

Chapter 2

Immigrant Assimilation in the Labour Market: What Is Missing in Economic Literature

Alessandra Venturini

Introduction

Understanding the integration of immigrants has become a crucial issue for an aging Europe, which has seen its elderly population increase. The old age dependency ratio (the ratio of individuals 65 years and older to those aged 20–64) grew from 20% in 1990, to 25% in 2010 and to 35% in 2030. Not only will the composition of the native population change but its size will change as well. The total stock of the European population will decrease at a rate of 9.5% every 10 years if migration inflows are equal to zero, and to 4.5% if immigration inflows continue as in the past (Fargues 2011). Thus Europe clearly needs immigrants and, in particular, it needs future citizens.

The limited success of the policies implemented in destination countries to support migrants' integration in the labour market and in society at large demonstrates their complexity. Disentangling the many levels of interventions in the destination country – European, national, regional and local – has not helped us to understand and solve the many differences in integration that have been documented between different national groups (Gilardoni et al. 2015).

A broader reflection on integration policies is needed. Yes, the immigrant, the immigrant's family and the institutions of the destination country play a role in successful integration. But so too does the origin country. It can play an indirect role for instance by affecting the human capital and the employability of a future migrant (endogenous country of origin effect), and a direct role through targeted policies such as international agreements that create job matching in the destination labour market (country of origin impact).

A. Venturini (✉)

Migration Policy Centre, European University Institute, Florence, Italy

University of Turin, Turin, Italy

e-mail: alessandra.venturini@eui.eu

This chapter presents the economic approaches to the labour market assimilation of immigrants and the many actors which affect its success. It starts by covering the economic approach to labour market integration at destination and then points to its limitations and attempts to bring the often hidden role of the country of origin into view.

What Economists Mean by Economic Assimilation

The word “integration” is rarely used in economic research. Economists prefer the word “assimilation”, which has a clearer operational meaning. We do not intend to enter here into the long-standing European debate between the German model of “integration by separation” and the French model of “integration by assimilation”, which can be respectively summarised as having different languages at school and less involvement in the society of the destination country vs. having strong linguistic and cultural involvement in the host society. We happily leave this important and rich debate to sociologists. A relevant literature review is presented elsewhere in the present volume (Unterreiner and Weinart, this volume), but also in Garces-Mascareñas and Penninx (2016) in the IMISCOE series. Economics researchers have not taken any position in the debates on integration models, and frequently the two words, integration and assimilation, are used interchangeably with the same connotation.

In economic research and even in textbooks (Borjas 2008), the economics concept of “assimilation” has been adopted from Alba and Nee (2003) definition of assimilation: an immigrant group assimilates if there is a “reduction of differences between similar groups over time”. Economists thus use assimilation with native citizens and workers as a model for analysis.

They, mainly, focus upon assimilation in the labour market: differences between the participation rate, the employment rate and the unemployment rates, their duration and immigrant wages are compared to those of a similar native (e.g. Borjas 1985; Chiswick 1991; Dustmann 1994; Venturini and Villosio 2008). Additional topics covered by economic research are for instance: the over-education of immigrants (are immigrants too educated for the job they perform?) (Boeri et al. 2013); assimilation in the welfare state (do immigrants use welfare benefits more than natives? Are they likely to exit from welfare dependency at the same rate as equivalent natives?) (Barrett and Maitre 2013); housing and property use (do they rent and buy houses like natives do? Do they buy a house earlier than natives? Are their properties smaller or larger than natives?) (Gonzalez and Ortega 2013); saving habits, etc. All these topics represent important indicators of economic integration in both the destination and origin country.

However, as we stressed before, labour market assimilation is also a political priority. If an immigrant has a job and thus an income, their social integration starts off with a positive asset. For this reason, economic research is concentrated on integration within the labour market. Indeed, analyses generally compare the

employment or wage profile of an immigrant with that of native workers with the same characteristics. The analyses of wage assimilation are probably the most diffused and the most helpful piece of integration research because the remuneration that the immigrant worker receives can be considered an aggregate index of his or her labour market integration. It, after all, captures an individual's initial human capital as well as the value of the skills they have acquired through their participation in the labour market.

How Do Economists Measure Labour Market Assimilation

The use of longitudinal data is the most appropriate method for assessing the labour market assimilation of foreign workers because it allows researchers to follow an individual throughout their life and to also compare two individuals who enter the labour market at the same time with the same age and seniority. Longitudinal data are often not available and therefore repeated cross-sections such as those derived from labour force surveys are used instead. Naturally, in such cases more attention is required to find a control group that either entered the labour market in the same period as the foreign worker in question (and was thus included in the same economic cycle), or which represents the worker in another survey, taking the cohort effect into account (Borjas 1985; LaLonde and Topel 1992).

In economics, assimilation refers to immigrants who at the moment they enter the destination labour market are not receiving the same wage as a native with similar characteristics (see Fig. 2.1), but who catch up little by little, and at the end of a reasonable period achieve the native wage profile (Scenario 1 in Fig. 2.1). More frequently – and this would be unsuccessful assimilation – immigrants begin with a wage that is lower than that of a native with similar characteristics and remain permanently below the native's wage level (Scenario 2 in Fig. 2.1). In another scenario,

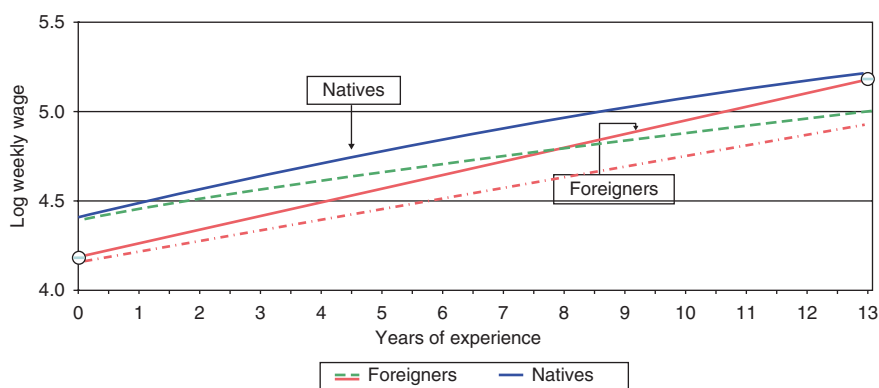


Fig. 2.1 Wage assimilation of immigrants (*Blue*: native wage profile; *red*: migrants that assimilate; *continuous line and dotted lines in green and red*: migrants who do not assimilate) (Colour figure online)

immigrants enter the labour market with similar-to-native wages but their opportunities for career advancement do not grow at the same speed, and thus their wage differentials increase as time goes by (Scenario 3 in Fig. 2.1).

The first empirical research on these matters was based on North American data (Chiswick 1978; Borjas 1985, 1994, 1999; Borjas et al. 1992; Card 1990; Dustmann 1994; Borjas and Tienda 1987). These studies look at ways that the integration process can best be understood: ‘assimilation refers to a process whereby immigrants acquire skills, including English proficiency and knowledge about the US labour market and other social institutions, which ultimately will enhance their socio-economic success and their earnings in particular’. This definition is a good example of the economic approach that uses human capital theory (Mincer 1974) as its natural point of departure. The most frequent finding by North American research is the under-assimilation of immigrants, which is a result of low human capital and also of discrimination. Later, the research was extended to the European countries, where again the prevailing result is under-assimilation (for instance in the UK, Dustmann 1994, Clark and Drinkwater 2008; in Spain Amuedo-Dorantes and De La Rica 2007; in Italy, Venturini and Villosio 2008, Strøm et al. 2013; in Norway, Longva and Raaum 2003; in the UK, Hatton and Leigh 2011).

The model that researchers use is a wage or employment equation in which the change in the wage is explained by individual variables that control for particular characteristics and by additional variables at a higher level of aggregation: for instance, the unemployment rate of the area where the worker works or lives, and other non-individual variables.

This approach is part of the human capital theory which interprets wage growth (the probability of being employed or unemployed and the duration of employment) as the return on human capital embodied or acquired by the worker on the job or outside of the workplace.

An example of a wage equation derived from Strøm et al. (2013) is included below. Here the dependent variable is the individual log weekly wage [Y_{it}]. The equation depends on individual time-invariant variables [α_i], individual time-variant human capital variables [x_{it}] and a worker’s job characteristics [z_{it}]. In addition, one can find controls for different macro-economic conditions [m_{rst}] that affect both the region [r] and sector [s] where the workers are employed and the size of the immigrant’s ethnic community [c] in the destination area [k_{crt}]. Individual fixed effects replace the individual time invariant-variable in a panel analyses

$$Y_{it} = f(x_{it}, z_{it}, m_{rst}, k_{crt}; \alpha_i) + \eta_{it} \quad (2.1)$$

where $f(\cdot)$ is a function of the variables and the effects mentioned above and η_{it} is normally distributed with zero mean and is independent from the variables and effects inside $f(\cdot)$.

The statistical methods used, without going into great detail, range from fixed effect, difference in differences, to the OAXACA (1973) decomposition technique. In the last case, the differential between the two groups is first subdivided into

differentials due to different characteristics (older or younger, less educated or more educated, female etc.) and second, is attributed to the differential of the coefficients that the characteristics hold in regression results. This second component shows the differential in terms of the rewards (the price) that the market gives to different characteristics, depending on whether they are held by foreign nationals or natives. This is best illustrated by an example: the effect of tertiary education on the final wages of workers can differ if they are natives or immigrants. Let us imagine that the first effect is greater for a native than for a non-native. If, instead, an immigrant's coefficient is higher than a native's, it reduces the differential.

The differential in the coefficients is occasionally interpreted as a discrimination indicator. This interpretation is inappropriate, however, because it refers only to the wage or employment differential not explained by the characteristics covered by the variables in the regression. The differential can also reflect the different qualities of human capital and other differences such as knowledge of the destination country language(s), which may not be measured correctly in the regression.

Which Are the Variables Used?

The variables used in the empirical analyses made by economists depend upon the characteristics of the dataset, but among the *individual variables* we typically find:

- personal information: age, gender, marital status, number of children, year since migration or duration of stay, knowledge of the destination country language;
- professional information: level of education (in the country of origin, in the country of destination), occupation (employed or not), type of occupation, sector of occupation, experience on the job, etc.

Among the more *aggregate variables*, we can find the dimensions of the immigrant's ethnic community, the characteristics of the diaspora as well as macro-economic variables (see Strøm et al. 2013) Table 2.1.

The *individual variables* are interpreted with a human capital approach. Thus the older and more educated immigrants are, the higher their wages will be. The higher their duration of stay in the destination country and the greater any experience on the job, the higher their immigrant integration will be (Edin et al. 2000). This is so because the variables in question measure the increase in human and professional knowledge, which favours both employment and its remuneration (Dustmann 1994). The knowledge of the language of the country of destination, for instance, plays a positive and important role, especially in cases of emigration for non-manual jobs (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003).

Migrant males also frequently enjoy easier integration. Being married with children encourages integration for men, but frequently has a negative effect on female migrants' labour market participation (Gevrek 2009).

High education levels increase access to non-manual jobs. But over-education is also a serious problem. In reality, not having higher education increases the

Table 2.1 Variables used in the analyses of the assimilation of immigrants

Variables	Effects	Links
<i>Individual variables</i>		
Age	(+)	
Gender		
Education	(+)	<i>Country of origin</i>
Language	(+)	<i>Country of origin</i>
Experience	(+)	
Occupation	(+)	<i>Country of origin</i>
Duration of stay	(+/-)	<i>Country of origin</i>
<i>Selection of the return</i>	(+/-)	<i>Country of origin</i>
<i>Aggregate variables</i>		
Ethnic community	(+/-)	<i>Country of origin</i>
Role of diaspora	(+/-)	<i>Country of origin</i>

Adapted from Strøm et al. 2013

likelihood of having a good job match. In addition, the years of education in the country of destination always have a positive effect because the human capital produced in the destination country is better aligned with the demand of the labour market. This variable in fact proves a better signal of worker productivity (Izquierdo et al. 2009). Also, some sectors offer better opportunities for advancement while construction, agriculture and housekeeping offer far fewer (Strøm et al. 2013).

To focus on a specific example, in the UK, Clark and Drinkwater (2008) show a large differential in the probability of employment between immigrant ethnic groups and natives (ranging from 0.25 to 0.03). But after controlling for age, education, marital status, children, religion and health, the differential in the average is decomposed into two parts due to the different characteristics held by the two groups (the immigrants versus the natives) and the different effects that their characteristics have on their probability of getting a job. For some groups such as Sub-Saharan Africans and Pakistanis, the differential due to different characteristics is very small and the total effect is due to the slight return on these characteristics. For the Chinese community, it is the opposite: the total differential between Chinese immigrants and the natives is very small and their characteristics play a positive role on wage differentials.

In general, there are two types of *aggregate variables*, related either to the immigrant community or to the labour market. Controlling the labour market cycle becomes more and more relevant given the different types of development that different sectors and regions experience. Immigrants suffer from lower wages and higher unemployment rates because they are employed in declining sectors which offer very few career options.

The immigrant community can play either a positive or a negative role. If the community is measured in terms of employees, a competitive effect prevails and the

larger the number of employed, the greater the competition and the more negative the effects on wages (Strøm et al. 2013). If instead, we consider all those with a job as well as those without, we frequently find evidence that the community supports immigrants in their integration, by helping them to find a house and a job, taking care of the children etc. The community also frequently has a positive effect on economic integration, as shown by empirical research recently carried out in the UK, which demonstrates the beneficial impact that social networks developed within the community have on the first stages of integration in the destination country (Phillimore et al. 2014).

Nevertheless, the enlarged ethnic community can also reduce the positive effect on the human capital characteristics of the immigrant worker. Cutler and Glaeser (1997), for instance, found that blacks in more segregated areas have significantly lower outcomes than blacks American in less segregated areas. Past research has indeed showed that large communities reduce contacts with other communities and with the native population, thus reducing the possibility of learning the native language and of widening professional contacts, which are both crucial parts of long-term socio-economic integration (Di Palo et al. 2006). However, Edin et al. (2003) found that living in an enclave improves labour market outcomes for less-skilled immigrants in Sweden. The role of the ethnic community is thus not clear cut, and it changes according to the specific cases analysed.

Very few studies analyse the role of the integration of the community in the individual integration of its members. Hatton et al. (2011), for instance, finds a strong positive correlation between the economic upgrading of a community and individual assimilation in the destination labour market. And Kindler (2014) reaches the same conclusion with a less formal model.

The lack of data affects the modelling of an empirical test. In addition, in order to use richer datasets, the empirical analysis is almost always limited to the country level. Many interesting and innovative papers have been based upon individual longitudinal datasets such as the German Socio-Economic Panel, or Social Security national data, which are limited to specific country or national labour force surveys with retrospective modules (Algan et al. 2010 in Germany, France and the UK; Dustmann et al. 2010 in Germany and the UK; Shields and Price 2002, Gevrek 2009, Bijwaard 2010 in the Netherlands; Amuedo-Dorentes et al. 2007, Izquierdo et al. 2009 in Spain; Venturini et al. 2008, Strøm et al. 2013 in Italy; Finnäs and Saarela 2006, Lundborg 2007 in Sweden; Kangasniemi and Kauhanen 2013 in Finland, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK; Longva and Raaum 2003 in Norway; Sarvimäki and Hamalainen 2010 in Finland; Drydakis 2011 in Greece; Bevelander and Nielsen 2001 in Denmark; Cabral and Duarte 2013 in Portugal). These datasets include information on the status and characteristics of immigrants in the destination country and occasionally questions answered by the respondent on the origin country. While the first category offers hard information, the second depends upon the reliability of the respondent.

Limitations of the Traditional Destination-Country Approach

If too little comparative research is problematic, the concentration of research on national case studies gets around an important limitation of this approach. I refer to the fact that labour market functioning, the welfare system, integration policies and the implementation of migration policies, all of which strongly affect the integration of all workers and particularly of immigrant workers, are not included in the empirical model. Figure 2.2 tries to illustrate the relationship between the different components of the integration path.

The migration policy defines the conditions of access to the destination country for workers, family members or refugees and thus determines the type and the number of migrants that have the right to enter a country and its labour market. Different migration policies and different implementations and enforcements produce different expectations and attract different types of immigrants, who are generally easier to integrate into the labour market (Guzi et al. 2014a). The presence of (repeated) regularisations, for instance, creates the expectation of an easy back door entry (Borjas 1999) and reduces the ability of the country to enforce criteria that favour the employability of the immigrant.

As Lemaitre (2015) points out, the different channels of entry for immigrants – family member, labour, refugee, student etc. – has a strong effect on their employability. By using the 2008 EULFS, which includes the reason (channel) for entry, his research shows that the integration of immigrants entering for family reunification and humanitarian reasons is much lower than for those entering as labour immigrants. The latter group, however, represents only 30% of the total foreign population, while family members comprise 50% and refugees, the remaining 20% (Lemaître 2014). The large and frequently exclusive attention devoted to entry rules for “labour” immigrants and their link to the integration of immigrants at large arguably offers a distorted vision of the issue. By looking only at this aspect we do not efficiently analyse the causal effects of the limited integration and employability of immigrants.

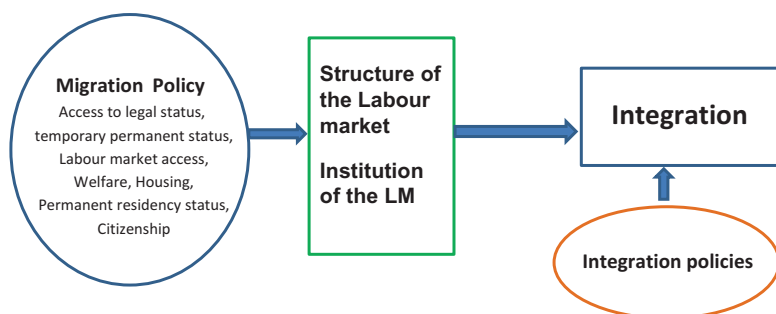


Fig. 2.2 Steps in integration in the destination country

In Sweden, in an attempt to understand the lower labour market participation of refugees, Edin et al. 2000 studied the policy of redistribution to small groups around the country and its effect on the integration of refugee-immigrants. The point of this strategy was to avoid the creation of an ethnic community, which had been blamed in the past for segregation. The strategy did not work in integration terms. The dispersion of refugees actually made integration more difficult and increased their need for support. The strategy was therefore abandoned.

Other policies such as those which define the criteria of eligibility for a permanent residency permit (i.e. 3–5 years of work) or citizenship of the country of destination (i.e. 5–10 years) also affect the type of migration flows that the country of destination receives. Citizenship acquisition favours settlement, but also stronger integration. Citizenship acquisition also favours models of circular migration between destination and origin countries and the possibility of searching for a job outside of one's home country.

In parallel, different labour market structures and functioning also condition immigrant assimilation. The high unemployment rates or the availability of only low-skilled jobs reduce the assimilation of foreign workers. The analyses of the wage differential between natives and foreign nationals in Italy (Strøm et al. 2013) clearly shows that the main reason for the under-assimilation of foreign workers is that they tend to enter employment in sectors that lack career prospects. Natives who enter employment in “immigrant jobs” also have very little chance of leaving that type of employment. Figure 2.3 shows the increasing wage differentials of similar workers (with the same individual characteristics) who enter the labour market in the same period and who are employed in different sectors. The sectors in which immigrants represent more than 20% of the workers are defined as “immigrant sectors.” Natives and foreign nationals employed in these sectors have the same

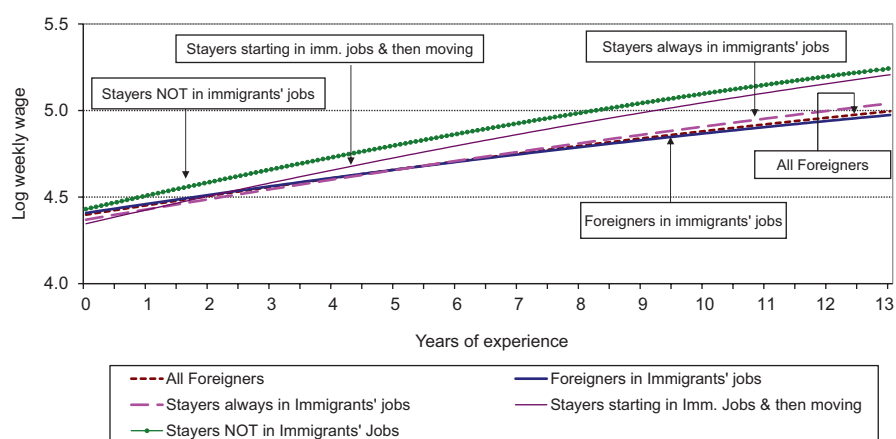


Fig. 2.3 Wage profiles of similar individuals: male, entering employment at 18, in Northern Italy, in the Manufacturing sector (Source: Strøm et al. 2013, data Italian Social Security data)

wage profile. Thus it is the entry job that determines the future employment trajectory of the worker. If the economy of the destination country has only these jobs available, there is no other option.

The firm dimension, the sector composition of the demand for labour and the differing roles of trade unions also play an important role in shaping the employment trajectory of the immigrant. In their review of the existing literature concerning the effects of institutional arrangements on migrants' labour market integration, Guzi et al. (2014b) point out that strong trade unions have the potential to influence migration outcomes either directly, by targeting the migrant population, or indirectly, through more general institutional measures. The different types of bargaining systems also seem to be associated with the different sizes and characteristics of migrant inflows. For instance, there is a positive relationship between higher collective-agreement coverage rates and immigrants' labour market integration. Fragmented bargaining systems are associated with more precarious work.

Last but not least there is welfare legislation, which defines the unemployment benefits that workers who lose jobs can receive and for how long. The country case analysis covers all of this, but the lessons derived from one case are rarely exportable elsewhere because the structural differences are so very large.

Lastly there are the integration policies, which are mainly provided at the regional level. These help immigrants train for labour demand, learn the language of the destination country, and so forth. The success of integration policies (and the need for them) of course depends upon migration policies, which determine who can enter the country and how the labour market will function, thus defining the jobs that are available to migrants. The success of these policies strongly depends upon the structure of the country.

The only comparative research that takes the different types of welfare systems into account is very recent: Guzi et al. (2015). Their research uses the EU Labour Force Survey and the Oaxaca–Blinder methodology to define the native-immigrant differential in labour force participation, unemployment, low-skilled employment and temporary employment. They also studied the role of institutional variables on the explained differentials by immigrant/native characteristics as well as on the unexplained ones. They use four dummy variables to distinguish different types of capitalism: CME – Coordinated Market Economies (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Sweden); LME – Liberal Market Economies (Ireland and the United Kingdom); MME – Mixed Market Economies; and EME – Emerging Market Economies (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Slovakia). They also employ the Employment Protection Legislation Index (EPL), which captures labour market rigidities, unionization density and collective bargaining coverage, as well as openness to international trade and the importance of different sectors: agriculture, manufacturing and services.

All these variables are significant in explaining both the explained and the unexplained differentials between natives and migrants in employment, unemployment, low-skilled jobs and temporary jobs.

To proxy the role of the country of origin the authors also introduce five aggregate dummy variables to capture the origin area of the immigrants. The results are

impressive because the majority of the variables are significant and explain approximately 0.9–0.75% of the residuals. This implies that, taking into account the structure of the economies of destination and the different human capital characteristics of the immigrants, the differential in employment participation is very small.

At the national level, analyses are easier because the main differences are controlled for. However, at the local level, integration policies are defined according to the needs of the local environment and thus their effects vary according to the peculiarity of the area. For this reason, controls at the local level are needed for differential interventions. In addition, immigrants of similar nationalities or areas of origin may be concentrated in the same local area in the destination country, but it is impossible to consider them as a single group. This is, first, because they have different average characteristics; but, second, because the country of origin influences the performance of the worker in many ways.

The role of the country of origin is not purely theoretical: the country of origin shapes individual human capital and its reception at destination; policies implemented by the country of origin are in fact embedded in many variables that affect the integration of immigrants.

The Role of the Country of Origin

The effect of migration in the country of origin is dealt with extensively in research analyses on the effect of emigration (Boeri et al. 2013). These point to: the positive (or negative) effect of the reduction of the population in search of jobs, which frees up resources for the remaining population; the positive (or negative) effects of monetary remittances, which finance consumption and production; the effect of social remittances on political participation and fertility (Spilimbergo 2009; Fargues 2007); and the risk of brain drain or of brain gain with the outflow of highly skilled emigrants (Boeri et al. 2013 and Fargues, Venturini eds. 2015).

This is not a complete list of research by any means, but it includes some of the most important points. The analysis also covers the policies implemented by origin country governments to favour the return of emigrants. An example here might be the United Nations programme TOKTEN (for more, see Fakhoury 2015). This programme temporarily attracts professional migrants back home to train native workers and students and offers a variety of incentives to attract both migrants' human and physical capital for the development of the origin country.

No systematic research explicitly covers the role that the origin country plays in favouring immigrant integration, directly or indirectly.

Empirical analyses of immigrant integration frequently specify an immigrant's country of origin. But the country-fixed effect on immigrant wages is derived from one of the few pieces of research which considers different destinations and different countries of origin: Algar et al. (2010) combines different cultures, religions, natural abilities and, last but not least, actions by relatives and interventions by governments or associations that support immigrant integration. The research controls only for

education, gender, first-generation or second-generation migrants and thus the country-of-origin fixed effect can be a little inflated by the missing variables. However, the results show that, in France, the country-of-origin's fixed effect is significant – and negative – only for Turkish, African and Maghreb male immigrants. It is not significant for males from Northern and Southern Europe, Eastern Europe or Asia. This result implies that immigrants coming from Europe or Asia are not statistically different from natives. Female immigrants from Eastern European countries show a disadvantage in terms of remuneration. In Germany and in the UK, a similar picture emerges. All areas of origin show a disadvantage in wage terms. In Germany the main disadvantaged groups are Italian and Greek male immigrants as well as Turkish women and ethnic German immigrants. This result should be taken as a general indication of a country-fixed effect but it should be verified with more controls. For instance, the duration of stay could produce different results and reduce the size of the coefficient or even reduce its significance, showing that there is something left unexplained. Zorlu and Hartog (2012) also found that the introduction of the country of origin made the education variable irrelevant in the employment assimilation of immigrants in the Netherlands.

The Actions of the Actors of the Country of Origin Are Already Included in Many Explicative Variables

If we look at the variables used in assimilation regressions, many of them are explicitly part of the policy that actors from the country of origin implement to help or hinder the integration of immigrants. The tuition of the language spoken in the country of destination is part of an educational policy undertaken by the country of origin that can support international mobility. The duration of stay is again strongly linked to the policy that the country of origin implements to support settlement in the destination country, circular migration or returns home. A government that accepts double citizenship favours an immigrant's move from one country to the other; governments that force citizens to give up their citizenship upon acquiring one from another country, on the other hand, encourage the foreign national to make a more permanent move and a more total form of integration.

Explicit Inclusion of the Country-of-Origin Link

The only explicit way in which economic research has taken into account the origin country has been two-fold: by modelling the decision to remain in the destination country; and by looking at how this decision changes immigrant quality (in economic terms) for the better or for the worse. This approach is crucial for quality composition analyses of the immigrant groups who choose to remain, and of their progress towards integration. If the best performing groups leave the country of destination of course,

the results will be the under-assimilation of the group. If, instead, the worst move you will find over-assimilation, induced by immigrant quality selection. The father of this strand of research is Dustmann (2003) who tried to explain the decisions of foreign workers to remain or leave a country of destination. In this respect the country of origin plays a very important role by favouring return, keeping links with immigrants and attracting them back. Family members if they are still located in the country of origin, can also play a vital role. Several scholars use different instruments according to information available in the dataset at disposal. Some use family members at home, mainly children and partners, while other authors use variables that are better linked to labour market trends, for instance job positions in the destination country and the creation of jobs and wage growth in the origin country (Dustmann 2003; Constant and Massey 2003; Strøm et al. 2013; De Haas and Fokkema 2011; Dustmann and Weiss 2007; Dustmann et al. 2007).

To control selectivity, a two-step analysis is done. In a first regression the return decision is modelled and estimated. Then in the assimilation equation, a control for the probability of return is added (IV instruments). Research has documented both results. A negative selection, namely that the immigrants with worse performance remain, has been found for instance in Germany (Constant and Massey 2003) and in Italy (Strøm et al. 2013) by using different datasets and variables to model the origin country's attraction.

In this way, we find some direct effects by actors in the country of origin, namely government, associations and family members, that favour return, but rarely a more precise indication of the specific adopted policies that affect a return to the origin country or permanent settlement. No experiments have been carried out to see whether the introduction of, say, a more open migration policy would encourage circular migration or support both return and settlement.

The inclusion, in the assimilation equation, of the control for selective return is very important. It changes our approach to assimilation by breaking down immigrant moves into various phases, and by showing that an immigrant's decision to stay or go is not necessarily permanent. It is well known that migration is not always a permanent move, and according to the OECD report (2008) between 20% and 50% of immigrants return home or at least leave to a third country. Some countries have better records of keeping up immigrant inflows and transforming them into permanent settlers: for instance, the US, Canada and New Zealand. This is related to the more impressive job options available in these labour markets, but also to the bilateral relationships which link countries of origin with these destinations.

The Impact of the Country-of-Origin Actors

As Fig. 2.4 points out, there are different types of country-of-origin actors who can play different roles.

Country-of-origin governments can affect the migration policy of destination countries by negotiating specific migrant group compositions by type of immigrant,

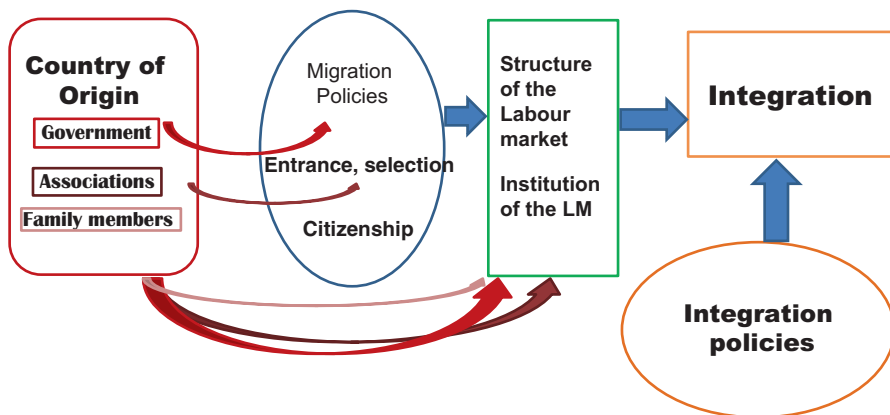


Fig. 2.4 The actors and instruments of integration

such as labour, family member, student; by pushing for special quota conditions and terms of stay for their citizens through bilateral agreements; by accepting or declining double nationality conditions; by defining double taxation rules; and by establishing portability of pension rights etc. (First arrow in Fig. 2.4). If they are part of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), governments can even intervene inside the ENP to influence policies that take country actions into account and favour the development of participating countries and increases in human capital.

Associations can affect the migration policies of destination countries as well, for instance by lobbying for changes to destination country legislation: this might be on matters concerning labour entry and family reunification. They operate by mobilising the diaspora abroad, but the initial push is based in the origin country.

In addition, government institutions can support the employment of potential immigrants (second arrow in Fig. 2.4) through the public organization of job search services. They can negotiate and organise international recruitment, as ANAPEC does in Morocco. Failing this they can, at minimum, direct individual job searches. Governments in countries such as the Philippines also organise voluntary or compulsory pre-departure training, which helps integration in the destination country by providing information on language, habits, the legal system and necessary skills. Or they might organise training after the job offer is defined as part of international labour agreements, as is done in Colombia (see Martin and Makaryan 2015).

Finally, origin institutions can support increases in human capital through educational policies, thereby improving the knowledge of the destination country language and also the employability of immigrants.

In this same area, associations can provide support for job searches and worker skills-matching. They can also organise specific training courses for potential immigrants. There are different types of organizations that run these types of programmes. Some of them are linked to ethnicity, others to the religion of the immigrants. Some

have antennae in destination countries, others in origin countries. All, however, try in different ways to support the moves of migrants and their integration in the national community of the destination country, or at best in the destination country more generally. The Filipino community offers a good example of support: it organises job placement services; training on the legal setting of the destination country; language training; money transfers (it also lends money); and also supports those who do not have an active family network. A similar role is taken up by the family or the extended family that is connected with the diaspora abroad.

State support of actors by origin country (governments, associations and families) is very important before as well as during an immigrant's move to the destination country. This helps to ensure the best possible settlement of immigrants inside the country of destination and also favours job matching.

All these actions are very difficult to measure. But if the observable characteristics of immigrants are the same and a large differential exists between the integration of immigrant workers, a great deal can be imputed to the actions implemented by origin-country actors.

This analysis becomes even more important in light of social research which stresses the transnationalism of those immigrants who remain in between two countries: that is, they are part of two different social contexts with friends and relatives on both sides of the world (see Vertovec 2009). From an economic standpoint, an immigrant's move is implicitly permanent. The immigrant is permanently in the destination country and can be compared to a native worker who was born there and who has remained there. Only a correction for the probability of return introduces some flexibility and reality. Both these hypotheses are questionable, however: immigrants do not necessarily remain in the destination country permanently and, in any case, native workers move abroad. Thus assimilation can also come about through many temporary stays, even if their sequence is broken.

In addition, it is important to stress that many countries of origin have changed their attitude towards immigrants and the narrative around migration. In the past they may have considered immigrants to be "traitors" or just temporarily outside the country and origin remittances (e.g. Morocco). More recently some of them, for example Turkey and Morocco, have become proactive in supporting immigrant integration in the destination country. The reasons that have pushed these changes in attitude have been various: the possibility of integration, after return, is becoming increasingly difficult; few jobs are available in the homeland; and a better integrated community abroad can support increased foreign investment in the homeland, higher levels of remittances (as with the Philippines) and more job options abroad for nationals, making immigrants "ambassadors" of the origin country.

The narrative of migration is very important as well, because it shapes the attitude of both the immigrant and the immigrant community versus the origin country, and induces virtuous behaviour. How can we control the concrete actions of the country of origin to further integration? This is difficult to operationalise even if there have been significant discourses on the subject.

Phases and Functions Which Contribute to Integration

In this section we try to understand the impact of the country of origin in supporting the integration of immigrants. Martin and Makarayan, in the project MisMes (2015), try to understand the policies carried out by different actors in the country of origin. They distinguish three phases: before, during and after migration. We would like instead to distinguish the different functions that the country-of-origin interventions play in the economic integration of the immigrant at destination. These can be developed before or even after migration and the match but they, nevertheless, further integration.

Box 2.1 Functional Breakdown of Action Which Support the Employability of the Immigrant

a-Creation of labour-, human- or social-capital suited for a better match and increase in technical productivity

- a-1 Education
- a-2 Professional training, general or specific ex-ante or ex-post match
- a-3 Specific legal training in the type of legislation immigrants will face in destination labour market training in the destination language

b-Creation of general and social human capital

- b-1 General training in the destination language
- b-2 Training in the social habits prevailing in destination countries

c-Affecting the migration legislation of the destination country

- c-1 Legislation which defines access to the country and its implementation
- c-2 Legislation and implementation which defines the stay in the country: namely different types of residence permits, their duration etc.
- c-3 Citizenship legislation acquisition and related rights

d-Favouring the Match

- d-1 Supporting action which favour the entrance of natives
- d-2 Helping immigrants in favouring their match by job search projects

e-Favouring upgrades

- e-1 The narrative of migration in the country of origin should be positive “ambassadors”
- e-2 Supporting the community with consular offices and association: lending money for investment.

Actions that lead to the creation of human capital (Group **a** Box 2.1) include school education or special technical courses; destination country language courses; and courses on labour contracts and the legal system. These actions support the employability of the potential immigrant abroad and are usually organised by the government, although some associations also support these activities in the country of origin before departure. Occasionally, under special agreements, these activities are organised in collaboration with destination institutions.

The second group (**b** in Box 2.1) includes all actions that increase human and social capital: namely language tuition and the provision of introductory information about the destination society. These types of trainings are frequently extended to reunified family members who do not receive professional information on how to conduct job searches. These trainings increase the employability of a given immigrant although they are not specifically geared toward this goal, unlike the first group. The courses are generally provided by governmental institutions or associations in the country of origin, and only occasionally through joint projects which also involve the country of destination.

We have already discussed actions that can be carried out by the government of the country of origin and by associations (**c** Box 2.1) to make origin country legislation more immigrant friendly, for example fixing preferential quotas, providing preferential access, and so forth. In this group we can also include actions target the lack of education degree recognition, which is frequently said to be at the root of immigrant discrimination. The subject is very complex and this is not the place to examine it, but the recognition of the level and quality of an immigrant's education depends on formal agreements between origin and destination countries.

Country-of-origin actors can also provide job matching support. All family relatives in destination and origin countries, as well as associations and the government itself can support an immigrant's efforts to find a job and in particular, the most appropriate job based on skills honed in the origin country (**d** Box 2.1). This is a very important step in the integration process, especially in terms of potential future career advancement (**e** Box 2.1). As we showed above, finding a first job that does not lead to any career opportunities is one of the main reasons for the under-assimilation of immigrants. Origin-country actors can also play an important role in protecting the labour and social rights of immigrants in the destination country, by fighting against worker exploitation and pushing for better social and political rights for immigrants. The community itself can also act democratically in the destination country through local elections, interventions in newspapers and local protests to defend immigrant rights. There is no question that support from associations and the origin country government strengthen a community's impact.

An interesting example of a country which takes great care of its citizens abroad is the Philippines. The Philippine government targets low-skilled jobs in the care and family services sector in many destination areas in Europe, the US and the Gulf countries. To this end, it provides relevant training for its future immigrant workers through language tuition, legal courses on the rights and legislation of the country of destination and courses that provide the professional skills demanded by the targeted jobs. All of this is possible because the immigrant is obliged to receive

government authorization for legal migration, and moving legally is much less costly than moving illegally. After departure, immigrant associations and the family play an important role in facilitating job matching and job allocation and in providing support to the immigrant worker during their stay. The association acts as a placement agency, tracking destination labour demands and finding appropriate workers. Associations do not feel responsible for each individual worker; instead they tend to try to maximise the total output for the community. In this way the result of their activities is more efficient. But while the Filipino community has one of the higher employment rates among immigrant communities abroad, the care and family service sector do not offer professional advancement opportunities. The narrative of the migration process has not changed in many years. The objective of the government is to create the “super maid”, meaning that its targeted jobs remain limited to low-skilled workers. It seems a successful story, at least for the first generation, but given the professional reproduction of the community – children continue in the same sector – it is questionable in the long run.

Chinese migration is low skilled because Chinese students tend to return back home, where there are interesting job options. But they also return because their move abroad was always conceived by actors in the country of origin as an acquisition of human capital, not as a step towards permanent migration.

The Moroccan Government has changed its narrative of the migration of its citizens. Even the acquisition of a foreign citizenship does not imply the loss of the Moroccan citizenship; Moroccan citizens remain Moroccan all their lives. The Government also has a labour placement agency, ANAPEC, which helps prospective immigrants find jobs abroad. In some periods it has been more active and efficient, and in others less so. Tunisia also negotiated a quota of immigrants with Italy in order to bolster Tunisian emigration but the quota was rarely filled.¹ It is too early to determine the effect of the just-signed partnership agreement between Italy and Egypt: it remains to be seen whether it will play a role in the integration of Egyptian workers, who frequently use tourist visas to enter Italy for seasonal work.

Conclusion

In this paper we have stressed that policy makers need a comprehensive approach to immigrant integration, in which the roles of all actors are taken into account and all possible actions undertaken by them before, during and after migration are controlled for.

The integration of immigrants depends on more than just integration policies, which are often organised locally. Labour market functioning and job selection upon entry into the destination country are crucial for understanding whether “integratable” immigrants are let in or not. In this process, the role of the country of origin with its institutions, associations and extended family is very important. The

¹ See different CARIM countries reports at www.migrationpolicycentre.eu

indirect role of policies to provide education and training increase immigrants' human capital, which is an asset for migration and integration. In addition, the country of origin can take more specific policy actions that have a direct effect on the employability of immigrants. This role has generally been neglected in order to focus instead on integration policies, which act in an environment created by the labour market, migration policies in a broad sense and country-of-origin actors. In addition, the role played by the diaspora in the destination countries can be as important as that of the community at home.

It has become crucial to develop a comprehensive approach to migrant integration policies that starts from the country of origin. This was the objective of the INTERACT project, which analysed a larger set of policy options for countries of origin. These might include: bilateral agreements; investment in training and education in origin countries before migration; and job placement agencies. Organising these types of interventions after arrival and after difficult phases of integration are much more costly and much less efficient for immigrants and for destination countries, which in fact have ties to country of origin actors. So it is in the interest first of the migrant, then of the community in the country of origin and last, but probably most importantly, of the society of the destination country to collaborate on an early integration project with the institutions in the country of origin.

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Migrant Integration Between Homeland and Host
Society Volume 1

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Weinar, A.; Unterreiner, A.; Fargues, P. (Eds.)

2017, X, 251 p. 6 illus., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-56174-5