

# Comparing Middle Eastern Migration to Europe, Latin America, and North America

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# Key Research Questions

- How do the experiences of migrants from the MENA differ by destination country?
- What factors are driving these differences?
- To what extent are these differences driven by migrant characteristics vs. policies/conditions in host countries?

# Data

- Draw on census data from eight countries
  - Brazil (2000, 2010), Canada (2001, 2011), France (2006, 2011), Greece (2011), Ireland (2006, 2011), Italy (2001), Spain (2001, 2011), USA (2000, 2010)
- Constraints on sample selection
  - Need to identify birthplace of migrants in the MENA
  - Characteristics of spouse and parents
  - Significant number of MENA migrants
  - Representation in terms of geography, age of established community, and motivation for migration
- Look at Generation 1.0 (born in a MENA country), Generation 2.0 (born in the host country with both parents born in the MENA) and Generation 2.5 (born in the host country with one MENA-born parent and one native-born parent)

# Country Comparisons for Generation 1.0

	Average Age	Year Immigration	Native Spouse	In Labor Force	Unemp. Rate	Own Home	HS +	College
Brazil	57.3	1971	54.7%	56.0%	4.5%	75.4%	56.6%	23.8%
Canada	45.2	1993	9.8%	65.8%	11.1%	53.8%	84.8%	55.9%
France	52.0	1977	33.1%	54.2%	22.1%	38.5%	47.2%	19.2%
Greece	58.5	1977	.	45.0%	21.0%	59.6%	58.6%	18.9%
Ireland	38.1	2001	24.6%	71.1%	28.2%	30.3%	84.1%	52.9%
Italy	44.1	1991	36.0%	65.4%	13.2%	32.8%	33.0%	7.0%
Spain	43.9	1988	32.3%	69.4%	38.1%	45.5%	29.6%	8.8%
USA	46.6	1983	21.9%	64.0%	5.9%	59.9%	87.1%	44.6%

\* Means for 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants aged 25 and older.

# Migration and Citizenship Characteristics by Country

	Year of Immigration	Age at Immigration	Tenure in Host Country	Citizenship	Years to Naturalize	Gen 2.0 Citizenship	Gen 2.5 Citizenship
Brazil	1971	19.4	38.7	49.2%	4	100%	98.9%
Canada	1993	30.7	14.9	72.1%	3	97.8%	97.0%
France	1977	20.2	31.2	62.5%	5	80.4%	94.9%
Greece	1977	24.8	33.6	69.3%	7	.	.
Ireland	2001	29.8	8.2	21.6%	5	81.9%	83.3%
Italy	1991	28.3	9.8	31.6%	10	9.0%	95.3%
Spain	1988	24.3	19.6	31.5%	10	48.8%	87.9%
USA	1983	27.4	19.2	64.7%	5	96.8%	96.4%

\* Immigrants aged 25 and older. Gen 1.0 are born in the MENA. Gen 2.0 have two immigrant parents and Gen 2.5 have one immigrant and one native parent.

# Education across Countries and Generations

	<i>University</i>				<i>HS+</i>			
	<b>Natives</b>	<b>Gen 1.0</b>	<b>Gen 2.0</b>	<b>Gen 2.5</b>	<b>Natives</b>	<b>Gen 1.0</b>	<b>Gen 2.0</b>	<b>Gen 2.5</b>
<b>Brazil</b>	25.7%	23.8%	49.2%	51.2%	55.3%	56.6%	87.1%	83.0%
<b>Canada</b>	60.0%	55.9%	63.6%	64.9%	91.2%	84.8%	94.3%	91.7%
<b>France</b>	33.2%	19.2%	31.9%	30.5%	72.0%	47.2%	76.4%	73.4%
<b>Ireland</b>	26.9%	52.9%	.	.	66.0%	84.1%	.	.
<b>Italy</b>	9.8%	7.0%	8.2%	14.7%	38.9%	33.0%	58.7%	69.4%
<b>Spain</b>	15.8%	8.8%	20.7%	25.9%	47.4%	29.6%	59.7%	66.4%
<b>USA</b>	33.0%	44.6%	52.3%	40.7%	90.1%	87.1%	94.7%	92.2%

\* Immigrants aged 25 and older. Gen 1.0 are born in the MENA. Gen 2.0 have two immigrant parents and Gen 2.5 have one immigrant and one native parent.

# Occupations for 1<sup>st</sup> Generation

	Brazil	Canada	France	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Spain	USA
Managers	28.2%	14.1%	4.3%	7.4%	5.9%	8.6%	3.7%	20.5%
Professionals	14.8%	24.2%	10.4%	14.2%	21.3%	4.6%	5.0%	23.0%
Technicians and associate professionals	6.5%	15.7%	10.4%	6.2%	8.8%	9.0%	4.8%	12.1%
Clerical support workers	2.0%	4.9%	8.2%	5.9%	3.8%	4.0%	4.6%	11.7%
Service and sales workers	26.5%	17.7%	13.8%	18.1%	17.6%	9.7%	15.0%	15.5%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.7%	0.5%	1.3%	3.6%	0.3%	1.8%	4.5%	0.3%
Crafts and related trades workers	2.7%	6.8%	11.7%	23.1%	7.3%	18.3%	16.8%	7.5%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2.0%	7.4%	4.5%	5.5%	4.4%	8.3%	5.2%	6.7%
Elementary occupations	5.1%	3.2%	13.1%	12.8%	6.9%	21.8%	27.9%	1.8%
Not Specified	10.6%	5.6%	22.1%	3.2%	23.7%	13.9%	12.5%	0.9%
<b>Top 3 skill levels</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>54.0%</b>	<b>25.1%</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	<b>36.0%</b>	<b>22.2%</b>	<b>13.5%</b>	<b>55.6%</b>
<b>Bottom 3 skill levels</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>17.4%</b>	<b>29.3%</b>	<b>41.4%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>48.4%</b>	<b>49.9%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>
<b>College</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>55.9%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>18.9%</b>	<b>52.9%</b>	<b>7.0%</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>

\* Means for 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants aged 25 and older.

# Intermarriage across Countries and Gender

	<i>Males</i>					<i>Females</i>				
	<b>Full Sample</b>	<b>Before 1960</b>	<b>1960-1979</b>	<b>1980-1999</b>	<b>After 2000</b>	<b>Full Sample</b>	<b>Before 1960</b>	<b>1960-1979</b>	<b>1980-1999</b>	<b>After 2000</b>
<b>Brazil</b>	65.0%	71.1%	68.1%	58.7%	60.3%	31.8%	44.4%	31.4%	16.2%	20.8%
<b>Canada</b>	12.2%	10.3%	30.8%	12.3%	5.3%	7.0%	5.6%	20.6%	8.1%	3.0%
<b>France</b>	36.7%	52.4%	27.7%	29.0%	47.7%	28.9%	59.7%	27.3%	14.7%	27.5%
<b>Ireland</b>	31.9%	.	.	56.2%	27.9%	12.4%	.	.	24.0%	14.1%
<b>Italy</b>	37.2%	78.4%	37.6%	11.7%	21.1%	34.5%	77.5%	60.2%	6.1%	4.9%
<b>Spain</b>	33.3%	80.5%	65.3%	20.9%	13.5%	31.0%	84.5%	69.5%	20.3%	10.7%
<b>USA</b>	25.9%	53.9%	31.9%	19.8%	16.3%	16.8%	56.5%	25.7%	10.0%	9.3%

\* Means for 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants aged 25 and older, conditional on being married. Intermarriage is defined as having a spouse born in the host country



# Examples of Ethnic Enclaves

	Region	Migrant Share	Native Share	Agglomeration Index
Brazil (2/26)	Paraná	16.9%	5.5%	3.1
Canada (1/13)	Quebec	32.4%	23.2%	1.4
France (4/27)	Corsica	1.6%	0.5%	3.3
Greece (1/13)	Attica	76.0%	35.4%	2.2
Ireland (1/8)	Dublin	50.2%	28.4%	1.8
Italy (3/20)	Emilia-Romagna	13.5%	7.3%	1.8
Spain (4//19)	Melilla	3.4%	0.2%	19.1
USA (6/51)	California	30.1%	11.9%	2.5

The agglomeration index is defined as the share of MENA migrants living in a particular region divided by the share of natives living in that region. It is a rough measure of the relative likelihood for MENA migrants to live in a region. For example, MENA migrants are 2.5 times more likely to live in California than the average American. I define ethnic enclaves as any region in which the agglomeration index is at least 1.4. The number in parentheses is the number of ethnic enclaves for each country relative to the total number of regions in the country.

# Comparing migrants in and out of enclaves

	<i>College</i>		<i>Homeowner</i>		<i>Native Spouse</i>		<i>Tenure</i>		<i>Employed</i>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
<b>Brazil (65.4%)</b>	24.4%	22.6%	74.0%	78.1%	52.8%	58.3%	38.5	39.1	95.5%	95.5%
<b>Canada (33%)</b>	57.1%	55.4%	45.0%	58.1%	10.6%	9.3%	15.3	14.7	86.6%	90.0%
<b>France (57.4%)</b>	20.5%	17.4%	37.8%	39.5%	31.3%	35.3%	31.6	30.7	79.1%	76.2%
<b>Greece (76.4%)</b>	20.1%	14.7%	59.6%	59.7%	.	.	33.1	35.4	78.4%	81.0%
<b>Ireland (50.4%)</b>	54.3%	51.4%	29.0%	31.8%	20.2%	29.0%	8.8	7.5	70.5%	73.1%
<b>Italy (39.1%)</b>	7.6%	6.7%	33.7%	32.2%	35.6%	36.2%	10.1	9.6	87.6%	86.4%
<b>Spain (35.9%)</b>	5.9%	10.4%	40.8%	48.1%	23.6%	37.3%	17.9	20.5	59.9%	63.0%
<b>USA (62.7%)</b>	41.7%	49.5%	57.9%	63.4%	17.1%	29.8%	19.4	18.9	93.9%	94.4%

Means for 1<sup>st</sup> generation MENA immigrants aged 25+. Enclaves are defined as regions in which MENA migrants are at least 40% more likely to live than natives. The share of MENA migrants living in enclaves is given in parentheses

# Determinants of differential education

- How do MENA immigrants do in their host country compared to natives?
- To determine this, I utilize a Census sample of natives and immigrants (from all countries) and estimate the following model separately for each country

$$YrsEd_{ij} = \alpha_j + \beta_1 Age_{ij} + \beta_2 Male_{ij} + \sum \gamma_{ijk} Region_{ijk} + u_{ij}$$

- Years of education are regressed on age, gender, and a set of regional fixed effects.
- I then compute the residuals from this regression for MENA migrants (1<sup>st</sup> generation) as the excess education for MENA migrants in a particular country.

# Determinants of differential education

- Once residual education has computed for all countries, I then estimate the following model pooling all countries together:

$$\begin{aligned} ResidEd_{ij} = & \beta_1 YrsEdMom_{ij} + \beta_2 YrsEdDad_{ij} + \beta_3 Age_{ij} + \beta_4 Male_{ij} \\ & + \beta_5 AgeImm_{ij} + \beta_6 Tenure_{ij} + \beta_7 Enclave_{ij} + \sum_j \gamma_j Country_{ij} \\ & + \sum_j \delta_j Enclave_{ij} * Country_{ij} + u_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

- Excess education for MENA migrants is a function of parents education, age, gender, age at immigration, tenure in the host country, residence in an ethnic enclave, host country fixed effects, and an interaction between enclaves and host country fixed effects.

# Determinants of differential education

<b>Controls</b>	<b>YrsEdMom</b>	<b>YrsEdDad</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Male</b>		
	0.103	0.141	0.037	-0.887		
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.239]	[0.000]		
<b>Migrant Characteristics</b>	<b>Age at Imm</b>	<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Enclave</b>			
	-0.149	-0.034	-0.01			
	[0.000]	[0.272]	[0.885]			
<b>Country Effects</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	4.332	0.505	-0.349	1.086	-0.347	3.205
	[0.019]	[0.050]	[0.908]	[0.173]	[0.213]	[0.000]
<b>Enclave Interactions</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	-0.221	-0.37	-0.688	-0.409	-0.809	0.019
	[0.924]	[0.474]	[0.856]	[0.726]	[0.065]	[0.947]

The dependent variable is residual education for MENA migrants relative to natives. P-values in brackets. Results for 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants aged 25+. The reference country is France.

# Other measures of assimilation

- I also estimate similar models to predict the likelihood of homeownership, intermarriage, and citizenship.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Assimilate}_{ij} = & \beta_1 \text{Age}_{ij} + \beta_2 \text{Male}_{ij} + \beta_3 \text{YrsEd}_{ij} + \beta_4 \text{AgeImm}_{ij} \\ & + \beta_5 \text{Tenure}_{ij} + \beta_6 \text{Enclave}_{ij} + \sum_j \gamma_j \text{Country}_{ij} + \\ & \sum_j \delta_j \text{Enclave}_{ij} * \text{Country}_{ij} + u_{ij} \end{aligned}$$

# Determinants of Home Ownership

<b>Controls</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>YrsEd</b>				
	0.012	-0.035	0.015				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Migrant Characteristics</b>	<b>Age at Imm</b>	<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Enclave</b>				
	-0.01	-0.002	-0.038				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Country Effects</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	0.235	0.269	0.139	0.066	-0.01	0.183	0.265
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.003]	[0.092]	[0.000]	[0.000]
<b>Enclave Interactions</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	0.011	-0.1	0.025	0.014	-0.013	0.02	-0.016
	[0.669]	[0.000]	[0.039]	[0.645]	[0.187]	[0.000]	[0.000]

The dependent variable is an indicator for home ownership. P-values in brackets. Results for 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants aged 25+. The reference country is France.

# Determinants of Inter-marriage

<b>Controls</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>YrsEd</b>				
	-0.022	0.057	0.02				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Migrant Characteristics</b>	<b>Age at Imm</b>	<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Enclave</b>				
	0.016	0.023	-0.048				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Country Effects</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	0.203	-0.282	.	-0.039	-0.175	0.041	-0.129
	[0.000]	[0.000]	.	[0.130]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
<b>Enclave Interactions</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	-0.046	0.053	.	-0.061	0.036	-0.039	-0.048
	[0.102]	[0.000]	.	[0.093]	[0.005]	[0.000]	[0.000]

The dependent variable is an indicator for having a native born spouse, conditional on being married. P-values in brackets. Results for 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants aged 25+. The reference country is France.



# Determinants of Citizenship

<b>Controls</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>YrsEd</b>				
	0.01	-0.069	0.025				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Migrant Characteristics</b>	<b>Age at Imm</b>	<b>Tenure</b>	<b>Enclave</b>				
	-0.009	0.001	0.022				
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]				
<b>Country Effects</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	-0.198	0.203	0.007	-0.265	-0.349	-0.131	0.016
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.477]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]
<b>Enclave Interactions</b>	<b>Brazil</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Ireland</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>USA</b>
	-0.074	-0.045	-0.041	-0.004	-0.048	-0.039	0.031
	[0.001]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.877]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]

The dependent variable is an indicator for citizenship. P-values in brackets. Results for 1<sup>st</sup> generation migrants aged 25+. The reference country is France.

# Conclusions

- Significant differences in experiences of MENA migrants by destination country
  - Brazil: Older community, highly assimilated in terms of education, employment and intermarriage
  - Canada and the US: Relatively smaller communities and newer, but also highly assimilated in terms of education and employment. Low rates of intermarriage that have been falling over time.
  - France: Largest migrant community. Relatively low levels of assimilation as measured by education and employment.
  - Ireland: Very new community, highly educated
  - Greece, Italy, and Spain: Lowest levels of assimilation as measured by education, employment. Lack of assimilation appears to carry over into Generation 2.0. Generation 2.5 does display higher levels of integration

# Conclusions

- Differences in intergenerational mobility by destination
  - Generation 1.0 lags behind natives in terms of education for France, Italy, and Spain. Other countries have generation 1.0 even or higher than natives
  - As measured by the share of migrants with a university education, generation 2.0 tends to be even with natives for most countries and significantly exceeds natives for Brazil, Spain, and the US.
  - Generation 2.5 is generally comparable with generation 2.0 for most countries. Exceptions are Italy (2.5 does much better) and the U.S. (2.5 does worse)

# Conclusions

- Differences in education can be attributed to both migrant and country characteristics
  - Migrants who arrived at older ages tend to have less education
- Even after controlling for baseline education in host country, parent's education, age, age at arrival, tenure in host country, and residence in ethnic enclave, there are still unobserved country level effects
  - Relative to France, MENA migrants tend to do better in Brazil, Canada, and the U.S. No significant differences in the other European countries.
- Enclaves do not seem to have much of an impact on education, with the possible exception of Spanish enclaves
  - Not surprising given that most Spanish enclaves are actually autonomous regions of Spain located in Morocco.

# Conclusions

- For home ownership:
  - Migrants who arrived older, have resided in the host country longer, and live in an ethnic enclave are less likely to own their home
  - Relative to other countries, MENA migrants in France have the lowest rates of home ownership
  - Home ownership is higher in Greek and Spanish enclaves, lower in Canadian and American enclaves.

# Conclusions

- For intermarriage
  - Intermarriage rates are higher for migrants who have been in the country longer and arrived at older ages. Lower for those residing in enclaves
  - Relative to France, migrants in Brazil and Spain are more likely to marry a native. Migrants in Canada, Italy, and the U.S. are less likely
  - The negative effects of ethnic enclaves on intermarriage are most pronounced in Ireland, Spain, and the U.S.

# Conclusions

- For citizenship
  - Migrants in enclaves tend to be more likely to have citizenship
  - Relative to France, citizenship is more likely for migrants in Canada and the U.S. It is less likely for migrants in Brazil, Ireland, Italy, and Spain.
  - Enclaves have negative effects on citizenship in Brazil, Canada, Greece, Italy and Spain.