, namely ethnic concentration in the region of living. Immigrants tend to settle in areas where co-ethnics already settled (Chiswick & Miller, 2002). Thus, ethnic or immigrant concentration is defined as 'the tendency of immigrants to concentrate geographically by ethnicity or origin within the host country' (Chiswick & Miller, 2002, p.1).

The relationship between the concentration of a particular minority and the economic standing of the group in a specific area has been studied for more than 40 years now (Beggs, et al. 1997). However, it is scientifically required to study this topic in further detail, because of limitations of previous research. Almost all research that has been carried out, deals within the United States (Kogan & Kalter, 2006), and little is known about the effect of ethnic concentration on immigrant economic outcomes in new receiving countries, i.e. Europe. Therefore, the area in which research is conducted should be expanded to Europe - and other parts of the world - as well.

Previous studies have almost exclusively focused on immigrants' self-employment or income, whereas other economic outcomes were neglected (Chiswick, 2002; Tienda & Lii, 1987; Tolnay, 2001). However, it is possible that the effect of ethnic concentration is different for various economic outcomes. For example, although previous studies have shown that ethnic concentration facilitates immigrants' self-employment (Sanders & Nee, 1987), little is known whether this positive effect of ethnic concentration also holds for occupational status. Furthermore, many studies showed that ethnic concentration has different effects for different immigrant groups. However, little or less attention has been paid to the different effects of ethnic concentration for different immigrant groups and the native-born population.

This research paper will focus on the importance of ethnic concentration on the occupational status of immigrants and natives. For this, the research question is: *What is the role of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes of immigrants and natives?* Based on this question, this study will contribute to the – earlier mentioned – limitations of previous research, namely that this study focuses on a new receiving country, i.e. the Netherlands. Furthermore, there is a focus on another economic outcome than used in previous research, namely occupational status. And, both immigrants and natives are involved in this study.

In this paper, three theories will be tested to explain the role of ethnic concentration, namely the economic threat hypothesis, the ethnic enclave argument and the occupational queuing model.

The economic threat hypothesis states that if the size of an immigrant group increases, the discriminatory actions of the natives will increase as well. This is expected to result in negative effects of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes of immigrants, and positive effects of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes of natives.

The ethnic enclave theory assumes that living in an ethnic enclave might benefit the immigrants, because of larger opportunities to immigrant-owned businesses. This, in turn,

benefits employees of the same immigrant group, because they will be recruited by the immigrant-owned businesses. On the other hand, many researchers argue that working in an ethnic enclave might actually hurt the economic outcomes of immigrants, because of solidarity that precludes the economic opportunities. Because of solidarity, employers pay low wages to their employees. Therefore, there are mixed expectations of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes for immigrants.

The third theory, the occupational queuing model does not only take the own immigrant group into account, but also deals with the size other immigrant groups. This theory is based on the ethnic competition thesis, which states that immigrant groups are competing over the same jobs. The chance of immigrant employment is therefore threatened by the existence of other immigrant groups. The occupational queuing model adds an occupational hierarchy to the ethnic competition thesis. Groups that are low in the hierarchy will occupy low-status jobs, whereas groups higher in the hierarchy occupy higher-status jobs. The immigrant's occupational status is affected by the position of an immigrant group in the occupational hierarchy, but also by the size of the own immigrant group and the size of other immigrant groups. The size of the own and/or other immigrant groups can have a positive or negative effect on the occupational status, which depends on the position in the hierarchy.

In this paper, I first describe the different theories on ethnic concentration and the hypotheses that are derived from these theories. Furthermore, the data and methods will be described. Next, the most important findings will be mentioned. These findings will be used to confirm or reject the hypotheses. Finally, the role of ethnic concentration will be summarized and discussed.

2. Theoretical framework

In this paper, three theories on ethnic concentration are tested: the economic threat hypothesis, the ethnic enclave argument and the occupational queuing model. Another well-known theory is the ethnic competition thesis. This theory will be mentioned briefly, but is not one of the three theories that will be used to investigate the role of ethnic concentration in the Netherlands. The reason for this is that the occupational queuing model relies on practically the same assumptions as the ethnic competition theses, but is more precise. n extension of this theory. Therefore, only the occupational queuing model is tested, whereas the ethnic competition thesis will be left out of account.

In the literature, we can distinguish between theories of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes for immigrants, that focus on endogenous effects and theories that focus on exogenous effects. The endogenous effects of ethnic concentration mean that the outcomes for an individual are influenced by the relative size of his or her own immigrant group. The exogenous effects represent the outcomes for an individual that are influenced by the relative size of another immigrant group (Tolnay, 2001).

Because the ethnic enclave argument only deals with immigrants, the hypotheses of this theory will only focus on immigrants and not on natives. Furthermore, some theories focus on more economic outcomes than solely occupational status. Therefore, the theories will be explained by using also other economic outcomes than occupational status, but the derived hypotheses will only concern the status.

Endogenous effects

The first part of this theory section will concern the endogenous effects of ethnic concentration. The endogenous effects are represented by the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument.

Economic threat hypothesis

To explain the role of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes, the economic threat hypothesis only takes the own immigrant group into account. Thus, this theory concentrates on the endogenous effects of the immigrant group. The economic threat hypothesis predicts that a dominant group – in this case natives - takes action to restrict the opportunities of the immigrant groups. Natives will increase these efforts when the immigrant group gets larger (Tolnay, 2001). Blalock (1956) argued that there is a positive relation between the size of an immigrant group and (1) prejudice towards immigrants, (2) intergroup conflict between natives and immigrants, (3) discrimination towards immigrants and (4) the rate of assimilation of immigrants. Tienda and Lii (1987) state that the positive relationship found by Blalock occurs because an increase in the size of a particular immigrant group heightens the perceived economic and political threat provoked to natives. Consequently, when the size of an immigrant group increases, natives will use more discriminatory actions to restrict the opportunities of these immigrants (Tienda and Lii, 1987).

According to this theory, a high ethnic concentration will be disadvantageous for immigrants (Kogan & Kalter, 2006), because the status of a minority member is mainly

dependent on the extent of discrimination prompted by the majority (Blalock, 1957). Based on this theory it is expected that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a negative effect on immigrants' occupational status (hypothesis 1A).*

Although Glenn (1963) does not mention the economic threat hypothesis, his range of ideas is useful for this theory. Glenn focuses on the subordination of immigrants by natives. He hypothesizes that the occupational status of natives is higher in areas in which discrimination against immigrants is greater. Furthermore, he assumes that the occupational status of natives is higher in areas with a large percentages of immigrants, because of higher levels of discrimination of the native population. Blalock (1957) puts forward that the greater the discrimination, the smaller the amount of immigrants that is in competition with natives, which is beneficial for natives. Based on this theory I expect that ethnic concentration has as positive effect on native's economic outcomes. Therefore, the hypothesis is that *the size of the immigrant group will have a positive effect on natives' occupational status (hypothesis 1B).*

Ethnic enclave argument

The ethnic enclave perspective has been introduced by Wilson and Portes (1980) and Portes and Stepick (1985). Portes and Stepick (1985) argue that a distinction in the labour market should not only concern the primary and secondary labour market, but also ethnic economies or ethnic enclaves. An enclave is defined as "consisting of immigrant groups which concentrate in a distinct spatial location and organize a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or the great population. Their main characteristic is that a significant proportion of the immigrant work force works in enterprises owned by other immigrants" (Portes, 1981, p. 291).

Portes and Manning (1986) argue that three conditions should be present in order to make an ethnic enclave economy occur. First, there must be a substantial number of immigrants, who already obtained business experience in the country of origin. Second, there must be enough sources of capital. Third, enough sources of labour have to be present. If these three conditions are present, an ethnic enclave may arise (Portes & Manning, 1986).

For immigrants, the presence of such an ethnic enclave might be beneficial (Zhou & Logan, 1999). Enclaves consist of immigrant-owned businesses. As employees, immigrants – of the same nationality - who often just arrived in the host society are hired, because these employees do not speak the language of the host society and because they do not have information of the particular labour market. These businesses seem to be the same as regular

small businesses. However, these immigrant-owned businesses lead to opportunities of mobility for these immigrants, because immigrants have a shared cultural bond to survive economically (Portes & Stepick, 1985).

In addition, ethnic enclaves are based on solidarity; employers have obligations to their employees. Employees start in the lower jobs. When a higher job becomes vacant, the employer will promote the employees into this higher jobs instead of hiring someone from outside of the enclave. This principle leads to mobility for employees within their ethnic enclave and thus to a higher occupational status (Portes & Stepick, 1985).

Portes (1981) also declares that the returns of human capital of immigrants are significantly higher in an enclave economy that in the regular black market. Furthermore, the employment and occupational prospects of minorities are higher in an ethnic enclave (Kogan & Kalter, 2006). Another advantage of ethnic enclaves is that they protect their immigrants to other social groups, with which they would normally compete on the labour market (Zhou & Logan, 1989).

The effects of ethnic enclaves can be distinguished into a strong and a weak version (Tolnay, 2001). A strong version assumes a positive linear relationship between the size of the immigrant group and their economic outcomes. When this relationship is only positive under the condition of a relatively large group, Tolnay (2001) argues it to be the weak version. In that case, the relationship between the size and the economic outcomes will be non-linear, in which the slope is relatively flat until a relatively very large group of immigrants is present (Tolnay, 2001).

Based on the ethnic enclave argument, it is expected that the size of the own immigrant groups has a positive effect on immigrants' chances of employment and occupational status. Because this study focuses on occupational status, the hypothesis is that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a positive effect on immigrants' occupational status (hypothesis 2A).*

Although these arguments point to a positive effect of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes for immigrants, other implications of these theory point into another direction. Sanders and Nee (1987) argue that the economic outcomes of working in an ethnic enclave are only favourable when this economy is not compared with the open society. In addition, Sanders and Nee (1987) state that a comparison has to be made between immigrants in the enclave society and the open society in general, and not just to immigrants in that open society. Furthermore, they note that in earlier research employees and employers are taken together. Sanders and Nee (1987) argue that self-employed workers

are in advantage of employees in the private sector. These authors also argue that ethnic solidarity is not beneficial for employees, because it is used by employers to keep their wages low (Sanders & Nee, 1987). These wages are kept low in order to make it possible for the minority-owned business to survive (Portes & Stepick, 1985). It is therefore concluded that the advantages of working in an ethnic enclave might not be as positive as expected earlier (Sanders & Nee, 1987).

In accordance to this criticism, Li (1977) notes that ethnic solidarity might hurt future economic achievement of enclave workers. This author asserts that workers who depend on kinship or ethnic group assistance, may get caught in obligations to other workers and employers. These obligations preclude their own economic opportunities (Li, 1977).

Although in the previous hypothesis a positive effect of ethnic concentration on occupational status is expected - because of the obligations of employers to promote employees to higher vacant positions -, a negative effect on the occupational status is expected by Sanders and Nee (1987) and Li (1977). Furthermore, the limits of ethnic solidarity point to lower earnings, because of lowered economic opportunities. Although, this theory does not only focus on occupational status, only this aspect of economic outcomes is studied in this paper, therefore the hypothesis is that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a negative effect on immigrants' occupational status (Hypothesis 2B).*

Exogenous effects

Previous theories focused on the relationship between the own immigrant group and the economic outcomes for immigrants of that particular group. The occupational queuing model that will be discussed now concern the relationship between the size of other immigrant groups and immigrants' economic outcomes. Therefore, these effects are exogenous. Although the occupational queuing model is placed into the exogenous effects, it should be noted that the occupational queuing model predicts both endogenous as exogenous effects, because this theories takes the own immigrant group as well as other immigrant groups into account.

Occupational queuing model

The occupational queuing model states that not only the size of the own immigrant group affects the economic outcomes, but also the size of other immigrant groups is expected to influence the economic outcomes of immigrants. This theory relies on the

assumptions of the ethnic competiton thesis in that competition occurs when several groups are fighting over the same jobs (Tolnay, 2001). Immigrants and natives do not compete with each other on the labour market. Natives occupy the higher and better paid jobs, for which immigrants are not competing, because immigrants occupy lower jobs. Therefore, competition occurs between the several immigrant groups and not between immigrants and natives. This competition threatens the chances of employment for the immigrant groups (Kogan & Kalter, 2006). An increase in the size of another immigrant group will therefore hurt the economic outcomes of the own immigrant group.

According to the occupational queuing model, applicants for a job can be placed in a hierarchy, which is based on ethnicity (Kogan & Kalter, 2006). Natives are on top of this hierarchy and the highest groups fill the highest occupations. Likewise, the lowest groups in the hierarchy occupy the lowest jobs. For example, Kogan and Kalter (2006) investigated the situation in Austria, where native-Austrians are on top of the hierarchy and ex-Yugoslavs are positioned higher in the hierarchy than Turks.

The size of the immigrant groups is important, because of the spill-over effect. This means that if the size of the lower positioned group in the hierarchy increases, there are not enough low status jobs for this lower group to occupy. As a result, members of this immigrant group will spill-over to higher status jobs (Glenn, 1964; Tienda and Lii, 1987). This spill-over effect also affects the occupational status of other immigrant groups in the hierarchy, because these higher positioned immigrant groups are, in turn, pushed upwards as well. Thus, according to the occupational queuing model, the occupational status of immigrants is affected by the size of the own immigrant group, the size of other immigrant groups and the position in the occupational hierarchy.

Whether the relationship between the size of the immigrant group and the occupational status is positive, depends on the position of the immigrant group in the hierarchy. According to the occupational queuing model, an increase in the size of a group low positioned in the hierarchy, increases the occupational status of the own immigrant group and of the immigrant groups higher in the hierarchy (Kogan & Kalter, 2006). Therefore I expect: *the size of the immigrant group that occupies the lower position in the hierarchy, will have a positive effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the higher positioned group (Hypothesis 3A).*

Furthermore, an increase in the size of a higher positioned group has a negative effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group as well as on the lower positioned immigrant groups, because both groups are pushed downwards in the

occupational hierarchy (Kogan & Kalter, 2006). This makes me expect that *the size of the immigrant group that occupies the higher position in the hierarchy will have a negative effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the lower positioned group (Hypothesis 3B).*

The occupational status of the native-born population will also benefit by a large number of immigrants, because natives are pushed out from the lower status jobs in areas with a high number of immigrants (McCreary et al., 1989). Therefore, it is expected that *the size of the immigrant group has a positive effect on natives' occupational status (Hypothesis 3C).*

Applying the occupational queuing model to the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, natives are on top of the ethnic hierarchy, followed by the Caribbean immigrants (i.e. Antilleans and Surinamese). The Mediterranean immigrants (i.e. Moroccans and Turks) are on the bottom of this hierarchy (Verkuyten, 1999). When applied to the occupational queuing model, the Caribbean immigrants are thus the higher positioned group, whereas the Mediterranean immigrants are the lower positioned group.

Given the occupational queuing model, this leads to the following three hypotheses:

The size of the Mediterranean immigrant group, will have a positive effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the Caribbean immigrant group (hypothesis 3A);

The size of the Caribbean immigrant group, will have a negative effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the Mediterranean immigrant group (hypothesis 3B);

The size of the Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrant groups, will have a positive effect on natives' occupational status (Hypothesis 3C).

Summarised predictions of theories

The predictions of the three theories are summarised in table 1. In short, the economic threat hypothesis expects a negative effect of ethnic concentration on the occupational status of immigrants, but a positive effect of ethnic concentration for natives. The ethnic enclave argument does not provide one clear expectation, because contradicting

hypotheses can be formulated; this theory predicts that ethnic concentration might have a positive or negative effect for the occupational status of immigrants. In this theory, natives are not involved and therefore, predictions on the outcomes for natives are not formulated. The third theory – the occupational queuing model – predicts that a positive effect for the lower and higher immigrant groups occurs if the size of the lower immigrant group increases. In case of the Netherlands, the theory predicts that the size of the Mediterranean immigrant group has a positive effect on the occupational status of the Mediterranean immigrants themselves and on the occupational status of the Caribbean immigrants. On the other hand, if the size of the higher positioned group increases, this will have a negative effect on the occupational status of the lower positioned and own immigrant group. Applied to the Netherlands this means that the size of the Caribbean immigrant group has a negative effect on the occupational status of Caribbean and Mediterranean immigrants.

Table 1: Predictions of the role of ethnic concentration on occupational status in the Netherlands.

	Immigrant groups occupying lower position in occupational hierarchy (Mediterranean immigrants)		*Immigrant groups occupying higher positions in occupational hierarchy (Caribbean immigrants)*		*Natives*
	% Mediterranean immigrants	*% Caribbean immigrants*	*% Caribbean immigrants*	*% Mediterranean immigrants*	*% immigrants*
Economic threat	-		-		+
Ethnic enclave	+ / -		+/ -		
Occupational queuing	+	-	-	+	+

Empirical findings of previous research

Many research has been done on the role of ethnic concentration. In this part the empirical findings from these studies are summarized. Although I focus on occupational status in this paper, in this section also other economic outcomes are mentioned.

Economic threat hypothesis. Previous research – which was all conducted in the United States, except for the study on Austria by Kogan and Kalter from 2006 - found mixed findings regarding the size of the immigrant group and their economic outcomes. A negative effect of ethnic concentration on the occupational status and income of immigrants was found (Cohen, 1998; Frisbie & Neidert, 1977). Furthermore, a negative effect was also found in that an association was found between ethnic concentration and a higher level of poverty (Saenz, 1997). Besides, the gap between the occupational status of blacks and whites was demonstrated to be larger in areas with larger ethnic concentration (Burr et al., 1991; Shin & Lee, 1990).

On the other hand, it is also proven that ethnic concentration can have positive effects. McCreary et al. (1989) showed that the chances of employment for blacks are lower when the size of the black group increases, but at an ever decreasing rate. When the size of a black immigrant group reaches the fifty percent, the size of blacks is positively related to their chance on employment. Furthermore, other studies pointed to a non-significant effect of ethnic concentration on the occupational status of immigrants (Glenn, 1964; Tolnay, 2001).

The results of previous research regarding the effect of ethnic concentration on the economic outcomes of natives are more clear. Most studies found a positive relationship between the number of immigrants and the economic outcomes of natives. First, the occupational status of natives is positively related to ethnic concentration (Cohen, 1988; Kogan & Kalter, 2006; Tolnay, 2001). Second, also positive effects of ethnic concentration on the earnings of natives are found (Cohen, 1998; Glenn, 1964). Third, ethnic concentration has a positive effect on the chance of employment for natives (McCreary et al., 1989). Although Tienda and Lii (1987) agreed with the previous in that whites benefit from a large concentration of immigrants, they specified that only the higher educated whites benefit from ethnic concentration.

Ethnic enclave argument. Previous research found mixed results for the ethnic enclave argument. All mentioned studies here were done within the United States, except for the study of Clark and Drinkwater (2002), who focussed on minorities in England.

If the population consists of a large amount of immigrants, the size of the immigrant group works in the advantage of these immigrants regarding their chances of employment (McCreary et al., 1989; Tolnay, 2001) and occupational status (McCreary et al., 1989; Model, 1985; Tolnay, 2001). On the other hand, previous research showed that immigrants

do not have higher chances on employment in ethnic enclaves than in the regular economy (Logan et al. 2003). Immigrants in ethnic enclaves might actually have a high risk on unemployment and the occupational status of immigrants is negatively related to ethnic concentration (Clarke & Drinkwater, 2002). Also negative effects of ethnic concentration on immigrants' earnings were found (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Frisbie & Neidert, 1977; Gilbertson, 1995; Sanders & Nee, 1987).

Occupational queuing model. The occupational queuing model found support in previous research. Again, most research has been carried out within the United States, with the exception of Kogan and Kalter's study in 2006 on the case of Austria.

It is proven that the size of the lower positioned immigrant groups is positively related to the occupational status of the own immigrant group and that of the higher positioned group (Kogan & Kalter, 2006; Tolnay, 2001). Furthermore, the size of the higher positioned group has a negative effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group (Kogan & Kalter, 2006; Tolnay, 2001) and the lower positioned group (Kogan & Kalter, 2006).

The hypothesis of the occupational queuing model that natives benefit occupationally by ethnic concentration is supported by previous research (Kogan & Kalter, 2006; McCreary et al. 1989; Tienda & Lii, 1987; Tolnay, 2001).

Of these three theories, the occupational queuing model found most support in previous research.

3. Data and Methods

In this section I will present the data and method used to empirically test the theories on ethnic concentration in the Netherlands. First, I will describe the dependent variable, which is occupational status. Second, I will present the measurement of the main independent variable. Finally, the dataset and methods will be discussed.

Dependent variable: occupational status

To test the theories in the Netherlands, the occupational status is used as the dependent variable. In this study the occupational status is measured by the International Socio-Index scale. The ISEI scale indicates the status of the ranked occupations. The occupations are ranked on the scale, based on the average income and education in each

occupation category. The scale ranges from sixteen (low-status jobs, i.e. cleaners) to ninety (highest-status jobs, i.e. judges).

Independent variable: ethnic concentration

The main independent variable in this study is ethnic concentration. As in many other studies ethnic concentration is measured by the percentage of a particular immigrant group in a certain area (Beggs et al., 1997; Cohen, 1998 Glenn, 1964; McCreary et al., 1989; Tienda & Lii, 1987; Tolnay, 2001; Zhou & Logan, 1989),.

In this study the percentages of four immigrant groups – Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans – in the municipality are used to measure the level of ethnic concentration. Due to the small sample size of the four immigrant groups, the Turkish and Moroccan immigrants are combined to the Mediterranean immigrants, and the Surinamese and Antillean immigrants are taken together as Caribbean immigrants. Therefore, also the percentage of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the municipality are taken together. Likewise, the percentages of Surinamese and Antillean immigrants in the municipality are combined to represent the percentage of Caribbean immigrants.

Other independent variables

In the analysis I also include other factors that are important for the economic integration of immigrants.

Immigrant group. Respondents were asked to which ethnicity group they belong. For this, five answering categories are used; Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antillean and natives. As mentioned before, the focus lays on Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants and natives.

Education. Education is used as a human capital characteristic. The educational level of the respondent is measured by asking the respondents for their highest completed education. In this study the educational level is measured as the highest educational level completed in the country of origin and in the Netherlands. The educational level thus combines the highest education completed in the Netherlands with the highest education completed in the country of origin. The categories of this variable are 'No education', 'BAO', 'VBO', 'MAVO', 'MBO', 'HAVO', 'VWO', 'HBO' and 'WO'. BAO is the lowest education, which indicates elementary education. VBO can internationally be seen as preparatory vocational education. MAVO is now known as VMBO and indicates the preparatory secondary vocational education. MBO equals senior secondary vocational

education. HAVO represents higher general secondary education, whereas VWO means pre-university education. HBO and WO are seen as the higher educations, in which HBO is equal to higher professional education. WO is the highest education and is the scientific education (Onderwijsraad, 2009).

Years of stay in the Netherlands. Years of stay in the Netherlands is the second human capital variable in this study. The respondents of the four immigrant groups are asked for how many years they have been living in the Netherlands now. All native Dutch respondents have a missing value on this variable. However, because this variable might be an important variable in explaining the occupational status of immigrants, the variable has to be included. Therefore, the missing values of natives are replaced by the age of the native respondents, assuming that Dutch natives lived in the Netherlands their whole life. Because for the full sample, the correlation between years of stay in the Netherlands and age is high (Pearson's correlation 0,548, with a significance of 0,000), age is not included in the analysis.

Language problems. Similar to education and years of stay in the Netherlands, problems with the Dutch language are included as a human capital characteristic. Language skills might be an important explanation of the differences in occupational status between the two immigrant groups and Dutch natives. Respondents are asked whether they have problems with the Dutch language. A high value of (3) indicates that they never have problems with the Dutch language, (2) means that they sometimes have problems and (1) means that they often have problems with the Dutch languages. For Dutch natives this variable has missing values, therefore this variable is recoded such that native Dutch respondents get a value of (3) – never problems – on this variable.

Gender. The gender variable is used as a control variable in the analysis. This variable is recoded into the dummy variable 'male', for which a value of (1) indicates that the respondent is male.

Martial status. The answering categories for the question on marital status are as follows: living alone, married (living together), married (divorced), living together and unmarried. For occupational status it might be important whether a respondent is living together with a partner. Therefore, the variable is recoded into a new variable with only two categories: living with a partner, and not living with a partner. The first category contains married (living together) and living together, whereas the latter category is constructed by the variables living alone, married (divorced) and unmarried.

In the article of Kogan and Kalter (2006) the *unemployment rate* is used as an indicator. However, because the correlation between the unemployment rate and the percentage of the immigrants in the municipality is high (Pearson's correlation of ,647 with a significance of 0,000 for Caribbean immigrants and a Pearson's correlation of ,260 with a significance of 0,000 for Mediterranean immigrants), the unemployment rate will not be included in the analysis.

Dataset

The dataset for this study comes from the Social Position and Use of Welfare Facilities by Immigrants, of which the wave of 1998 is used. This cross-sectional dataset contains information on the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, namely Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans Additionally, Dutch natives are questioned as well for this survey. The data were gathered to gain insight in the socio-economic situation of the immigrants and natives, by interviewing the head of the household for the main part of the questionnaire (DANS, 1998). The dataset contains a random sample of Dutch people. However, the immigrants are over sampled in this dataset.

Sample

The dataset contains male and female respondents, who are native Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean in the age of sixteen to 95 years old. The sample of this study will contain both men and women, of all ethnic groups. However, a restriction is made based on age. Respondents have to be in the range of eighteen to 65 years old. This is because people below 18 are probably still enrolled in education and people above 65 are not working. The sample is described in more detail in the descriptive statistics table in the result section.

Analysis

As mentioned, to describe the sample, descriptive statistics are used. Before calculating the descriptive statistics, all respondents having a missing value on one or more of the independent variables are excluded. After this transformation, 6116 respondents are remaining for the descriptive statistics. Of these respondents only 3421 respondents have a valid value on the dependent variable.

Because I also present the % of unemployed people in our sample, people without a job and thus without a current occupational status are still included in the descriptive table. The number of unemployed respondents is 2501.

To explain the effect of ethnic concentration on the occupational status, a regression model is used. To investigate the role of the different independent variables, the regression contains two models. The first model contains the variables on the immigrants groups, the percentages of Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants in the municipality, the control variables gender and marital status, and the human capital characteristics education, years of stay in the Netherlands and language. To test the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument, one interaction term regarding the total immigrant group is included in model 2. For the occupational queuing model, four interaction terms – regarding the Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants – are included in the second model.

4. Results

In this section the results of the analysis will be shown. First, the descriptive statistics are presented. Second, the results of the regression analysis are shown. And third, a verdict on the hypotheses is given.

In table 3 the regression model is shown, which is used to test the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument. In this model the total percentage of immigrants in the municipality is used. The occupational queuing model is tested in table 4, in which the percentages of Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants are included separately. This separation makes it possible to test the effect of the size of the own immigrant group on the occupational status of the own and other immigrant group.

Attention has to be paid to the interpretation of the variable of the percentage of immigrants/Mediterranean's/Caribbean's in the municipality. The interpretation of this variable in model 1 is different from the interpretation in model 2. The percentage of immigrants in model 1, indicates the effect of the percentage immigrants in the municipality on the occupational status in general. In model 2 this variable has to be interpreted as the effect of the percentage of immigrants on the occupational status of natives. The similar holds for the regression model with Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants; in model these percentages represent the effect of the size of these immigrant groups on the occupational status in general, whereas these percentages in model 2 indicate their effect on the occupational status of natives.

<u>Descriptive statistics</u>

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics of the used variables of this study. The total statistics – of all three groups together – are shown, as well as the statistics for each of the three groups separately. These descriptive statistics point to several differences between the two immigrant groups and the native-Dutch respondents.

The mean of the dependent variable – the occupational status, measured on the ISEI scale - shows strong differences between the three groups. Mediterranean respondents have the lowest occupational status (32,213), followed by the Caribbean respondents (42,332). Native Dutch respondents have the highest occupational status (49,789) of these three groups. The descriptive statistics also show that the variation of the occupational status – as seen by the standard deviation – is smallest for Mediterranean's (12,451 compared to 15,721 of Mediterranean immigrants and 16,285 for the native population).

To investigate whether immigrants have a significant lower occupational status than natives, an independent samples t-test is performed. This test shows that a significant difference exists between the occupational status of Mediterranean immigrants and natives (t = -25,437, with a significance of 0,000); Mediterranean immigrants have a significant lower occupational status than native Dutch respondents. Furthermore, also Caribbean immigrants have a significant lower occupational status than natives (t = -10,264, with a significance of 0,000). Finally, Mediterranean immigrants have a significant lower occupational status than Caribbean immigrants (t = -18,453, with a significance of 0,000).

The level of education is an important variable to explain occupational status. Mediterranean respondents have the lowest education of the three groups, whereas natives have the highest education. The Caribbean respondents are in between the two, with their education being more close to that of the natives than to that of the Mediterranean respondents.

Mediterranean respondents do not only have the lowest education, they are also less often employed (49,8%) than Caribbean and native respondents. In comparison with natives (57,2%), Caribbean's are more often employed (63,4%).

The years of stay in the Netherlands are quite similar for Mediterranean and Caribbean respondents (respectively 17,645 years and 17,539 years). For natives, the value on this variable is equal to their age, which leads to a very high average (41,829), compared to that of Caribbean's and Mediterranean's.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of variables, for each separate group.

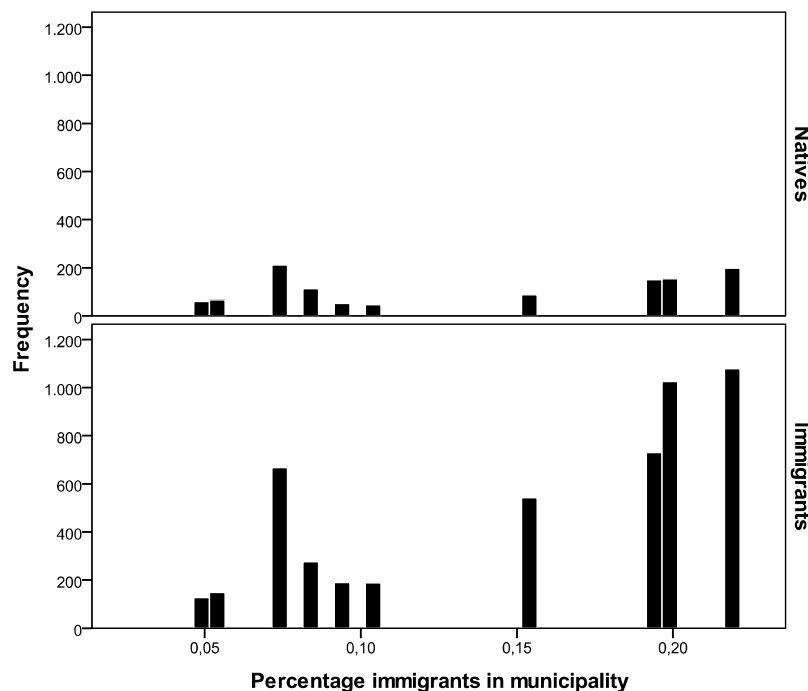| Variable	Mediterranean N= 2669	Caribbean N=2309	Natives N = 1138	Total N = 6116
ISEI				
Mean	32,213	42,332	49,789	40,354
Std. dev.	12,451	15,721	16,512	16,285
Range	16 -85	16 - 88	16 - 88	16 - 88
	N= 1239	N = 1408	N = 774	N = 3421
Education				
Mean	1,73	3,25	4,27	2,78
Std. dev.	2,158	2,286	2,441	2,468
Range	0 - 8	0 – 8	0 - 8	0 - 8
Employed (%)	49,8	63,4	57,2	59,1
Years of stay in the Netherlands				
Mean	17,645	17,539	41,829	22,105
Std. dev.	8,833	9,507	11,686	13,509
Range	0 – 39,5	0 – 51,3	18 - 65	0 - 65
Language problems				
Mean	1,94	2,75	3,00	2,44
Std. dev.	0,777	0,499	0,000	0,750
Range	1 - 3	1 - 3	1 - 3	1 - 3
Male (%)	83,8	46,0	57,2	64,4
Marital Status (%)				
Living with partner	79,4	44,2	60,2	62,5
Not living with partner	20,6	55,8	39,8	37,5
Mediterranean concentration (%)	8,85	8,39	7,62	8,45
Std. dev.	2,7	3,2	3,3	3,0
Range	2 - 12	2 - 12	2 - 12	2 - 12
Caribbean concentration (%)	7,18	7,33	6,27	7,07
Std. dev.	3,9	3,6	4,0	3,8
Range	1 -11	1 - 11	1 - 11	1 - 11

Also the problems with the Dutch language are shown in table 2. A high value indicates less problems with the Dutch language. Mediterranean respondents have more problems with the Dutch language (1,94) than Caribbean respondents. It is also shown that Caribbean respondents have only few problems with the Dutch language, as can be seen by the high number (2,75) that is close to the value of 3 that indicates no problems at all.

The percentage of male respondents differs strongly between the Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrant groups. 46,0% of the Caribbean respondents is male, whereas this is 83,8% for Mediterranean respondents and 57,2% for native respondents. Because only head of the household were interviewed in the survey, this indicates that Caribbean women are

more often head of the household than Mediterranean women. This result is in line with the frequencies on whether a respondent lives with a partner or not. Mediterranean respondents live more often with a partner (79,4%) than Caribbean immigrants (44,2%) and natives (60,2%). As mentioned, Caribbean women are most often head of the household, probably because they more often live by themselves than Mediterranean immigrants.

Furthermore, the statistics show that the percentage of Caribbean's in the municipality is higher for Caribbean respondents than for Mediterranean respondents. Likewise, the percentage of Mediterranean immigrants in the municipality is higher for Mediterranean immigrants than for Caribbean immigrants. Furthermore, the percentage of both Mediterranean concentration and Caribbean concentration is lower for natives than for the two immigrant groups. This can also been seen in figure 1, which shows the frequencies for the distribution of the percentage of immigrants, separate for natives and immigrants.

Figure 1: Distribution percentage immigrants among natives and immigrants

In this figure, the bars for immigrants are higher than the bars for natives. However, this does not say anything, because the number of immigrants in this study is much higher than the number of natives. Therefore, one should look at the distribution of the frequencies. Figure 1 clearly shows that immigrants more often live in a municipality with a higher immigrant concentration than natives, which can be seen by the larger bars at the right end of the distribution. The distribution of natives is more equally spread than the distribution of immigrants.

Regression analysis: Economic threat hypothesis and Ethnic enclave argument

To test the hypotheses of the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument, a regression analysis is performed in which the total group of immigrants (Caribbean and Mediterranean combined) is included. Because of the problem of multicollinearity, a regression model with the centered variable of the percentage of immigrants in the municipality is performed. However, using the centered variables did not improve the model. Therefore, the regression model is performed with the non-centered variables. The results are shown in table 3.

In model 1 it can be seen that the percentage of immigrants does not have a significant effect on the occupational status in general. This model also shows that no significant difference in occupational status between immigrants and – the reference category - natives exist. Furthermore, model 1 also indicates that no significant effect of gender and living with a partner on the occupational status is present. However, the human capital variables do have a significant effect on occupational status; education, years of stay in the Netherlands and having less problems with the Dutch language have a positive significant effect.

Model 1 of this regression model explains 42% of variance in the dependent variable occupational status, which is a significant improvement of the empty model (F change = 352,991, with a significance of 0,000).

In model 2, the percentage of immigrants in the municipality is again not significant. This means that there is no significant effect of the percentage of immigrants on the occupational status of natives. The non-significance of the difference in occupational status between immigrants and natives – that was found in model 1 – still remains. Furthermore, the interaction term does not yield significant effects, which means that the percentage of immigrants does not have a significant effect on the occupational of immigrants themselves. Similar to model 1, model 2 shows no significant effects of gender and living with a partner. In accordance to model 1, education, years of stay in the Netherlands, and having no/few problems with the Dutch language significantly affect the occupational status in a positive way.

Model 2 still explains 42% of the variance in the occupational status. Adding the interaction term thus does not explain more than using only the variables of model 1 (F-change = 0,648 with a significance of 0,421).

Table 3: Results (unstandardized coefficients and standard errors) from the Regression of ISEI scores of males and females in the age of 18 -65 in the Netherlands (total immigrants)

Variables	*Model 1*	*Model 2*
Dutch natives	0	0
Immigrants	0,032 (0,757)	-0,884 (1,367)
% Immigrants	-1,001 (3,543)	-5,883 (7,024)
Male (= 1)	-0,273 (0,505)	-0,275 (0,505)
Living with partner (= 1)	0,408 (0,495)	0,400 (0,495)
Education	3,434*** (0,093)	3,44*** (0,093)
Years of stay in the Netherlands	0,226*** (0,024)	0,226*** (0,024)
Language problems	2,982*** (0,375)	2,967*** (0,375)
Interactions		
Immigrants x % Immigrants		6,520 (8,099)
Intercept	15,931*** (1,561)	16,610*** (1,775)

Note: *P < 0.10, **P < 0.05, ***P < 0.01.

Hypotheses Economic threat hypothesis and Ethnic enclave argument

The interaction term in model 2 is not significant, which means that there is no significant effect of the percentage immigrants on the occupational status of these immigrants. This means there is neither a positive effect nor a negative effect of the percentage immigrants on their occupational status. Therefore, hypothesis 1A - of the economic threat hypothesis - that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a negative effect on immigrants' occupational status* is not supported. Furthermore, these results also indicate that hypothesis 2A – of the ethnic enclave argument – that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a positive effect on immigrants' occupational status* and hypothesis 2B – of the ethnic enclave argument - that *the size of the own immigrant group will have a negative effect on immigrants' occupational status* is not confirmed either.

Table 3 also gives the effect of the percentage immigrants on the occupational status of natives, which is indicated by the variable '% immigrants' in model 2. This variable yields a non-significant result, which means that no significant effect of the percentage immigrants on the occupational status of natives occurs. Based on this result, hypothesis 1B – of the economic threat hypothesis – that *the size of the immigrant group will have a positive effect on natives' occupational status* is not confirmed.

None of the derived hypotheses from the economic threat hypothesis and ethnic enclave argument, yield significant results. Therefore, it is shown that the percentage of immigrants in the municipality does not have an effect on the occupational status of immigrants themselves. Furthermore, it is shown that the percentage immigrants does not have an effect on natives' occupational status either.

Regression analysis: occupational queuing model

In order to test the occupational queuing model, a regression analysis with variables separate for Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants is performed. It should be noted that the percentage Mediterranean immigrants and Caribbean immigrants correlates highly and significant (Pearson's correlation 0,552, with a significance of 0,000). Therefore, two additional analyses were performed. In the first only the effect of Mediterranean immigrants was taken into account. This means that the percentage Caribbean's, the effect of Caribbean's on Caribbean's and the effect of Caribbean's on Mediterranean's was not included in the analysis. In the second regression analysis, this was the other way around; only the effect of the size of the Caribbean immigrant group was taken into account. However, the results of these two separate analyses did hardly differ from the model in which all variables were included. Therefore, in the table both the percentage of Mediterranean immigrants and the percentage of Caribbean immigrants are included in the model.

In model 1 of table 4, in which human capital variables are included, the percentage of Mediterranean immigrants in the municipality does not have a significant effect on the occupational status. The same holds for the percentage of Caribbean immigrants in the municipality. This model also points to a significant difference in occupational status between Mediterranean immigrants and natives; the occupational status of Mediterranean immigrants is significantly lower – at the .05 level - than the occupational status of natives. The difference in occupational status between Caribbean immigrants and natives is not significant. In addition, no significant effect of gender and living with a partner is found. Similar to the regression model to test the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument, the human capital variables do significantly contribute to a higher occupational status; education, years of stay in the Netherlands and language skills all have a positive significant effect on occupational status.

The variables in model 1 explain 42,6% of occupational status, which is a significant change from the empty model (F-change = 281,326, with a significance of 0,000).

Table 4: Results (unstandardized coefficients and standard errors) from the Regression of ISEI scores of males and females in the age of 18 -65 in the Netherlands (Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
Dutch natives	0	0
Mediterranean immigrants	-2,850** (0,900)	-3,223* (1,758)
Caribbean immigrants	0,653 (0,760)	-0,834 (1,538)
% Mediterranean immigrants	-5,389 (8,021)	-15,319(16,455)
% Caribbean immigrants	4,696 (6,566)	4,401 (13,832)
Male (= 1)	0,528 (0,520)	0,564 (0,522)
Living with partner (= 1)	0,710 (0,495)	0,704 (0,496)
Education	3,365*** (0,094)	3,371** (0,94)
Years of stay in the Netherlands	0,213*** (0,024)	0,214*** (0,025)
Language problems	2,006*** (0,407)	1,983*** (0,407)
Interactions		
Mediterranean's x % Mediterranean's		5,928 (21,639)
Mediterranean's x % Caribbean's		-0,300 (17,071)
Caribbean's x % Caribbean's		1,746 (17,718)
Caribbean's x % Mediterranean's		17,529 (20,508)
Intercept	18,994***	19,746***
	(1,640)	(1,872)

Note: *$P < 0.10$, **$P < 0.05$, ***$P < 0.01$.

In model 2 of table 4, the interaction terms are included. The percentage of Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrants does not have a significant effect on the occupational status of natives. Still, the difference in occupational status – found in model 1- between Mediterranean immigrants and natives is significant, whereas the difference in occupational status between Caribbean immigrants and natives remains non-significant. With the independent t-test a significant difference was proven between the occupational status of Caribbean immigrants and natives. In the regression analysis, this difference is no longer significant. The lower occupational status of Caribbean immigrants, if not controlled for other variables, can therefore be explained by other variables.

Besides, none of the interaction terms gain a significant result. This means that there is neither an effect of the percentage of Mediterranean immigrants in the municipality on the occupational status of Mediterranean immigrants themselves nor on the occupational status

of Caribbean immigrants. The non-significant interaction terms also indicate that there is neither an effect of the percentage Caribbean immigrants in the municipality on the occupational status of their own immigrant group, nor on the occupational status of the Mediterranean immigrant group. Model 2 furthermore indicates no significant effect of gender and living with a partner on occupational status. Similar to the previous model and the regression model in table 3, significant positive effects of education, years of stay in the Netherlands and language skills on the occupational status are demonstrated. Thus, the human capital characteristics have a positive impact on the occupational status.

The variables in model 2 explain 42,6% of the dependent variable occupational status. Adding the interactions terms thus did not improve the model, since the explained variance is equal to that of model 1 (F-change = 0,353, with a significance of 0,842).

Hypotheses: occupational queuing model

By using the regression model – as presented in table 4 – a verdict can be given on the hypotheses of the occupational queuing model.

Although the coefficients of the effect of the percentage Mediterranean's on the own immigrant group and on the Caribbean immigrant group is in the right direction (positive), the effect is not significant. Also the effect of the percentage of Mediterranean immigrants on the occupational status of Caribbean's was in the right direction, but not significant. Thus, the size of the Mediterranean immigrant group does not have an effect on either the own Mediterranean immigrant group or the Caribbean immigrant group. Therefore, hypothesis 3A: *the size of the Mediterranean immigrant group will have a positive effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the Caribbean immigrant group* is not confirmed.

The effect of the size of the Caribbean immigrant group on the occupational status of the own immigrant group is not in the expected direction. However, this result is not significant. The coefficient of the effect of the size of the Caribbean immigrant group on the Mediterranean immigrant group is in line with the hypothesis, but the hypothesis cannot be confirmed, because the effect is not significant. Thus, the size of the Caribbean immigrant group does not have an effect on the own immigrant group or the Mediterranean immigrant group. Therefore, hypothesis 3B that stated that t*he size of the Caribbean immigrant group will have a negative effect on the occupational status of the own immigrant group and the Mediterranean immigrant group* is not supported confirmed.

As can be seen in table 4 neither the size of the Mediterranean immigrant group nor the size of the Caribbean immigrant group has a significant effect on the occupational status of natives. Therefore, the hypothesis that *the size of the Mediterranean and Caribbean immigrant group will have a positive effect natives' occupational status* (3C) is not confirmed either.

Because none of the hypotheses is supported, it can be argued that ethnic concentration does not have an effect on the occupational status of immigrants in total nor on the occupational status of Mediterranean immigrants, Caribbean immigrants or natives.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In this study three theories on ethnic concentration are tested in the Netherlands, namely the economic threat hypothesis, the ethnic enclave argument and the occupational queuing model. This study contributed to previous research on ethnic concentration in several ways. First, this study focussed on the Netherlands, a new receiving country. Second, another aspect of economic outcomes – i.e. occupational status – is used. And third, both immigrants and natives are included in this research.

This study focussed on natives and immigrant groups. First, the total percentage of immigrants (i.e. the % Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans) in the municipality is used. This variable is used to test the economic threat hypothesis and the ethnic enclave argument. Second, two variables on seperate immigrant groups were used, namely Mediterranean immigrants (i.e. Turks and Moroccons) and Caribbean immigrants (i.e. Antilleans and Surinamese). Therefore, also the percentages of Turks and Moroccans, and Antilleans and Surinamese are taken together. These variables are used to test the occupational queuing model. The effect of ethnic concentration is in both cases tested by using a regression analysis with occupational status as the dependent variable.

The results did neither support the economic threat hypothesis, the ethnic enclave argument nor the occupational queuing model. This study showed that the percentage of Caribbean immigrants, Mediterranean immigrants or the total percentage immigrants in the municipality has no significant effect on the occupational status of the immigrant groups or the native population.

There are several reasons for these unexpected results. It should be noted that the ethnic enclave argument is tested in this study on the general hypothesis. However, it could be that in the Netherlands no clear ethnic enclaves exists - such as the Cubans in Miami or

the Chinese in San Francisco - that could affect the occupational status of immigrants. In this study the Mediterranean immigrants only make up approximately 7% of the municipality. The Caribbean immigrants make up only approximately 8.5% of the population of the municipality. In studies where a significant effect of ethnic concentration was found, the percentage of immigrants was much higher, e.g. Wilson and Portes (1980) focussed on Cubans in Miami, which make up more than fifty percent of the population of the municipalities in Miami.

Another remark is that this study should be replicated for different economic outcomes. It might be the case that in the Netherlands, ethnic concentration is only important for the self-employers, whereas it might have a limited or no effect on the occupational status or income. This is found by Sanders & Nee (1988), who showed that ethnic concentration has a positive effect on self-employment but that it has a negative effect on income.

The non-significant results might furthermore be due to a too small sample; the sample that could be used contains only 3421 cases. Not all respondents could indicate their occupational status, because they are unemployed. Therefore, the number of valid cases on the dependent variable is only 3421. Furthermore, these 3421 respondents are distinguished into three groups - Mediterranean immigrants, Caribbean immigrants and natives. To gain insight whether ethnic concentration does indeed not have an effect or that the effect is rather small, it would be necessary to repeat this study with a larger sample size.

Even though ethnic concentration cannot explain the economic integration of immigrants, the human capital theory seems to be an important determinant. The analysis shows that human capital factors have significant effects on the occupational status. Specifically, education has a positive significant effect on the occupational status. Next, also years of stay in the Netherlands positively affects the occupational status and finally, the less problems someone has with the Dutch language, the higher the occupational status.

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