Extended Abstract

Over the last years, Germany has once again proven to be a major migration magnet in Europe, attracting migrants with fundamentally new characteristics compared to the former immigrant generations. Traditionally, international migration to Germany was dominated by former guest worker countries, as well as the immigration of Ethnic Germans and their family members. Today, the term 'super-diversity' is regularly invoked to describe Germany's recent experiences with immigrants of increasingly diverse socio-economic backgrounds, a proliferation of new countries of origin, a stratification of legal statuses as well as new motives for migration (*Brenke/Neubecker* 2013; *Bertoli et al.* 2013). These new forms of international migration are discussed as an essential political strategy to respond to the challenges of demographic change (e.g. changing population structures and reduced labour force potential). Despite this new demographic interest, our knowledge of how new arrivals fare on the labour market is still incomplete, as is the answer to the question of what the major driving forces explaining the labour market performance of heterogenous groups of new immigrants are.

Until 15 years ago, migration and integration research in Germany overwhelmingly focussed on the analysis of the labour market performance of former generations of labour migrants from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and former Yugoslavia (as well as their children). This research showed that these so-called "guest workers" fared worse on the labour market in comparison to the German population: Immigrants were over-represented among the unemployed, had lower occupational statuses, and smaller incomes (*Diekmann et al.* 1993, *Velling* 1995; *Bender/Seifert* 1996; *Szydlik* 1996). In recent years, several analyses concerning the first generation of immigrants have confirmed the results of inferior labour market performance mainly due to the influx of immigrants with comparatively low human capital endowment. In these analyses, the general disadvantage faced by the first generation of labour migrants decreases once education has been controlled for (*Granato/Kalter* 2001; *Granato* 2003; *OECD* 2005, *Kogan* 2007a; *Kalter* 2008). A small body of research additionally explains different labour market outcomes through structural factors of the labour market or labour market segmentation. These studies argue that immigrants were over-represented in poorly paid occupations and economic branches vulnerable to economic stagnation and therefore more susceptible to unemployment (*Constant/Massey* 2005; *Kogan* 2004, 2007a; *Herwig/Konietzka* 2012).

More recent research has focussed on the situation of second-generation immigrants, mainly the children of guest workers. Education obtained in the country of residence is assumed to be a driving force of labour market success. Therefore, it has been expected and confirmed by different analyses that second-generation immigrants who received German educational certificates display a higher degree of assimilation into the German labour market than their parents. However, second-generation immigrants do not seem to fully catch up with socio-demographically comparable natives when it comes to occupational assimilation. This could be due to language deficiencies, ethnic networks and context of reception (*Bender/Seifert* 2000; *OECD* 2005; *Seibert/Solga* 2005; *Damelang/Haas* 2006; *Burkert/Seibert* 2007; *Kogan* 2007b; *Fincke* 2008; *Luthra* 2013).

As recent immigration differs from the experiences of earlier immigrant generations, contemporary studies have started describing the changing selectivity of new immigrants (*Seibert/Wapler* 2012; *Ette et al.* 2013) as well as examining their labour market outcomes.

These studies show that recent immigrants often fare worse than natives on the labour market in regard to employment (*Kogan* 2011), have higher unemployment rates (*Brenke/Neubecker* 2013), less access to suitable jobs (*Kogan* 2011) and earn lower wages (*Lehmer/Ludsteck* 2011, 2013). In part, these poor labour market outcomes are also explained by lower human capital endowments. However, as most of the recent immigrants to Germany are often better educated than most Germans or previous immigrant cohorts, these studies conclude that education is largely discounted in the labour market and that newcomers suffer large disadvantages. With an increasing duration of stay in Germany, some migrant groups are experiencing upward mobility, although recently arrived immigrants still are worse off than the German population (*Granato* 2014). This recent research on newcomers in Germany is often based on the German microcensus and employment register data. The sample size is relatively small, therefore the research is either concentrated on large time spans of immigration (e.g. cohorts arriving after 1990s (*Kogan* 2011)) or broad definitions of immigrant groups. For example, the analyses of *Lehmer/Ludsteck* (2011, 2013), *Brenke/Neubecker* (2013) and *Granato (*2014) distinguish between different European nationalities and one large group of Non-Europeans.

In order to overcome these limitations and to contribute to this relatively small body of research on recent immigrants, this paper uses the household survey of the German census of 2011. In the household survey, about 10 % of the population in Germany, a total of approx. 7.9 million people, were involved. The survey aims at providing data on social and economic variables, as well as information on immigration, all data which is not, or only insufficiently, available in Germany's registers (*Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder* 2015). Making use of the broad scope of this dataset, this paper sheds light on the question of the divergent labour market performance between various new immigrant groups on the one hand, and natives on the other.

Two dependent variables representing labour market performance are examined: First, the chance of being employed according to the labour force concept of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and second, the so-called "professional requirement level of occupations". The implementation of the German Classification of Occupations 2010 (KldB 2010) allows us – for the first time – to distinguish four degrees of complexity of different occupations (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit* 2011). In terms of determining the chance of employment different logistic regression models were applied and in terms of determining the occupational standing of newcomers, different multinomial logistic regression models were fitted with degrees of complexity of occupations as dependent variable.

Our analyses show that there is a wide variation, even a polarisation, in terms of the labour market performance. Newly immigrated women generally have greater difficulties than men do in relation to employment. Concerning their countries of origin, recent immigrants are far from a homogenous group. On the one hand, EU10 men have good access to the labour market in comparison to other immigrant groups, but face a very low occupational standing that does not translate into a high proportion of individuals working in highly complex activities. On the other hand, men from the EU15, EU10 and OECD-countries outside Europe experience slightly lower employment chances as Germans without a migration background do, but work within occupations with a higher level of professional requirements. Furthermore, there are some immigrant groups who are disadvantaged both in terms of employment chances and in terms of occupational standing. This holds true for men from the Middle East and Northern Africa, the former Soviet Union as well as for women and men from Turkey. Generally, the results are more ambiguous for immigrant women than they are for men. Women who fare worse with regard to employment chances – such as those

originating from the Middle East and Northern Africa do not necessarily have lower occupational prospects. In summary, lower employment chances are not necessarily related to lower chances of working in highly complex occupations and vice versa. Possible explanations discussed include human capital endowments and market structures, which prevent an optimal allocation of human resources to jobs.

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