



Labour Market Disadvantages of Citizens with a Migration Background in Belgium: A Systematic Review

Louise Devos¹ · Louis Lippens¹ · Dries Lens² · François Rycx³ ·
Mélanie Volral⁴ · Stijn Baert⁵

Accepted: 29 September 2024
© The Author(s) 2024

Abstract

Labour markets struggle to be inclusive, while diversity is increasing. This literature review examines labour market challenges faced by first- and second-generation migrants in Belgium. We systematically review articles published between 2010 and 2023 in the Web of Science Core Collection to delineate underlying mechanisms, associated solutions, policy recommendations and literature gaps. The literature reveals that individuals with a migration background generally experience poorer labour market outcomes than natives. These outcomes vary based on specific origin and gender and persist from the first into the second generation. The mechanisms underlying these poorer outcomes are discrimination, individual preferences, and human and social capital differences. Recommendations for employers include implementing standardised hiring procedures and fostering awareness of discrimination among recruiters. On the employee side, investing in human capital, increasing labour market knowledge, and having competencies formally recognised can help to narrow employment gaps. Our review also advocates for policy refinement to combat biases and suggests that alternative pathways to attaining employment, such as self-employment and volunteering, are promising areas for future research.

Keywords Belgium · Migration · Labour market · Systematic review

✉ Louise Devos
Louise.Devos@UGent.be

¹ Ghent University and Centre for the Social Study of Migration and Refugees, Sint-Pietersplein 6, 9000 Ghent, Belgium

² Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy (University of Antwerp), Antwerp, Belgium

³ CEBRIG & DULBEA (Université Libre de Bruxelles), Soci&Ter, IRES, GLO and IZA, Brussels, Belgium

⁴ Soci&Ter (Université de Mons), Mons, Belgium

⁵ Ghent University, University of Antwerp, Université Catholique de Louvain and IZA, Ghent, Belgium

1 Introduction

Belgium has a long history of migration. In the 1950s and 1960s, employers recruited unskilled workers of Southern European, North African, and Turkish origins to work in the mining and heavy industry sectors (Lens, 2022). In subsequent decades, labour migration remained an important entry route to Belgium, while family migration increased (Corluy, 2014). From 1990 onwards, the number of asylum seekers rose (Lens et al., 2019), and more European Union (EU) citizens migrated to Belgium following EU enlargements (Myria, 2018). This shift in migration reasons has resulted in the relative importance of work-related migration in Belgium being among the lowest in European OECD countries today (OECD, 2023).

Migration has profoundly changed the Belgian labour market. Individuals with a non-Belgian background now constitute a sizable proportion of the country's population and workforce. As of January 2024, approximately 18.4% of the population in Belgium were first-generation migrants, whereas 16.9% were second-generation migrants (Statbel, 2024). This makes Belgium one of the most multicultural countries in the OECD (Piton & Rycx, 2021). While the gender distribution is fairly even across different origin groups, the age distribution varies markedly. Among first- and second-generation migrants, only 8.3% are older than 65, whereas this percentage is considerably higher at 26.4% for the native population (Statbel, 2024).¹

Amid changes in the ethnic composition of the labour force, Belgium faces a persistent challenge. Despite having various federal and regional measures in place to promote migrant labour market integration—such as civic integration programs, active labour market policies, and anti-discrimination initiatives—many individuals with a migration background are not fully integrated. This is especially true for those of non-EU origin (Baert & Cockx, 2013; Fays et al., 2021; FPS Employment & Unia, 2022; Grinza et al., 2020; Hoge Raad voor de Werkgelegenheid, 2018; Kampelmann & Rycx, 2016; OECD, 2022; Wood & Neels, 2020). To illustrate, Belgium has the highest share of inactive non-EU migrants in the EU (Baert et al., 2024). Figure 1 underscores this challenge, revealing that Belgium has the lowest employment rates for first-generation non-EU migrants compared to its neighbouring and Scandinavian countries. Employment rates for second-generation migrants are also notably low in Belgium, particularly for non-EU migrants. This disparity is especially concerning as the labour market integration of second-generation migrants is a benchmark for the success of integration policy. This poor labour market integration results partly from differences in education levels and discrimination (Eurostat, 2023; OECD, 2023).

Existing studies offer valuable insights into labour market dynamics for individuals with different migration backgrounds in Belgium, with most focussing

¹ Own calculations, based on Statbel (2024).

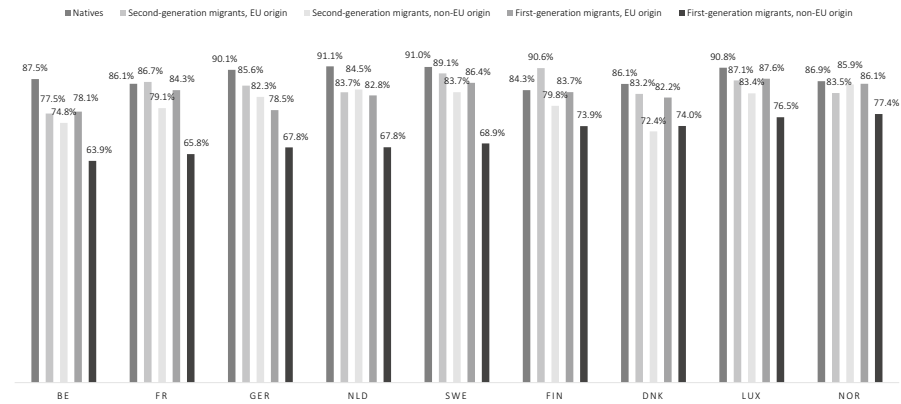


Fig. 1 Employment rates by migrant status in Belgium and selected EU27 countries (2023). *Notes.* This figure depicts employment rates by migrant status and origin in 2023 for Belgium, its neighbouring countries and the well-scoring Scandinavian countries. We used the following abbreviations: BE (Belgium), FR (France), GER (Germany), NLD (the Netherlands), SWE (Sweden), FIN (Finland), DNK (Denmark), LUX (Luxembourg), and NOR (Norway). Data retrieved from Eurostat (2023)

specifically on those with a non-EU background due to their particularly challenging labour market integration. However, the literature misses a comprehensive review grounded in empirical research, which systematically combines and evaluates challenges and potential solutions.² By conducting a systematic literature review covering papers published in the Web of Science Core Collection between 2010 and 2023, we provide an overarching view of the disparities in labour market outcomes between natives and first- and second-generation migrants.

Our contribution to the scientific discourse is fourfold. First, we outline the differences in labour market outcomes between people with a migration background and natives, the underlying mechanisms influencing labour market integration from both employer and employee perspectives, and potential remedies for poor labour market integration. Second, drawing on the literature, we consolidate policy and research recommendations. Third, we discuss the suggested remedies and policy recommendations within the context of the current legislative framework. Last, this systematic literature review reveals gaps in the academic literature. Through these contributions, our study helps to realise the goal of decent work for all. The United Nations has incorporated this objective into its seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs) to achieve a better and more sustainable future for everyone by 2030.

The structure of our study is as follows: Sect. 2 provides an overview of the theories underpinning the reviewed literature, along with a brief outline of the Belgian institutional context. Section 3 discusses the methods used. Section 4 presents the results of our literature review. Section 5 synthesises remedies and policy

² For a comprehensive discussion of the labour market position of people with a migration background in Belgium, including descriptive statistics, we refer readers to the non-academic reports by the FPS Employment and Unia (2022) and the Hoge Raad voor de Werkgelegenheid (2018).

recommendations, discusses these recommendations within the current legislative framework, and suggests areas for future research. Section 6 concludes the review.

2 Background

This section provides background information for readers seeking a deeper understanding of the theories underlying differences in labour market outcomes between individuals with a migration background and native citizens. It also offers insights into the specific Belgian context of our study. The insights and discussions of our literature review rely on the theories and institutional context presented here.

2.1 Classical and Segmented Assimilation

The integration of migrant labour into host countries' markets is a dynamic process characterised by two main perspectives: classical assimilation and segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Both viewpoints acknowledge the labour market challenges faced by migrants in the short term. However, their expectations regarding long-term integration outcomes differ for individuals with a migration background.

The classical assimilation perspective (e.g., Alba et al., 2011; Parks & Myers, 2010) posits that migrants gradually integrate into the host country's labour market. This viewpoint underscores the diminishing disparities in human capital between migrants and natives as time progresses. Migrants progressively acquire proficiency in the host country's language, pursue local education and training, and experience fewer discriminatory practices as conditions improve. Children of migrants who are educated in the host country, are fluent in the native language, and hold recognised qualifications are expected to achieve labour market outcomes comparable to those of native-born children.

In contrast, the segmented assimilation perspective prioritises social mechanisms that sustain migrants' initial disadvantages (e.g., Blau et al., 2013; Phalet & Heath, 2010). For example, disparities in educational levels and, consequently, human capital can persist. Lens et al. (2015) summarise that the academic careers of ethnic minorities are characterised by less participation, less retention, and less success compared to the academic careers of the native-born population. Additionally, individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds are overrepresented in less-esteemed educational tracks and underrepresented in both general and higher forms of education (Lens & Levrau, 2020). This overrepresentation contributes to migrants being confined to secondary labour markets with low-paying jobs and limited upward mobility. Migrant social networks, particularly homogeneous ethnic ties, offer initial job-seeking support, but connections within the native population prove more effective for finding stable and high-paying employment (Kalter & Kogan, 2014; Kanas et al., 2012; Lancee & Hartung, 2012). Furthermore, discriminatory practices tend

to persist over time. Therefore, even second-generation migrants face ethnic disadvantages upon entering the labour market (Heath & Cheung, 2007).

Evidence for assimilation theories in the Belgian context is limited, but it tends to support segmented assimilation rather than classical assimilation (Lens, 2023; Verhaeghe et al., 2017). This finding aligns with the majority of the international literature (Baeyens et al., 2020). Various factors contribute to the direction of assimilation, including those related to employers, employees, and the institutional setting. Below, we discuss these factors from a theoretical perspective, noting that the order does not necessarily reflect their relative importance in the Belgian context.

2.2 Employer-Side Mechanisms

On the employer side, a possible explanation for differences in labour market outcomes can be found in theories of discrimination.³ We make a distinction between statistical and taste-based discrimination. Statistical discrimination occurs when employers rely on group-level statistical information instead of individual characteristics to form judgements regarding an individual. Employers may resort to statistical discrimination when they lack complete information about individuals. In some cases, acquiring additional information may be impractical or the costs of obtaining it may outweigh the potential benefits (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). An example is the emphasis employers place on educational credentials. Employers often use these credentials as proxies for predicting worker productivity, which can disadvantage migrants if their foreign qualifications are undervalued or unrecognised (Chiswick & Miller, 2009).

Due to the impracticality or cost of acquiring more precise information, statistical discrimination based on accurate group-level data can be viewed as economically rational. However, it can also stem from erroneous or inaccurate beliefs (Bohren et al., 2019; Lang & Kahn-Lang Spitzer, 2020). As a result, employers may attribute negative group-level stereotypes to minority candidates, leading to unequal labour market outcomes. As Lippens et al. (2022) summarise, examples of such statistical inference include assumptions about lower language proficiency, lower educational attainment, or unproductive personality traits among ethnic minority candidates (e.g., Carlsson, 2010; Kaas & Manger, 2012).

Taste-based discrimination is rooted in preferences rather than information about individual candidates (Arrow, 1973; Becker, 1971). Employers may be reluctant to collaborate with individuals of migrant backgrounds or assume that their employees or customers harbour similar reservations (Lippens et al., 2022). Collaborating with minorities for whom a party harbours such aversions entails a fictitious cost for this party. Employers are likely to engage in taste-based discrimination if this cost of

³ In 2021 in Belgium, 4% of first-generation EU27 migrants and 7% of first-generation non-EU migrants reported feeling discriminated against at work. Among EU27 migrants, 80% of men and 50% of women cited their origin as the reason for discrimination, compared to 90% and 75% among non-EU migrants. These figures likely underestimate overall discrimination, as they only capture perceived discrimination in current employment, not during job searches (Binst et al., 2023).

collaboration is sufficiently high. An employer harbouring bias against minority candidates acts as if an hour of labour by a minority candidate incurs higher costs than it truly does. Employees with such biases behave as though their wages are reduced by this perceived cost. Moreover, when employers perceive that customers harbour aversion towards a particular minority, hiring employees from the majority category may be financially advantageous to avoid losing customers or even stimulate sales (Becker, 1971; Borjas, 2020; Combes et al., 2016).

Theoretical predictions in the taste-based discrimination model hinge on whether prejudice is encountered by the employer, colleagues or customers. Specifically, the short- and long-term outcomes regarding wage discrimination and employment segregation differ. If employers hold prejudiced views, wage discrimination and employment segregation manifest in the short run, but market forces are expected to eliminate these issues in the long run. However, in imperfectly competitive labour markets, as demonstrated by Black (1995), wage discrimination and employment segregation may persist. In cases involving prejudiced colleagues, there is no wage discrimination, but employment segregation persists in both the short and long run. When prejudiced customers are considered, wage discrimination and employment segregation are predicted to occur in both the short and long run (Becker, 1971). In addition to market forces, other contextual factors can also influence the prevalence of taste-based discrimination. Taste-based discrimination typically increases when minority traits are more prominent or when there is greater social, socioeconomic, or physical distance (Becker, 1971; Lang & Kahn-Lang Spitzer, 2020).

Besides discrimination, other factors can also explain employers' hiring decisions regarding migrants. Examples include employers' perceptions of migrants' integration and administrative procedures. These factors are discussed in detail in the sections on employee-side mechanisms and institutional settings.

2.3 Employee-Side Mechanisms

On the employee side, cultural values and socio-cultural adaptability significantly influence labour market outcomes (Borjas, 1992). For instance, cultural disparities in gender patterns, such as work-family responsibilities, contribute to the lower labour market integration of women with a migration background (Clark et al., 1991; Kok et al., 2011; Maes et al., 2022).⁴ These values and behaviours are components of social capital. According to Putnam's (2000) definition, social capital constitutes the collective resources, trust, and reciprocity embedded within social networks and communities. People with a migration background may encounter difficulties

⁴ According to Belgian data from 2021, 23.7% of inactive women of Belgian origin aged 25–45 cite family responsibilities as the reason for not working, compared to 4.9% of Belgian-origin men. The corresponding percentages for first-generation migrant women are much higher, with 48.4% of first-generation EU women and 57.3% of first-generation non-EU women citing family responsibilities as their reason for inactivity. In contrast, the percentages for first-generation migrant men are much closer to those of Belgian-origin men, at 2.4% for EU men and 9.8% for non-EU men. Among second-generation migrant women, the percentages are again more in line with Belgian-origin women, with 21.2% for EU women and 24.8% for non-EU women. No second-generation migrant men from the sample report family responsibilities as a reason for not working (Binst et al., 2023).

establishing qualitative professional networks due to factors such as social isolation and limited access to native networks, especially when the cultural distance between the country of origin and the host country is large. These challenges may lead to less efficient job search strategies and inferior long-term employment outcomes compared to natives (Behtoui, 2007; Parks-Yancy, 2006).

Social capital is closely associated with human capital. Human capital comprises the totality of knowledge and skills an individual possesses, acquired through formal education and training and informal learning experiences (Becker, 1964). According to the classical human capital theory, a rise in human capital increases a worker's productivity, which results in higher wages in a perfectly competitive market (Mincer, 1958).

Disparities in the absolute stock of human capital and associated variations in productivity serve as a first human capital explanation for diverse labour market outcomes. Due to limited educational possibilities in many origin countries, migrants bring lower educational qualifications on average than those required to successfully integrate into the host country's labour market.⁵ A second human capital explanation involves the imperfect transferability of human capital. Skills that are valuable in one labour market may not always translate to another, making part of a worker's human capital country-specific (Schmidt, 1997). Furthermore, some qualifications from the country of origin may not be recognised in the destination country. Additionally, screening theory highlights the weak signal that a foreign diploma may send to employers, who often undervalue education acquired in developing countries (Chiswick & Miller, 2009).⁶ Third, host country language proficiency is integral to human capital, and the effect of language skills on labour market success is amplified through its interaction with education, training, and labour force experience (Borjas, 1992; Chiswick & Miller, 1992).⁷ A fourth human capital explanation relates to the search and match theory (Groot & Maassen van den Brink, 2000). This theory posits that disparities between the skills and knowledge

⁵ According to Belgian data from 2021, approximately 13% of the native population aged 25–64 has not pursued education beyond lower secondary, compared to slightly over 17% for EU27 migrants, and over 31% for first-generation non-EU migrants. In contrast, 48% of native Belgians hold a higher education degree, compared to 50% of EU27 migrants, while only 35% of first-generation non-EU migrants achieve this level of education. The percentage rises to 41% for second-generation non-EU migrants (Binst et al., 2023). The educational gap between non-EU born and native-born Belgian inhabitants is among the largest in the EU (OECD, 2023).

⁶ The imperfect transferability of human capital is a particular issue for non-EU migrants in Belgium. In 2021, only 36% of non-EU-born higher education graduates sought recognition of their foreign qualifications, with only 49.6% of applicants receiving full or partial recognition. Many non-EU graduates who did not apply cited barriers such as perceived lack of necessity, insufficient knowledge, costs, or procedural complexity (Binst et al., 2023). In Flanders, however, nearly six out of ten non-EU migrants with upper-secondary and tertiary education obtained their qualifications abroad, a markedly higher proportion than in Germany, the Netherlands, and France (OECD, 2023).

⁷ Language proficiency among first-generation migrants in Belgium varies by region and origin. Approximately 70% of migrants in Brussels from both EU and non-EU countries have at least an intermediate level of French, while in Wallonia, this figure is 75%. In Flanders, however, only 40–50% of migrants, depending on whether they are EU or non-EU origin, report more than basic Dutch proficiency. Language barriers are a major obstacle to finding suitable employment, cited by 45% of EU-born and 41% of non-EU-born migrants (Binst et al., 2023).

that migrants bring and those needed in the host country can arise due to imperfect information about the host country's labour market.⁸ This challenge becomes more pronounced when the country of origin and the host country have significantly different institutional contexts (Chiswick & Miller, 2009).

The influence of different supply-side factors on first-generation migrants is closely tied to their reasons for migrating. Migrants motivated by economic opportunities generally achieve better outcomes than those migrating for family reunification or as refugees. As presented by Chiswick (1978), economic theory suggests that migration driven by economic incentives tends to be more profitable for individuals who are more capable and motivated. This self-selection implies that, for similar levels of education, age, and demographics, migrants possess greater innate abilities or motivation relevant to the labour market than native-born individuals. This self-selection may however be weaker in cases of migration due to non-economic reasons, such as family reunification or political pressure. Moreover, migration is not permanent in many cases. This impermanence makes both migrants and their employers hesitant to invest in human capital specific to the host country, and instead, they pursue labour market opportunities that promise quicker returns (Dustmann, 2000). Additionally, the lack of family support for many migrants creates an urgent need for immediate employment to sustain themselves and send remittances to family members back home. Consequently, they tend to take low-skilled, low-paying, readily available jobs (Kalter & Kogan, 2006; Lens & Oslejová, 2018). Combined with the higher job search frictions experienced by migrants compared to natives, these factors can lead to monopsonistic discrimination by employers. Monopsonistic or oligopolistic employers can leverage their market power to discriminate based on migration status, not only in terms of wages but also in hiring practices. These employers use the profits gained from their dominant position to offset the inefficiencies that arise from treating equally productive workers differently based on migration status. This discrimination can lead to sectoral and occupational segregation and result in poorer labour market outcomes for persons with a migration background (Hirsch & Jahn, 2015; Pineda-Hernández et al., 2022).

2.4 Institutional Settings

Labour market disadvantages for individuals with a migration background are closely tied to the host country's institutional framework. Migration policies shape migrant selection based on human capital and skill relevance (Borjas, 1994). Once migration occurs, integration policies are crucial for successful labour market integration. An example of such a migration policy is acquiring citizenship in the host country. Citizenship aids in overcoming labour market barriers by removing practical impediments and through the integration signal it conveys. This phenomenon is also called the citizenship premium (Corluy et al., 2011). Access to nationality

⁸ For example, 2021 data from Belgium indicate that 34% of non-EU migrants work in jobs requiring lower skills than their previous positions in their country of origin, compared to 9% of EU-born migrants, underscoring the higher incidence of overqualification among non-EU migrants (Binst et al., 2023).

is just one aspect of migrant integration policy. Other factors include labour market mobility, the possibility of family reunification, access to education, the degree of political participation, the ease of obtaining permanent residence, and access to healthcare for migrants, together with the country's anti-discrimination policies (MIPEX, 2020).

Research suggests migrants fare better in countries with substantial low-skilled employment sectors and flexible labour markets. Flexibility serves as a risk-mitigating factor: if an ethnic minority candidate proves to be a wrong hire, the candidate can be easily replaced (Baeyens et al., 2020; Kogan, 2006). Furthermore, welfare state policies play a crucial role in influencing labour market prospects for migrants. Countries with restrictive welfare systems may push migrants into secondary labour market positions, while those with extensive support for job seekers may help them secure roles corresponding to their qualifications (Koopmans, 2009).

2.5 Belgian Institutional Framework

The federal state of Belgium is composed of four communities: Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels, and the German-speaking community. The federal government oversees migration, naturalisation, and the issuance of residence permits, while the regional governments handle employment and integration policies. Regional employment agencies are key to implementing integration initiatives, facilitating cooperation among institutions, and reaching disadvantaged groups.⁹ However, where employment agencies struggle with conflicts of interest or lack effective communication, integration outcomes are weaker, especially for marginalised groups. For instance, in Wallonia, where employment rates are the lowest, non-EU female migrants are particularly disadvantaged partly due to less effective coordination and outreach by employment agencies. In contrast, Flanders has more centralised policies and stronger employment agency involvement in European migration discussions, leading to better integration outcomes through tailored training programs for unskilled newcomers (Ahmad-Yar & Laurentsyeve, 2020).

Access to Belgian nationality is relatively attainable, primarily due to its rights-based procedure allowing dual nationality after 5 years of residence. However, conditions are restrictive, including good character, language, integration, and economic resource requirements. The country's facilitated naturalisation policy from 2000 to 2011 contributed to high naturalisation rates and migrant political participation. Since 2011–2013, however, family reunification policies have become less favourable, with demanding economic and accommodation requirements and the need for families to demonstrate 'reasonable efforts to integrate'. Despite these challenges, both non-EU and EU citizens can become long-term residents after 5 years of uninterrupted stay, provided they meet basic legal income criteria. Although

⁹ For a detailed description of the various public employment agencies in Belgium and their specific competencies regarding the labour market integration of migrants, we refer to a report from the European Migration Network (2018).

this long-term resident status is generally secure, it can be lost after 12 months of absence (MIPEX, 2020).

Scholars emphasise Belgium's rigid labour market as a key factor hindering migrant integration (Baeyens et al., 2020; Lens, 2022; Marx, 2019). Belgium's narrow income distribution, high minimum wage, and robust collective bargaining contribute to this hindrance, making low-skilled labour expensive. Educational prerequisites, especially regarding linguistic ability, and the limited use of atypical work arrangements further restrict employment opportunities for those lacking language skills or recognised qualifications. These factors create barriers for workers with low levels of education, especially among groups with additional challenges, such as first- and second-generation migrants (Høj, 2013; OECD, 2020). Moreover, both low- and highly-educated non-EU newcomers in Belgium face poorer quality and access to training compared to most European countries. Despite access to public employment services, vocational training, and recognition procedures, non-EU newcomers encounter greater delays and restrictions in accessing private, public, and self-employment and social security. Targeted support is primarily limited to language courses and basic orientation services (MIPEX, 2020).

3 Methods

This article provides a comprehensive literature review of the labour market outcomes of individuals with a migration background in Belgium. We used the SPIDER framework developed by Cooke et al. (2012) to formulate inclusion and exclusion criteria related to the sample, phenomenon of interest, design, evaluation, and research type of each study. Table 1 provides an overview of our specific inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Our sample includes studies that explore the labour market challenges faced by first- and second-generation migrants in Belgium. Terms such as first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants, migrants, and natives are defined differently in various studies. In this literature review, we consistently employ the following definitions for these terms. First-generation migrants are individuals born abroad who have migrated to Belgium. Second-generation migrants are the offspring of first-generation migrants, with at least one parent who was not born in Belgium. When referring to people with a migration background, this encompasses both first- and second-generation migrants. Last, natives are individuals who were born in Belgium, along with both of their parents.

For the phenomenon of interest, we adopted a microeconomic perspective. We considered (i) differences in labour market outcomes, including employment and quality of employment indicators, between natives and people with a migration background, (ii) employer- and employee-side mechanisms underlying these gaps, and (iii) associated solutions that do not transcend the policy level of the Belgian government. We restricted ourselves to empirical research in the form of causal and correlational studies. In doing so, we evaluated the differences in labour market outcomes between natives and first- and second-generation migrants. We considered primary, quantitative,

Table 1 Inclusion and exclusion criteria in the SPIDER framework

Criterion	Description	
	Included	Excluded
Sample	Individuals who can be classified as either first- or second-generation migrants in Belgium	Individuals from other vulnerable groups (such as older workers) or those belonging to the third- or later-generation migrants, as well as any sample not derived from Belgian data
Phenomenon of interest	Labour market outcome differences between natives and people with a migration background, employer- and employee-side mechanisms underlying these gaps, and associated remedies at the level of employers, employees, or policymakers in Belgium	The impact of macro-economic policies and trends, their underlying mechanisms, and potential solutions at levels beyond those involving employees, employers, or the Belgian government
Design	Causal and correlational research	Meta-analyses, systematic reviews, case studies, interview-type studies and theoretical papers
Evaluation	Differences in labour market outcomes between first- and second-generation migrants and natives	Outcomes not related to employment or quality of employment
Research type	Primary, quantitative, empirical research	Secondary and qualitative research

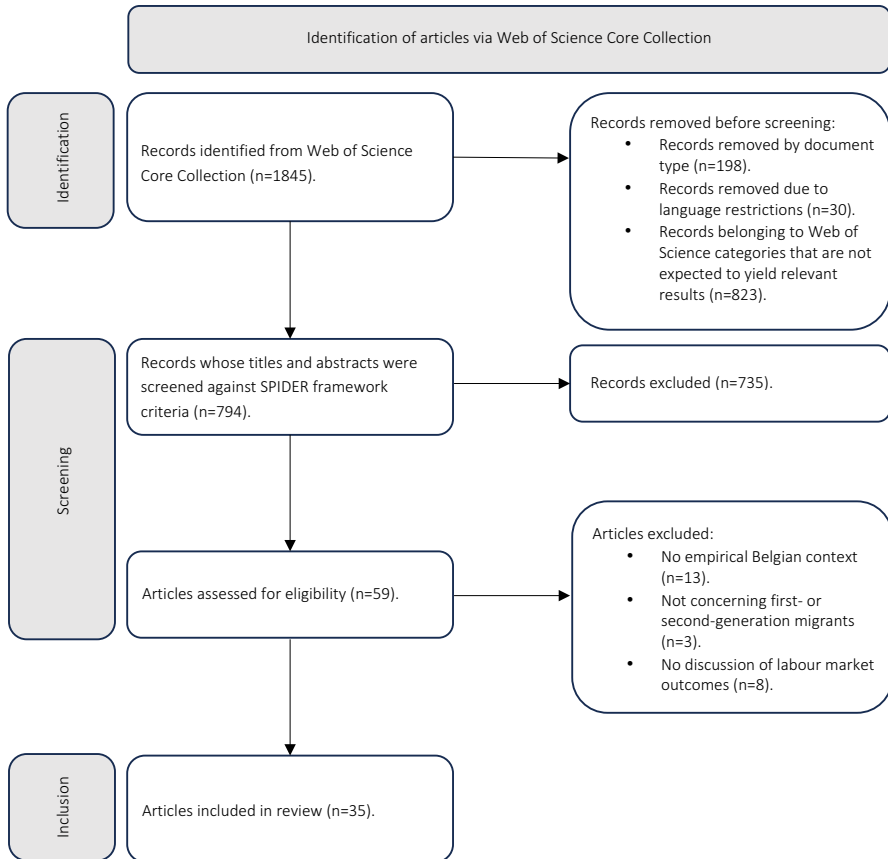


Fig. 2 Study selection flowchart. *Note.* This figure is adapted from Page et al. (2021)

and empirical research. This way, research underlying other systematic reviews was incorporated through recent individual papers.

To ensure temporal relevance, we considered articles published between 2010 and 2023, the most recent fully available year at publication. The initial selection was performed after a systematic Web of Science Core Collection search to include only peer-reviewed articles. We used different combinations of search terms from two topic-related clusters: (i) labour, work, job, employment, unemployment, inactivity, self-employment, public employment, part-time job, wage, overeducation, rent sharing, recruitment, remuneration, and job quality; and (ii) migrant, immigrant, migration, immigration, ethnicity, ethnic, race, and racial. In addition, we consistently included a third cluster of geographically-based search terms, which were allowed to appear in all fields of the records under consideration: (iii) Belgium, Belgian, Flanders, Flemish, Brussels, Wallonia, and Walloon.

This process initially resulted in 1845 records. We further restricted ourselves to articles written in English, French, and Dutch and excluded categories in Web of

Science that we did not expect to yield relevant results (see Table 3 in the appendix for a complete list of excluded categories). After this additional filtering, 794 records remained. A second selection was made by screening the abstracts against our inclusion and exclusion criteria, which resulted in 59 unique records. In the third step, we performed a full-text screening of the 59 studies. During the screening process, 13 studies (22%) were excluded due to a lack of the necessary empirical Belgian context, 3 studies (5%) did not address appropriate migrant generations, and another 8 studies (14%) did not address labour market outcomes. The studies were not required to focus exclusively on the Belgian context. However, only Belgian results are discussed in this literature review. We selected the remaining 35 studies for inclusion in our summary table. In Fig. 2, we use Page et al.'s (2021) PRISMA framework to represent the selection process visually.

Following our selection, we obtained the following information from the papers. For each study, we extracted (a) the bibliographic information, (b) the type of data, number of observations or individuals, and time span, and (c) the primary methodological approach used in the study. We also captured (d) the main findings on labour market outcomes of people with a migration background, (e) the underlying mechanisms discussed, and (f) the remedies cited in each study. This information enabled us to distinguish between mechanisms for which the study finds evidence and mechanisms that the authors cite as possible theoretical explanations for the results, as well as formulate policy recommendations. The authors of the included studies were then contacted to provide feedback on their studies in the summary table and their integration into the overall literature review. This process ensured that the findings of 27 out of the 35 studies underwent quality control by at least one of the respective authors.

4 Results

In this section, we delineate the key findings from our literature review, starting with an overview of the disparities in labour market outcomes between natives and first- and second-generation migrants, particularly those with a non-EU background. Subsequently, we delve into the mechanisms underlying these disparities, addressing both employer- and employee-oriented perspectives. Information on the included literature can be consulted in Table 2.

4.1 Labour Market Outcomes

Our analysis covers the likelihood of being employed, as well as determinants affecting the quality of employment, such as wage, the probability of experiencing overeducation, and associated rent sharing.

4.1.1 Employment

Upon examining employment probabilities among individuals with migration backgrounds in Belgium, distinct labour market patterns emerge for first- and

second-generation migrants compared to natives. Of the 35 studies reviewed, 26 (74%) describe employment outcomes. Among these, 14 studies (54%) detail the employment outcomes of first-generation migrants. Based on the observations from these studies, we conclude that first-generation migrants (i) express reduced expectations regarding employment prospects, (ii) manifest objectively lower probabilities of securing employment, and (iii) display slower exits from social assistance programmes. The differences in employment outcomes between migrants and natives are markedly greater for non-EU migrants than for EU migrants (e.g., Carpentier et al., 2017; Piton & Rycx, 2021; Verhaeghe et al., 2015; Verhaeghe et al., 2017).

Eighteen out of the 22 studies (82%) concerning employment outcomes of second-generation migrants observe disparities in comparison to natives (e.g., Baert & Cockx, 2013; Baert et al., 2016; Lippens et al., 2023). Second-generation migrants originating from countries further removed from Belgium, both in terms of geographical and cultural distance, appear to fare equally or even less favourably in the Belgian labour market than their parents. Conversely, those originating from countries closer to Belgium tend to outperform their parents (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Piton & Rycx, 2021; Verhaeghe et al., 2017).¹⁰

However, 4 out of the 22 studies (18%) that describe the employment outcomes of second-generation migrants in Belgium identify no discernible differences when comparing them to the outcomes of natives. These four studies examine second-generation migrants of Turkish, Maghrebian, Balkan, and Southern European origin. For instance, Verhaeghe et al. (2015) report no statistically significant disparities in employment likelihood between second-generation migrants of Turkish, Moroccan, or Balkan origin and natives. However, their study centres on the employment outcomes of a specific target group, namely labour market entrants who graduated from technical and vocational courses. In comparison to first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants of various origins appear to fare somewhat better, as illustrated in a study on social assistance by Carpentier et al. (2017).

In the examined studies, gender is the most frequently highlighted moderator, alongside region of origin, for both first- and second-generation migrants. In 10 of the 26 studies (38%) on employment outcomes, gender emerges as an important moderator. First-generation migrant women, particularly mothers, exhibit lower engagement in the labour market than their native counterparts. This trend is particularly evident within non-European migrant cohorts (Maes et al., 2022; Wood & Neels, 2017). However, for second-generation migrants, this effect seems to be less pronounced (Kil et al., 2018; Maes et al., 2022).

4.1.2 Quality of Employment

Among the 35 reviewed studies, 11 (31%) examine indicators of employment quality. These studies assess whether individuals with a migration background are more prone to overeducation compared to natives and investigate their fair compensation

¹⁰ Being culturally distant from the country of origin is also associated with poorer (self-reported) health outcomes of individuals with a migration background. This association is less pronounced among second-generation migrants than first-generation migrants (Detollenaere et al., 2018).

Table 2 Literature overview—labour market outcomes of people with a migration background in Belgium

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁰) and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
(A) Studies concerning first-generation migrants					
Corluy et al. (2011)	Cross-sectional survey data (92,39 observations in 2008)	Probit model	The study finds that obtaining Belgian citizenship benefits the employment prospects of non-Western migrants, particularly men and those with longer residence. However, non-Western-born migrants who obtain citizenship still face lower employment stability and higher unemployment than natives.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by the motivational and psychological effects of obtaining citizenship for migrants and employers, as citizenship signals commitment and helps to overcome labour market barriers.	N/A
Fays et al. (2021)	Unbalanced panel of administrative and survey data (836,937 individuals between 1999 and 2010)	OLS and GMM-IV in FD	The study finds varying degrees of wage discrimination across different origin groups, with Asians and Eastern Europeans experiencing the highest discrimination. Discrimination against migrants vanishes as their tenure increases and decreases in highly competitive product markets.	The study provides evidence for discrimination as a substantial part of observed wage differentials between EU15 and non-EU15 workers remains unexplained while specifying a wage-setting equation including a direct measure of worker productivity and numerous controls. The authors suggest that the fact that discrimination disappears with tenure is compatible with statistical and monopsonistic discrimination theories, as (i) tenure increases information about productivity, and (ii) tenured workers are likely to be better informed about the labour market and are therefore less often subject to monopsony behaviour by employers. According to the authors, the decrease in discrimination with increasing product market competition is in line with the prediction that increasing product market competition makes discrimination more costly.	N/A

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Fays et al. (2023)	Pooled cross-sectional administrative and survey data (245,418 observations between 2002 and 2010)	OLS and (un) conditional quantile regressions	The study finds that high-wage workers from developed countries receive a higher wage premium when employed higher up the GVC. In contrast, workers from developing countries receive less equitable rewards.	The study provides evidence for discrimination in general because the elasticity between wages and firm-level upstreamness differs between workers from developed and developing countries. The authors suggest that the main findings can also be explained by HC and bargaining power disparities, as HC differs by origin and highly educated workers have higher bargaining power.	N/A
Grinza et al. (2020)	Unbalanced panel of survey data (30,355 observations between 1999 and 2010)	GMM-IV in FD	The study finds that, in most firms, diversity in origin does not result in wage discrimination against migrants. However, wage discrimination is observed in firms with higher diversity levels. Significant wage discrimination effects occur only with abrupt workforce diversity changes. Additionally, firms that negotiate wages at the firm level experience a reduced negative impact of diversity on average hourly wages.	The authors suggest that their main findings can be explained by discrimination in general, as a high level of diversity can make the internal cohesion of a group of employees less strong, thereby reducing their bargaining power and making them more susceptible to discriminatory wages. Simultaneously, the authors suggest that firm-level bargaining diminishes discrimination by strengthening employees' bargaining power.	The authors state that wage discrimination in high-diversity firms could be alleviated through stronger collective bargaining and efforts to de-cluster individuals from countries with a low human development index in these firms. They also see potential in non-discrimination ombudsmen's offices.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Jacobs et al. (2021)	Pooled cross-sectional administrative and survey data (1,230,797 observations between 1999 and 2010)	Ordered probit model	The study finds that workers born in developing countries are more likely to be overeducated, particularly those born in Asia and North Africa and those holding tertiary education degrees. The likelihood of overeducation among migrants from developing countries decreases as tenure and firm size increase. Collective firm-level renegotiations and citizenship acquisition also have similar effects. Gender-based differences in migrants' penalties are modest.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by statistical discrimination, as tenure decreases asymmetric information about the migrant's productivity.	N/A
Jacobs et al. (2022b)	Pooled cross-sectional administrative and survey data (1,220,522 observations between 1999 and 2010)	OLS	The study finds that overeducated workers, regardless of origin, face a wage penalty compared to well-matched former classmates. This penalty is most pronounced for highly tenured workers from developing countries, especially those born in Africa or the Near or Middle East. Origin-based wage gaps associated with required education diminish with tenure. There is no evidence of a double jeopardy for women from developing countries.	The study provides evidence for the imperfect transferability of HC as a mechanism. This is because returns to education are higher for workers born in developed countries than for those born in developing countries. The study also provides mixed evidence for statistical discrimination, as tenure increases returns to overeducation, but there are persistent gaps in returns to overeducation among more tenured workers.	The authors state three remedies: (i) enhancing recognition of foreign degrees, (ii) improving migrants' understanding of the host country's labour market, and (iii) policies aligning skill supply and demand to reduce the wage gap.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Kanas and van Tubergen (2014)	Cross-sectional survey data (1727 observations between 1994 and 1996)	Probit and logit models	This study finds that Moroccan migrants from former French colonies benefit more from their origin-country education and work experience in French-speaking regions compared to Dutch-speaking regions. Belgian work experience boosts the likelihood of being employed, while foreign work experience lowers employment probability but improves occupational status. Co-ethnic residential concentration positively interacts with work experience in enhancing employment prospects.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by HC differences, as proficiency in the destination country language facilitates HC transferability and reduces employers' uncertainty regarding origin-country work experiences. The length of stay in the destination country appears to strengthen HC and improve labour market outcomes, according to the authors.	N/A
Lens et al. (2023)	Balanced panel of administrative and survey data (13,218 individuals between 2004 and 2021)	Multinomial logit model	The study finds that the subsidised SVS ambiguously affects migrant women's economic integration. On the one hand, the scheme offers stable job opportunities for migrant women who have had limited prior engagement in the labour market. However, it also creates lasting 'lock-in' effects, presenting substantial barriers to shifting to other, non-subsidised employment opportunities. A significant portion of migrant women with tertiary education levels appear to become stuck in the scheme.	N/A	The authors state that greater investment in enhancing the transferability of the HC possessed by migrant women engaged in the SVS would be beneficial. Emphasising initiatives like language training, their aim is to augment these women's prospects for upward mobility.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Meraan and Karakas (2019) ^(c)	Pooled cross-sectional survey data (N/A number of observations between 1995 and 2013)	OLS	The study finds little difference between the hours worked by natives and migrants.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by discrimination in general, without providing further details.	N/A
(B) Studies concerning first- and second-generation migrants	Carpentier et al. (2017)	Balanced panel of administrative data (13,552 individuals between 2004 and 2009)	RE hazard model	The study finds that second-generation migrants exit social assistance more slowly than native beneficiaries. This effect is even stronger for first-generation migrants. However, beneficiaries with migration backgrounds are as likely to move from social assistance to work as native-born beneficiaries, except for asylum seekers and European-born beneficiaries.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by differences in HC and discrimination in general, without providing further details.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Gorodzeisky and Semyonov (2017)	Cross-sectional survey data (Multinomial) (21,100 observations in 2008)	Multinomial logit models and OLS	The study finds that first-generation non-European migrant men have lower high-status employment odds, while the odds of European migrant men are similar to natives. First-generation non-European migrant women exhibit worse employment odds than natives. Second-generation migrants face higher unemployment rates than natives, but have similar high-status employment odds after adjusting for origin and gender. In comparison to the first generation, more second-generation non-European women participate in the labour force. Yet, their odds of unemployment are only slightly lower.	The study provides evidence for HC differences as an underlying mechanism, since the outcomes for second-generation migrants are more dependent on HC attributes than on origin. The authors suggest that the main findings can also be explained by discrimination in general, without providing further details. Lastly, they suggest that employee-side preferences and behaviour are also important, as traditional gender roles and gender-segregated occupations may influence outcomes.	N/A
Kasztan Flechner et al. (2022) ⁽³⁾	Unbalanced panel of administrative data (162,880 observations between 2005 and 2016)	Complementary log-log estimation of hazard model	The study finds the explorative result that participation in ALMPs varies based on household type for first- and second-generation migrants. Household composition plays a more significant role for women with a migration background, and those with non-migrant partners show higher ALMP participation. The presence of children affects ALMP uptake more negatively among Turkish- and Moroccan-origin women than Southern European-origin or native women.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by employee-side preferences and behaviour, as views on women's roles in the labour market and use of childcare are origin and path dependent.	The authors state that policymakers should prioritise household composition diversity to boost participation in ALMPs. Without specifying, they also emphasise the need for aligned migration and integration policies, with special consideration for challenges encountered by women with a migration background.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Jacobs et al. (2022a)	Unbalanced panel of administrative and survey data (21,086 observations between 1999 and 2016)	OLS and GMM-SYS	The study finds that overeducation, conditional on required education, increases wages. This increase is the highest for natives, lower for people from developed countries, and lowest for people from developing countries. It is also lower for first-generation migrants than second-generation migrants. Nevertheless, overeducated native workers are underpaid to a greater extent than workers with a migration background, when compared to their well-matched colleagues. This is because the differential in productivity gains associated with overeducation between natives and migrants outweighs the corresponding wage premium differential.	The study provides evidence for the imperfect transferability of HC, as overeducation mainly has a positive productivity effect among natives.	The authors state that more flexible labour market policies and stronger wage-bargaining institutions could be possible remedies, depending on the underlying cause of the productivity-wage gap.
Kil et al. (2018)	Unbalanced panel of administrative data (12,167 individuals between 1999 and 2010)	GLM	The study finds that first-generation migrant mothers face a more substantial decline in employment after childbirth than second-generation mothers and natives. Unemployment also rises more for migrant women from both generations, while differences in full-time vs. part-time employment do not exhibit consistently different patterns across groups.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by various factors, including HC, SC, discrimination in general, family policies, and household income, without providing further details. The authors suggest that the main findings for first-generation (second-generation) women can be explained by employee-side preferences and behaviour (sociodemographics and early career challenges), as these differ by origin.	N/A

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Lens (2023)	Unbalanced panel of administrative and survey data (347,505 observations between 2008 and 2017)	Complementary log–log estimation of hazard model	<p>The study finds that people with a migration background already have weaker ties to the labour market before pursuing self-employment. When self-employed, first- and second-generation migrants' self-employment episodes tend to have shorter durations than those of natives, and more frequently lead to unemployment or inactivity after exit. Notably, second-generation migrants demonstrate better outcomes compared to their first-generation counterparts, while migrant women experience more challenging self-employment outcomes than migrant men.</p>	<p>The study provides evidence for HC differences as an underlying mechanism, since controlling for educational attainment and prior work experience strongly reduces differences between natives and people with a migration background.</p>	<p>The author states the importance of enhancing the business skills of individuals with a migration background through specialised training, counselling, and mentorship programmes. Implementing strategies that allow for a gradual transition into self-employment among this group would also markedly improve their self-employment outcomes. Additionally, according to the author, broader labour market integration policies would contribute to reinforcing migrant self-employment, particularly by reducing the proportion of migrants compelled into self-employment out of necessity.</p>

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Maes et al. (2022) ⁽³⁾	Unbalanced panel of administrative data (36,934 observations between 2005 and 2016)	FE model	The study finds significant gender inequality in the division of paid work between first-generation non-EU origin couples, which intensifies after having children. Second-generation non-EU origin couples also display this inequality, especially when both partners are of second-generation non-EU origin. However, the gender division of work between South-EU origin couples is similar to that of native couples.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by pre-birth relative wage potential and employee-side preferences and behaviour, as these depend on origin (of the partner).	The authors state that a life course perspective is needed when designing policies that enhance the labour market participation of women with a migration background.
Maes et al. (2019)	Unbalanced panel of administrative data (5526 individuals between 2005 and 2016)	Complementary log-log estimation of hazard model	The study finds that generally, women with a migration background have lower pre-birth labour market attachment. However, there are no differences in employment trajectories between native women and women with a migration background among those with low employment rates before the birth of their first child, and only limited differences in employment trajectories around parenthood among women with medium and high pre-parenthood employment rates. These differences are slightly larger for first-generation women than for second-generation women.	The study provides evidence for differences in HC and employee-side preferences and behaviour as underlying mechanisms, since the level of education, language proficiency, and fertility behaviour partially explain ethnic differentials in employment outcomes.	The authors state that policy should focus on pre-birth employment opportunities and equal access to formal childcare.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Neels et al. (2017) ⁽³⁾	Balanced panel of administrative data (6267 individuals between 1998 and 2010)	Multinomial logit model	The study finds that native women tend to accumulate pension rights primarily through full-time employment, both before and after parenthood. In contrast, first-generation women and second-generation women of Turkish and Moroccan descent tend to rely on assimilated periods or derived pension rights post-parenthood. These differences are still present but less pronounced among second-generation migrants of other origins.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by employee-side preferences and behaviour, as these depend on origin.	The authors state that the combination of work and care responsibilities should be considered when designing pension reform policies. They deem it important to strengthen the pre-parenthood labour market positions of women with a migration background.
Piton and Rycx (2021)	Pooled cross-sectional administrative and survey data (538,412 observations between 2008 and 2014)	Probit model	The study finds that first-generation migrants are less likely to be employed than natives. However, naturalised first-generation migrants have higher employment rates than non-naturalised migrants. Second-generation migrants with two foreign-born parents also experience such disadvantages. First- and second-generation female migrants originating from outside the EU face higher employment penalties than their male counterparts.	The study provides evidence for HC differences as an underlying mechanism, since education and language proficiency increase access to employment. The authors suggest that the main findings can also be explained by discrimination in general, as some gaps remain after controlling for a large range of moderators. However, they do not specify the importance of each mechanism.	The authors state that the HC of people with a migration background needs to be strengthened and their diplomas and skills should be recognised more quickly. Simpler procedures for obtaining residence and work permits are also needed, together with more accessible childcare services for people with a migration background. Existing and new active anti-discrimination policies are also needed.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Verhaeghe et al. (2015)	Balanced panel of survey data (3259 observations between 2009 and 2010)	Multilevel logit and multilevel Poisson models	The study finds that first-generation migrants have higher odds of entering the labour market than native Belgians, but lower odds of having a job when they are in the labour market. There are no significant differences in the likelihood of finding work between second-generation migrants and natives.	The study provides evidence for differences in access to SC as an underlying mechanism, since this depends on origin and influences the likelihood of both entering the labour market and getting a job.	N/A
Verhaeghe et al. (2017)	Cross-sectional survey data (1378 observations in 2014)	Multilevel logit model and multilevel OLS	The study finds that both generations of non-EU15 migrants have lower expectations of finding a job than natives.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by (statistical or taste-based) discrimination and HC differences, since people with a migration background from non-EU15 countries are often perceived as more different from natives than people with a migration background from EU15 countries, in addition to imperfect transferability of HC and language proficiency that matter for employment outcomes for the first-generation.	N/A
Wood and Neels (2017) ⁽³⁾	Unbalanced panel of administrative and survey data (3,941,976 observations between 2002 and 2005)	Logit hazard model	The study finds that first- and second-generation migrant women are more likely than natives to adopt childbearing strategies as an alternative to labour market participation. This strategy is the strongest for non-European migrant groups.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by employee-side preferences and behaviour, as these differ by origin and differences are more pronounced for first-generation migrants.	The authors state that policymakers could invest more in the needs of parents with a non-European migration background.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
(C) Studies concerning second-generation migrants Bækgaard and George (2018) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional administrative and experimental data (1688 observations in 2017)	Ordered logit model	The study finds that second-generation migrants are more likely to be invited to a job interview by left-wing politicians and less likely to be invited to a job interview by right-wing politicians compared to their native counterparts.	The study provides evidence for statistical (taste-based) discrimination, as second-generation migrants are more likely to be considered competent for a top administrative job (as different political ideologies underlie the different probabilities of job interview invitations).	The authors state that introducing standardised formal rules about hiring decisions within public organisations could lower ideology-based discrimination.
Baert and Cockx (2013) ^(3,4)	Balanced panel of survey data (7615 individuals between 1999 and 2009)	Dynamic binary and ordered logit model	The study finds that native school-leavers are more likely to be employed 3 months after leaving school than second-generation migrant school-leavers with the same observed endowments. Two years after graduation, low-educated native school-leavers are more likely to be employed under a permanent contract than their low-educated second-generation migrant counterparts. The study finds that speaking Dutch at home plays almost no role in closing the ethnic gap in educational attainment and labour market outcomes.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by (statistical or taste-based discrimination) as ethnic gaps in educational attainment and school-to-work transitions remain present after controlling for family endowments and schooling delays.	The authors state that encouraging families with a migration background to use their native language at home has limited effectiveness in reducing labour market disparities, especially among highly educated individuals. However, the authors could not control for language quality, which may be important. Therefore, prioritising higher native language proficiency may be more effective.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Baert and De Pauw (2014) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional experimental data (278 observations in 2013)	T-test	The study finds no significant differences in positive callbacks or job interview invitations between native and non-native applicants.	The study provides no evidence (evidence) for statistical (taste-based) discrimination, as perceived attitudes related to statistical discrimination do not differ significantly by the origin of the candidate (as perceived co-worker and customer distaste correlate with non-native hiring chances).	N/A
Baert and Vujčić (2016) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional experimental data (1152 observations between 2014 and 2015)	T-test and ordered logit model	The study finds that native non-volunteers are more likely to receive positive callbacks and job interview invitations than second-generation migrant non-volunteers. In contrast, there is no difference in treatment between native and second-generation migrant volunteers.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by statistical (taste-based) discrimination, since volunteering may weaken stereotypes concerning productivity, values, and motivation (as volunteering may signal integration, and well-integrated people with a migration background are less disliked).	The authors state that their findings are, to some extent, in favour of governments promoting volunteering among people with a migration background, as often done in particular among the low-educated and women. However, the signalling value of volunteering might decrease if more people with a migration background start volunteering.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Baert et al. (2015) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional administrative, experimental, and survey data (752 observations between 2011 and 2012)	X ² -test, t-test, and probit model	The study finds that natives and second-generation migrants are equally likely to receive positive callbacks and job interview invitations if they apply for occupations for which vacancies are difficult to fill. However, second-generation migrants must send out twice as many applications for occupations with low labour market tightness. The study finds more discrimination in better-paid occupations, in line with discrimination by occupational segregation.	The study provides evidence for discrimination in general, as employers discriminate against foreign minorities as long as this does not interfere with profit maximization. The authors suggest that this can be explained by statistical discrimination, as labour market tightness affects the quality of the signal of unemployment duration.	N/A
Baert et al. (2016)	Balanced panel of survey data (7615 individuals between 1999 and 2009)	Dynamic binary and ordered logit model	The study finds that native school-leavers are more likely to be employed 3 months after leaving school than second-generation migrant school-leavers with the same observed endowments. This gap is much larger for women and represents a double jeopardy. The difference in school-to-work transitions based on origin is also present after finishing higher education, but in this case, second-generation migrant women perform better than second-generation migrant men.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by demographic behaviours and statistical discrimination, as ethnic gaps in fertility behaviour are large, but become modest and lose their significance for women after controlling for SES and the use of Dutch. However, second-generation migrant women may face statistical discrimination in the transition to employment due to employers' expectations of their early marriage and family formation.	N/A

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Baert et al. (2017) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional experimental data (768 observations between 2015 and 2016)	T-test and OLS	The study finds that natives are more likely to receive positive callbacks and job interview invitations than second-generation migrants. However, this difference decreases as candidates gain additional experience.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by statistical discrimination, as experience decreases uncertainty about the actual productivity of an individual.	The authors state that anti-discrimination policies, such as assisting individuals who feel discriminated against in filing a complaint, targeted at graduates from (ethnic) minorities could be useful.
Baert et al. (2018) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional administrative and experimental data (674 observations between 2013 and 2016)	OLS and logit model	The study finds no significant association between firm size and ethnic discrimination.	The study provides no evidence for statistical discrimination, as the authors find no significant association with firm size. They suggest that larger firms may exhibit both reduced statistical discrimination (e.g., better HR policies and enhanced candidate screening) and increased statistical and taste-based discrimination (e.g., the need to rely on statistical discrimination to make more hiring decisions and reduced profitability-discrimination trade-off).	The authors state that discrimination policies should not specifically focus on larger or smaller firms.
Derous et al. (2016) ⁽²⁾	Cross-sectional experimental data (1696 observations in N/A)	RM ANCOVA	The study finds that natives and second-generation migrants are perceived as equally suitable for jobs based on names. However, applicants with darker skin tones receive lower job suitability ratings than those with lighter skin tones, especially in roles involving high client contact/low industry status or low client contact/high industry status positions.	The study provides evidence for taste-based discrimination, as the contextual characteristics of client contact and industry status have a significant effect on job suitability ratings.	The authors state that enhancing recruiter awareness and holding résumé screeningers accountable may mitigate discrimination. Potential solutions include anonymous résumé screening, omitting ethnicity-revealing items, and competency-based assessments.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Laurijssen and Glorieux (2015) ⁽³⁾	Balanced panel of survey data (7345 individuals between 1999 and 2009)	OLS	The study finds that differences before and upon entering the labour market are important predictors for the rest of an individual's career. Natives hold jobs with higher SES than second-generation migrants. On the other hand, second-generation migrants exhibit greater progress in terms of occupational status when starting their careers in low-status jobs. Women have lower upward mobility than men.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by statistical discrimination, as second-generation migrants are subjected to more discrimination at the outset of their careers due to uncertainty about their productivity. However, as they gain experience, this uncertainty diminishes, enabling higher upward mobility.	The authors state that policies focused on equal opportunities should take effect before entry into the labour market.
Lippens et al. (2023) ⁽²⁾	Pooled cross-sectional administrative and experimental data (2260 observations between 2020 and 2021)	X ² -test and (ordered) logit models	The study finds that second-generation migrants experience hiring discrimination compared to natives. For some nationalities, hiring bias is more pronounced in professions demanding greater colleague interaction and in occupations with low labour market tightness.	The study provides evidence for statistical (taste-based) discrimination, as discrimination is less present in (i) larger firms due to better HR policies, (ii) non-profit firms, since the lack of a profit motive leads to more extensive screening of candidates, and (iii) tight labour markets, since high unemployment does not make productive workers more likely to have minority status. Contrastingly, high unemployment makes productive workers more likely to be long-term unemployed applicants, since the quality of the signal of unemployment duration is affected by tightness (as discrimination (i) is more present in professions with extensive colleague interaction, and (ii) is less present in non-profit firms because of the social character).	The authors state that enhanced formalisation of selection procedures and allocated resources could lead to reduced statistical discrimination at the individual level. According to the authors, job agents equipped with more (accurate) information about the productivity of individual applicants may rely less on their (inaccurate) statistical beliefs.

Table 2 (continued)

(a) Study	(b) Data type (number of observations or individuals ⁽¹⁾ and time span)	(c) Primary methodological approach	(d) Main findings concerning labour market outcomes of people with a migration background	(e) Underlying mechanisms discussed	(f) Proposed remedies
Maes et al. (2023) ⁽³⁾	Unbalanced panel of administrative data (7897 individuals between 1999 and 2010)	FE model	This study finds that generally, second-generation migrant women have lower pre-birth labour market attachment than native women. However, there are no differences in employment trajectories between native and second-generation women among those with low employment rates before the birth of their first child, and only limited differences in trajectories among women with medium and high pre-parenthood employment rates.	The authors suggest that the main findings can be explained by employee-side preferences and behaviours concerning employment trajectories around family formation, as these differ by origin.	The authors state that inequalities before childbearing should be tackled to avoid unemployment and inactivity after motherhood. In addition, they advocate providing universal access to flexible family policies.
Phalet and Heath (2010) ⁽³⁾	Cross-sectional survey data (174,817 observations in 1991)	Multinomial and binomial logit models	The study finds large ethnic penalties for Turkish second-generation migrants in the urban area of Brussels compared to natives, after controlling for HC. However, compared to second-generation migrants living outside urban areas, they are more likely to be in paid work, self-employment and high-end jobs.	The study provides evidence for differences in HC as an underlying mechanism, since there are large origin-based differences in educational attainment, and second-generation migrants in Brussels are on average more educated than their counterparts outside the city centre. The authors suggest that labour market rigidities with discriminatory effects can explain the remaining differences in penalties after controlling for HC differences.	N/A

Table 2 (continued)

(1) We recorded the number of observations where available in column b. However, for some studies, we only have data on the number of individuals in the data. (2) These experimental studies do not explicitly delineate the migrant generation within their experiments. Instead, they use hypothetical job applicants with ethnic-sounding names and Belgian nationality, allowing us to reasonably infer that the findings from these studies apply to second-generation migrants. (3) These studies rely on nationality to define migrant generations. (4) The study of Baert and Cockx (2013) addresses young people whose maternal grandmothers neither have Belgian nationality, nor any Western nationality. According to our definitions, these individuals can be categorised as first, second, or even third-generation migrants. (5) The study of Mercan and Karakas (2019) does not include a definition for migrants. In cases (3), (4), and (5) we adhere to the terminology employed by the respective authors to order the studies in the overview table and discuss their outcomes in the text. The following acronyms and abbreviations are used: ALMP (active labour market programme), EU (European Union), FD (first differences), FE (fixed effects), GLM (generalised linear model), GMM (generalised method of moments), GVC (global value chain), HC (human capital), HR (human resources), i.e. (that is), IV (instrumental variables), N/A (not available), OLS (ordinary least squares), RM ANCOVA (repeated measures analysis of covariance), SC (social capital), SES (socio-economic status), SVS (service voucher scheme), SYS (system), and vs. (versus)

in terms of wages, returns to overeducation, and general rent sharing. Of these 11 studies, 9 (82%) describe indicators of the quality of employment for first-generation migrants. Wage disparities and discrimination exist among first-generation migrants in the Belgian labour market, with notable differences across various migrant sub-groups (e.g., Fays et al., 2021, 2023; Grinza et al., 2020). First-generation migrants from developing countries tend to be overeducated and face a higher wage penalty for overeducation conditional on attained education than people born in Belgium and other developed countries. Overeducation implies that an individual attained a level of education that exceeds the educational level required for their job (Jacobs et al., 2021, 2022b). Although there is a positive wage premium for an additional year of overeducation conditional on the required level of education for a job regardless of origin, this premium is smaller for people with a migration background compared to native workers (Jacobs et al., 2022a). Furthermore, Fays et al. (2023) demonstrate that economic rents are distributed unfairly based on workers' birth regions. The authors define rent sharing as the way in which productivity gains achieved by firms are shared with workers. Their study finds that companies positioned higher in the global value chain, bringing in more rents, do not share them equally with people from developed and developing countries. This unequal rent sharing contributes significantly to the wage gap between workers from both groups and is particularly disadvantageous for higher-wage workers from developing countries.

Five of the 11 studies (45%) on the quality of employment describe outcomes for second-generation migrants. Notably, no study meeting our inclusion criteria generates specific quantitative assessments of wage discrimination or rent distribution. Irrespective of origin country and generation, the impact of overeducation on productivity is found to be greater than that on wages. The estimates of Jacobs et al. (2022a) suggest that overeducation generates a positive gap between productivity and wages, which implies that, given their productivity, overeducated workers are underpaid compared to their well-matched colleagues. Finally, their estimates show that the productivity-wage gap (i.e. underpayment) associated with overeducation is the most pronounced for natives, smaller for second-generation migrants and the smallest for first-generation migrants.

Five of the 11 studies (45%) on employment quality concerning first- or second-generation migrants explicitly focus on gender as a moderator. These studies suggest that there is little or no difference between men and women when evaluating the likelihood of being overeducated and the size of the overeducation wage penalty (Jacobs et al., 2021, 2022b).

In addition to the indicators under consideration, other labour market outcomes can be evaluated, including the number of hours worked (Mercan & Karakas, 2019) and pension entitlements (Neels et al., 2017). However, data availability for these aspects is limited, precluding their inclusion in the present discussion.

4.2 Underlying Mechanisms

Our focus now shifts to the employer- and employee-side mechanisms underlying the differences in labour market outcomes discussed in the previous subsection.

Unless specifically referring to the first or second generation, we examine these mechanisms for both generations together. Interested readers are referred to Table 2 for a detailed breakdown.

4.2.1 Employer-Side Mechanisms

Discrimination constitutes a key mechanism contributing to variations in labour market outcomes, as noted in 22 of the 35 studies reviewed (63%). 12 of these 22 studies (55%) refer to statistical discrimination, of which 7 (58%) identify statistical discrimination as an underlying theoretical mechanism, and 5 (42%) provide evidence for the presence or absence of statistical discrimination as a mechanism. A commonly employed metric to investigate this phenomenon is employee tenure. Tenure tends to reduce statistical discrimination because asymmetrical information about an employee's true productivity diminishes as their duration of employment with a given company increases (Altonji, 2005; Altonji & Pierret, 2001; Baert et al., 2017; Jacobs et al., 2021, 2022b). The presence of discrimination also appears related to firm and industry characteristics. Research widely acknowledges that larger firms tend to possess more transparent and formalised human resources practices and greater resources for comprehensive candidate screening, diminishing discrimination (Baert et al., 2018; Jacobs et al., 2022b; Lippens et al., 2023).

Not all studies examining statistical discrimination yield unequivocal evidence for the mechanism. Among the 5 studies that consider evidence for statistical discrimination, 2 studies (40%) find support for its presence, 2 studies (40%) find evidence for its absence, and 1 study (20%) identifies mixed evidence. For instance, Baert and De Pauw (2014) report the absence of a statistical discrimination mechanism, as perceived attitudes regarding statistical discrimination do not differ significantly according to the candidate's origin. Furthermore, Jacobs et al. (2022b) note that persistent origin-based wage penalties to overeducation in comparison to well-matched counterparts among more tenured workers challenge the theory of statistical discrimination. The literature suggests an ambiguous relationship between firm size and discrimination (Baert et al., 2018; Lippens et al., 2023). One study finds that larger firms discriminate less, while other studies find no such relationship. The importance of statistical discrimination as an explanatory mechanism seems to depend strongly on different job, firm and study contexts.

Out of the 35 studies considered, 6 (17%) address taste-based discrimination, with 2 of these studies (33%) referring to the mechanism as a plausible theoretical explanation for their observations and 4 (67%) finding evidence for the presence of taste-based discrimination. This evidence encompasses both general proofs of the existence of taste-based discrimination and specific instances of discrimination, such as colleagues' reluctance to collaborate with individuals of different ethnic backgrounds and the perception that customers are less inclined to seek assistance from someone of a different ethnicity (Baert & De Pauw, 2014; Deros et al., 2016; Lippens et al., 2023). The extent to which taste-based discrimination plays a role appears contingent on firm and industry characteristics (Deros et al., 2016). For example, firm-level wage bargaining can mitigate taste-based discrimination by bolstering employees' bargaining power (Grinza et al., 2020). Increased product

market competition renders discrimination more costly, reducing its prevalence (Fays et al., 2021), while non-profit organisations exhibit lower levels of taste-based discrimination, presumably due to their socially oriented approach (Lippens et al., 2023).

While discrimination appears to play a role in explaining labour market outcomes, it does not provide a comprehensive explanation. That discrimination cannot fully explain all differences in labour market outcomes is further underscored by international comparisons. These comparisons show that Belgium exhibits only a moderate level of hiring discrimination, while the labour market outcomes for people with a migration background are poor (Baert et al., 2022; Baeyens et al., 2020; Lippens et al., 2023; Quilian et al., 2019).

4.2.2 Employee-Side Mechanisms

The role of individual preferences and behaviours is a central theme in 9 out of the 35 studies considered (26%), particularly in the context of gender disparities (e.g., Maes et al., 2022; Piton & Rycx, 2021). Of these 9 studies, 8 (89%) refer to the theoretical importance of this mechanism, while one study (11%) provides supporting evidence. People with a migration background, especially those from non-European backgrounds, tend to adhere more strongly to traditional gender roles than natives. This adherence can result in women taking on more household responsibilities, investing less in education, and exhibiting different labour market participation patterns than their male counterparts (Baert et al., 2016). These factors are also influenced by first-generation migrants' reasons for migration, with those migrating for work generally achieving better outcomes than those migrating for family reunification or as refugees. However, these initial differences tend to diminish over time (Piton & Rycx, 2021).

This pattern of preferences and behaviours is observed for both first- and second-generation migrants, with second-generation migrants' preferences appearing to assimilate towards those of natives, depending on their origin (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Kil et al., 2018). Moreover, second-generation migrant women tend to utilise formal childcare services and parental leave schemes less frequently than natives. While this tendency may partially stem from cultural factors, it is notably influenced by the accessibility of work-family reconciliation policies (Maes et al., 2019, 2022). Importantly, attitudes towards labour force participation can explain labour market outcomes and be influenced by unequal labour market opportunities, adding complexity to this relationship (Wood & Neels, 2017).

Furthermore, among the 22 studies focusing on first-generation migrants, differences in human capital are highlighted as a theoretical mechanism explaining employment disparities in 5 studies (23%), while 6 studies (27%) find evidence for this mechanism. These disparities encompass four key aspects: (i) educational attainment disparities between native-born individuals and migrants, with migrants having lower levels of education on average (Piton & Rycx, 2021); (ii) the imperfect transferability of human capital, for example, when degrees obtained in developing countries are perceived as of lower quality or less valuable in the destination country, or when degrees obtained abroad are not recognised in the host country

(Fays et al., 2023; Jacobs et al., 2022a, 2022b; Piton & Rycx, 2021; Verhaeghe et al., 2017); (iii) skill mismatches, such as a higher likelihood of overeducation among tertiary-educated workers from developing countries (Jacobs et al., 2022b); and (iv) language barriers, as proficiency in the destination country's language enhances the economic returns on work experience gained in the country of origin (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2014; Piton & Rycx, 2021).

For second-generation migrants, the limited transferability of human capital is a less influential factor, as they possess domestic educational and professional qualifications (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Verhaeghe et al., 2017). Rather than stemming from the limited transferability of human capital, the labour market disadvantages faced by second-generation migrants are often associated with their social background. This association impacts their employment outcomes directly through factors like social networks and economic resources and indirectly through educational achievements, language proficiency, and orientations towards the labour market. Second-generation migrants continue to have poorer educational performance than natives, with higher dropout rates, lower levels of academic achievement, and higher concentration in vocational education (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2017; Kil et al., 2018; Maes et al., 2019; Phalet & Heath, 2010; Verhaeghe et al., 2015).

4.2.3 Relative Importance Employer- and Employee-Side Mechanisms

Employer and employee mechanisms often interact and are not always easily measurable. By discussing studies on Belgian data that use Oaxaca-Blinder decompositions, this section aims to provide insights into the relative importance of these mechanisms in explaining labour market outcomes.

Baeyens et al. (2020) find that the socio-demographic factors of sex, age, household type, level of education, and region of residence account for about 30% of the employment gap for EU migrants and 15% for non-EU migrants, with personal characteristics failing to explain the participation gap for both groups. Similarly, Corluy and Verbist (2014) note that the explained portion of the employment gap is halved for non-EU migrants compared to EU migrants. In the case of second-generation migrants, a larger share of the employment and participation gaps can be attributed to differences in personal characteristics—almost half for non-EU migrants and three-quarters for EU migrants. The generally lower educational level of migrants stands out as the most significant factor in these studies. The remaining unexplained gap might involve discrimination, cultural differences, and network effects. Belgian correspondence experiments show that applicants with names suggesting an ethnic minority background receive fewer interview callbacks compared to those with traditional Belgian names. These findings indicate that at least part of the unexplained gap can be attributed to discrimination during the hiring process (Lippens et al., 2023). Importantly, the explained portion does not entirely rule out discrimination, as factors like lower education may be perpetuated by discriminatory practices (Baert & Cockx, 2013; Baert et al., 2016).

Regarding wage disparities, Jacobs et al. (2022b) find that for first-generation migrants overall, those with an adequate level of education experience wage gaps

where differences in returns to observable characteristics only account for 29% of the disparity. However, for overeducated workers, the unexplained portion rises to 53%, indicating that wage discrimination based on origin is more pronounced among overeducated migrants. Furthermore, Pineda-Hernández et al. (2022) show that occupation and sectoral characteristics explain half of the wage gap between first-generation migrants from developing countries and natives, with educational differences accounting for 18% and tenure for 12%. Even after controlling for key compositional effects, nearly 3% of the wage gap remains unexplained, suggesting wage discrimination. In contrast, for second-generation migrants, over 70% of wage differences are attributed to age and tenure differences, with sectoral and occupational differences explaining nearly 20%. After accounting for compositional effects, no significant adjusted wage gap remains for second-generation migrants.

5 Remedies and Recommendations

We offer a synthesis of the remedies and policy recommendations from the reviewed studies, together with a discussion on the relationship between these remedies and recommendations and the existing institutional framework. We conclude with suggestions for future research.

5.1 Remedies and Policy Recommendations

5.1.1 Remedies and Recommendations from the Literature

The literature identifies several strategies to improve the labour market integration of people with a migration background. On the side of the employer, measures such as competency-based assessments and anonymous résumé screening can mitigate discrimination during the initial recruitment phase (Derous et al., 2016). More broadly, standardised formal hiring procedures can decrease discrimination, based on preferences and by preventing inaccurate or insufficient information about an individual candidate (Baekgaard & George, 2018; Lippens et al., 2023). Organisations can also focus on improving information and awareness among recruiters (Derous et al., 2016). Notably, disparities in human capital before labour market entry contribute to suboptimal labour market outcomes for second-generation migrants (Verhaeghe et al., 2017). Consequently, anti-discrimination policies directed at school students or graduates from ethnic minorities are imperative for bolstering labour market outcomes (Baert et al., 2017; Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2015). Additionally, there could be further emphasis on anti-discrimination policies in the labour market (Derous et al., 2016), potentially with the support of non-discrimination ombudsman's offices (Grinza et al., 2020).

A key employee-side approach involves enhancing human capital by improving migrants' understanding of the host country's labour market, aligning their skills with demand, and investing in language proficiency. These efforts, coupled with timely recognition of qualifications, can help reduce wage disparities and improve

labour market outcomes. Policymakers can further support these efforts by simplifying recognition procedures, reducing associated costs, and raising awareness about these processes. Additionally, government support in job search processes can be valuable (Baert & Cockx, 2013; Jacobs et al., 2022b; Lens, 2023; Piton & Rycx, 2021).

Non-standard forms of employment, such as volunteering and self-employment, can serve as potential pathways to regular employment. Volunteering can improve employment prospects for people with a migration background by increasing human capital and signalling integration to employers, although its signalling value may diminish with increased participation (Baert & Vujić, 2016). Lens (2023) highlights self-employment as a potential strategy for people with a migration background. However, their research reveals that self-employment of people with a migration background tends to be shorter-lived than that of their native counterparts and more often leads to unemployment or labour force exit.

Another employment initiative gaining traction is the Service Voucher Scheme. Lens et al. (2023) discuss Belgium's largest subsidised employment initiative. While initially aimed at tackling illegal work in the cleaning sector, this program appears to be particularly appealing to migrant women. On the one hand, the scheme provides stable job opportunities for low-skilled migrant women. However, it also generates persistent 'lock-in' effects, wherein migrant women starting as scheme workers face significant challenges in transitioning to other employment opportunities afterwards. This outcome presents a concern, especially considering that a substantial proportion of migrant women participating in the scheme possess higher education qualifications. Policy measures that support the balancing of work and care responsibilities are recommended to enhance the labour market position of women with a migration background. For example, policymakers could promote equal and affordable access to formal childcare and parental leave schemes (Maes et al., 2019; Piton & Rycx, 2021).

The literature also emphasises the importance of recognising migrant integration into the Belgian workforce. Obtaining Belgian citizenship positively influences employment outcomes for migrants, as naturalised migrants enjoy a higher likelihood of employment and a lower probability of overeducation. Notably, this citizenship premium is most discernible within the cohort of non-Western migrants. Moreover, in the public sector, jobs are exclusively open to people of EU nationality (Piton & Rycx, 2021). However, it is difficult to accurately quantify the precise value of the citizenship premium, due to inherent endogeneity issues. These complexities arise from the intricate interplay between migrants' level of integration and their propensity to seek and attain Belgian citizenship (Corluy et al., 2011; Jacobs et al., 2021; Piton & Rycx, 2021). Whereas acquiring Belgian nationality may constitute an active labour market integration strategy for first-generation migrants, second-generation migrants often already hold Belgian nationality and continue to experience poorer labour market outcomes than natives.

Moreover, policy recommendations are proposed at the institutional level. The rigidity characterising the Belgian labour market may hinder labour market entry due to high entry barriers and result in disparities between labour costs and productivity, which may disadvantage employees (Garnero et al., 2020; Kampelmann et al., 2018;

Piton & Ruysen, 2022). Therefore, more adaptable labour market policies may be advantageous (Jacobs et al., 2022a). Besides introducing flexible labour market policies, competition regulation may positively impact wage discrimination, as Fays et al. (2021) observe that wage discrimination diminishes or disappears as product market competition increases.

5.1.2 Discussion of Remedies and Policy Recommendations

Belgium is recognised for its robust anti-discrimination legislation. Recent legal developments, such as the January 2018 amendment to the Belgian Criminal Code, empower social inspectors to employ anonymous testing methods like mystery calls and fake CVs to assess employers' adherence to anti-discriminatory policies. Despite these efforts, litigating discrimination cases often proves challenging due to difficulty in substantiating claims. Employers frequently provide justifiable explanations for their actions, contributing to the scarcity of cases in the legal system (OECD, 2023). In addition to federal anti-discrimination measures, Belgian regions can implement supplementary policies. An example of these policies is the mitigation of anti-discrimination through sectoral covenants in Flanders (OECD, 2023). However, these measures face criticism that, despite the presence of sectoral codes of conduct, there is insufficient emphasis on tackling discrimination at the organisational level (Lamberts et al., 2020).

Employer-side policies also include promoting diversity and inclusion through equal employment policies, cultural sensitivity training, and recruitment support (OECD, 2023). Actiris, the Brussels Public Employment Service, exemplifies this commitment by offering free assistance with recruitment and human resource management to companies dedicated to increasing the diversity of their workforce (Actiris, n.d.). Additionally, Belgium has gone further by implementing wage subsidy programmes to encourage employers to hire individuals from underrepresented groups. These subsidies serve as financial incentives, making it economically more feasible for companies to engage individuals from underrepresented groups in the labour market. Although these programmes do not specifically target individuals with a migration background, such individuals may be eligible to benefit (OECD, 2023). Nonetheless, jobseekers with foreign nationalities and limited host country language proficiency are underrepresented beneficiaries, and the impact of the subsidies on securing stable employment appears to be limited (Desiere & Cockx, 2022; Desiere et al., 2020).

In the reviewed literature, anonymous screening emerged as a recommended practice. While Belgian evidence regarding the effectiveness of this measure is lacking, it has proven successful in mitigating ethnic hiring discrimination in the neighbouring Netherlands (Blommaert & Coenders, 2023). Furthermore, other literature recommendations and policies, such as implementing diversity campaigns and leveraging technology to counteract bias can serve as inspiration (Cowgill, 2019; McGinnity et al., 2021). However, an evaluation of the effectiveness of these measures within the Belgian context is imperative.

Policies addressing discrimination and supporting family reunification have been shown to enhance migrants' labour market integration by promoting long-term

investment in the host country (MIPEX, 2020; Piton & Ruysen, 2022). However, following policy reforms in 2011 and 2013, Belgium's approach has become less supportive of family reunification (MIPEX, 2020). Migrants whose primary reason for moving is family-related often have weaker labour market attachment compared to those migrating for work. Given that Belgium already has one of the lowest rates of work-related migration among European OECD countries (OECD, 2023), this may explain the reforms in family reunification policy. However, a comprehensive assessment of family reunification's positive and negative effects on labour market integration in Belgium is still lacking.

While Belgium has a well-developed system for recognising diplomas from the European Economic Area and Switzerland, this is not the case for migrants with qualifications from outside these regions. Diploma recognition, which varies slightly in procedure and cost across different Belgian regions, involves evaluating the education's purpose, content, and level to establish equivalence.¹¹ Additionally, for regulated professions like medicine and teaching, obtaining professional recognition is required to practice in Belgium (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, n.d.; Vlaamse Overheid, 2024).

However, despite the existence of this framework, the process is often slow, complex, and burdensome, resulting in few highly educated migrants successfully obtaining recognition for their foreign qualifications. This challenge is particularly acute for refugees who often lack the necessary formal documentation, although the European Qualifications Passport for Refugees offers a promising solution for improving recognition of their skills (OECD, 2023). Despite efforts to improve transparency and streamline procedures, the recognition of foreign qualifications remains limited, signalling the need for further reforms (OECD, 2023). Chakkar and De Cuyper (2019) emphasise the importance of diploma recognition for the Flemish labour market, especially for non-regulated professions where employers tend to focus on job-related competencies during hiring. Although pathways exist to recognise job-related competencies formally, they are currently limited in scope due to the lengthy and complicated recognition process. Incorporating these pathways into early stages of civic integration could be beneficial (OECD, 2023).

Civic integration trajectories have been mandatory for newly arrived migrants since April 2022 in all Belgian regions. These trajectories cover civic orientation, language training, and pathways to work, with regional variations in content and execution (European Commission, 2022). Notably, Flemish civic integration trajectories have been mandatory for the longest time and are the most comprehensive in Belgium. However, their language outcomes remain unsatisfactory, with limited opportunities for non-formal learning and insufficient attention to upskilling,

¹¹ In 2022, 6457 applications for recognition of foreign degrees were submitted in Flanders, with 5954 processed. Most applications received a positive outcome, with only 1% resulting in a fully negative decision (AHOVOKS, 2022). In Wallonia, data from 2016 show that 2092 applications were submitted, but only 661 were processed, with 89% of the decisions being positive (Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, 2018). However, a positive decision does not always mean that the applicant's diploma is recognised as equivalent to the desired level. For example, a foreign master's degree may be deemed equivalent to a bachelor's degree, which is still considered a positive outcome.

especially for migrants with low levels of education (OECD, 2023).¹² Participation in these integration trajectories serves as a key gateway to labour activation measures, promoting stable, regular employment. Nonetheless, these interventions remain less effective than workplace learning in supporting the direct transition to employment (Wood & Neels, 2020).

In addition to existing civic integration programmes, policymakers could consider providing education opportunities for low-educated migrants to address upskilling and meet labour market needs. Furthermore, training to meet the required skills in the Belgian labour market can also benefit middle and highly-educated migrants. Currently, a comprehensive recognition framework and tailored bridging courses that would enhance labour market outcomes for highly educated migrants are lacking. To supplement current efforts focused on newly arrived migrants, additional mentoring initiatives could be aimed at improving the labour market knowledge of established first- and second-generation migrants (OECD, 2023).

In addition to the subsidised employment initiatives mentioned in the reviewed literature, other government programmes also support alternative routes into the labour market. Social mentoring initiatives, primarily targeting first-generation migrants, aim to enhance social participation and facilitate job search efforts (Actiris, 2023; Crijns & De Cuyper, 2022). While non-governmental organisations and public bodies initially organised such mentoring initiatives, they have been included in Flanders' civic integration programmes since 2023, a unique approach within the OECD. The effectiveness of this policy is yet to be determined, but mentoring projects have been proven to be cost-effective means of integration, both in Flanders and elsewhere (OECD, 2023).

Contrary to the recommendations on balancing work and care responsibilities, the 2023 Flemish childcare policy reform restricts childcare availability to dual-earning households and explicitly excludes sole-earner households and couples working part-time (Vlaamse Regering, 2023). This limitation affects many families with migration backgrounds in the secondary labour market. The government could assume greater responsibility for childcare provision, while larger companies struggling to fill their job vacancies may also consider providing in-house childcare for their employees to attract a more diverse workforce. Furthermore, Belgium currently lacks targeted measures to address the specific barriers faced by migrant mothers and women in the labour market, unlike other European OECD countries. Inspiration could be drawn from Norway's "Job Opportunity" program, Germany's "Strong in the Workplace" initiative, or Finland's "Your Turn, Mothers" project (OECD, 2023).

Easier access to permanent residence and nationality is negatively associated with labour market integration of migrants (Piton & Ruysen, 2022). While Belgian policy on permanent residence has remained unchanged for over 15 years, the reform of Belgian nationality law in 2012 made obtaining nationality more

¹² For 16% of non-EU first-generation migrants in Flanders, language is the main barrier to finding work. This percentage is among the highest in the EU (OECD, 2023). Moreover, Belgium has three official national languages (Dutch, French and German) and employers regularly expect employees to be proficient in two of the three national languages.

difficult by introducing fees, language requirements, and economic resource conditions (MIPEX, 2020). Access to nationality also affects labour market participation. Since public sector employment is currently restricted to EU nationals, there is a lack of role models for non-EU individuals. Even EU migrants with over 10 years of residence are underrepresented in the public sector, indicating that migrant underrepresentation remains a challenge even for long-term residents. Such role models could positively influence second-generation migrants (OECD, 2023). The same holds true for self-employed migrants. Although the self-employment and small business sectors are relatively accessible to migrants, many migrant groups still face higher exit rates from self-employment compared to natives (Lens, 2023). Successful self-employment strategies among migrants can, therefore, benefit future migrant generations.

Finally, Belgium's inefficient administrative procedures impede its ability to attract highly qualified labour migrants. Addressing this issue requires simplifying the recognition process for migrant qualifications and work experience, as well as streamlining administrative procedures for work and residence permits for individuals from outside the Schengen Area and the European Economic Area. Piton and Rycx (2021) note that the transposition of the EU's Single Permit Directive¹³ into Belgian law should contribute to achieving this goal.

5.2 Recommendations for Future Research

There is a continued need for empirical research on the labour market position of migrants in Belgium. This need is evident from the core studies considered, findings in other countries that have not been (scientifically) explored in the Belgian context, and non-scientific literature. Therefore, this section presents a selection of recurring recommendations and avenues the authors find interesting. Future research can contribute to effective labour market policy by analysing existing measures and suggesting new ones. Evidence on the effectiveness of current measures is limited, highlighting the potential need for new policies (Grinza et al., 2020; OECD, 2023; Piton & Rycx, 2021).

For instance, Belgian intergenerational research on clearly identified parent–child pairs is currently lacking, although similar studies have been conducted in other countries (Abramitzky et al., 2021; Ekberg et al., 2010; Hammarstedt, 2009; Hammarstedt & Palme, 2012). The existing evidence for Belgium should therefore be interpreted with caution. Additional Belgian research, particularly on different ethnic origins, is essential for capturing the underlying mechanisms that drive divergent labour market outcomes and formulating targeted policy recommendations.

We identify a research gap in employee-side remedies, especially for second-generation migrants. There is scope for further investigation regarding the influence of having a culturally assimilated first name among second-generation migrants. This

¹³ The EU's Single Permit Directive establishes a unified procedure for third-country nationals to reside and work within a member state, integrating both residence and work permit applications into a single application process (European Commission, n.d.).

proposition is inspired by the research of Chowdhury et al. (2020) on the Australian labour market, Ghekiere et al.'s (2023) findings of reduced discrimination against those with mixed names in the Flemish housing market compared to those with full ethnic names, and international research on the impact of foreign-sounding forenames on the quality of employment (Arai & Thoursie, 2009). Additionally, future research could explore stigmas related to Muslim women from migrant backgrounds who wear headscarves, as these have been shown to influence employers' perceptions of integration (Weichselbaumer, 2020).

It would be valuable to investigate the extent to which atypical employment can serve as a transitional pathway towards regular and high-quality employment. In general, there is mixed evidence on whether part-time, temporary, fixed-term, informal, seasonal, and self-employed work serves as stepping stones to regular employment for people with a migration background. It may be the case that such forms of atypical employment trap people with a migration background in dead-end unstable careers at the fringes of the labour market (Fuller, 2011; Jahn & Rosholm, 2013; Kogan, 2011; Lamb et al., 2021; Muñoz-Comet & Steinmetz, 2020). Current Belgian research on this topic is limited and ambiguous. The quantity and quality of social capital can help to elucidate the nature of the labour market outcomes associated with atypical employment. However, the quality of social capital in Belgium remains under-researched, particularly regarding second-generation migrants.

To our knowledge, there is a shortage of Belgian firm-level evidence on the inter-generational trajectory of wage dynamics of people with a migration background. Notably, we identified no studies meeting our inclusion criteria that estimated wage discrimination for second-generation migrants. Along with evaluating wage discrimination in general, it would be interesting to examine how rents are shared to scrutinise whether companies equitably distribute profits among native and migrant workers in Belgium. Our literature review indicates that the transferability of human capital presents a substantial challenge for many people with a migration background, often preventing them from securing employment commensurate with their level of human capital. Therefore, assessing the probability of overeducation among workers from different origin countries may be insightful. For first-generation migrants, this would be based on their country of birth, and for second-generation migrants, it would be based on the country of birth of their parents. Furthermore, examining the impact of specific academic disciplines on wage inequalities among tertiary-educated natives and second-generation migrants may offer valuable insights into wage inequalities among both groups.

6 Conclusion

By systematically reviewing articles published between 2010 and 2023 in the Web of Science Core Collection, we provided a comprehensive overview of the literature on the labour market outcomes of first- and second-generation migrants in Belgium. This review not only addressed the challenges encountered by individuals with a migration background and the underlying mechanisms from both employer and employee perspectives but also identified gaps in the academic literature.

Additionally, it provided an overview of remedies and policy recommendations from the reviewed literature and positioned them within the existing legislative framework.

Overall, people with a migration background in Belgium exhibit considerably poorer labour market performance than natives. These inferior labour market outcomes manifest across various dimensions, encompassing employment rates and the quality of work, as evidenced by wage disparities and job mismatches. Furthermore, individuals with a migration background are often paid less than their native counterparts, are more likely to be employed below their skill levels, and are more prone to precarious employment situations. These outcomes tend to vary based on country of origin and gender. Individuals from countries more geographically and culturally distant from Belgium often experience worse outcomes, while women are less well-integrated into the labour market than men. These results are driven by various mechanisms operating on both the employer and employee sides, including the role of discrimination, individual preferences, and differences in human capital.

The need for further policy evaluation is paramount, particularly given Belgium's poor performance in integrating migrants into the labour market. The persistent challenges faced by both first- and second-generation migrants suggest that current policies are failing within Belgium's institutional context. To address these issues, standardising formal hiring procedures across sectors could reduce biases and improve fairness in recruitment. Beyond the hiring phase, enhancing the recognition of foreign qualifications and investing in targeted language training are essential steps to improve migrants' integration. Streamlining the recognition process for non-EU qualifications and reducing associated costs would make it easier for highly educated migrants to contribute effectively to the labour market. Moreover, improving access to affordable childcare, particularly for migrant families, could help balance work and care responsibilities, enabling more migrant women to participate in the workforce. These reforms, along with efforts to provide mentoring and support for navigating the job market, are vital for fostering equitable labour market outcomes for all individuals, regardless of their migration background.

Appendix

See Table 3.

Table 3 Excluded Web of Science categories

Category	Number of articles
Public Environmental Occupational Health	90 articles
Materials Science Multidisciplinary	71 articles
Geography	60 articles
Environmental Sciences	44 articles
Chemistry Physical	38 articles
Environmental Studies	37 articles
Nanoscience Nanotechnology	31 articles
Oncology	28 articles
Physics Applied	27 articles
Law	25 articles
Medicine General Internal	24 articles
Obstetrics Gynaecology	23 articles
Chemistry Multidisciplinary	22 articles
Ecology	20 articles
Physics Condensed Matter	19 articles
Nuclear Science Technology	17 articles
Biochemistry Molecular Biology	16 articles
Cell Biology	16 articles
Health Care Sciences Services	16 articles
Food Science Technology	14 articles
Infectious Diseases	14 articles
Neurosciences	14 articles
Regional Urban Planning	14 articles
Chemistry Analytical	13 articles
Endocrinology Metabolism	13 articles
Energy Fuels	13 articles
Psychiatry	13 articles
Astronomy Astrophysics	12 articles
Immunology	12 articles
Nursing	12 articles
Pharmacology Pharmacy	12 articles
History of Social Sciences	11 articles
Materials Science Biomaterials	11 articles
Metallurgy Metallurgical Engineering	11 articles
Social Sciences Biomedical	11 articles
Clinical Neurology	10 articles
Engineering Chemical	10 articles
Geochemistry Geophysics	10 articles
Nutrition Dietetics	10 articles
Chemistry Applied	9 articles
Engineering Biomedical	9 articles
Geography Physical	9 articles

Table 3 (continued)

Category	Number of articles
Green Sustainable Science Technology	9 articles
Physics Atomic Molecular Chemical	9 articles
Transportation	9 articles
Biodiversity Conservation	8 articles
Engineering Environmental	8 articles
Marine Freshwater Biology	8 articles
Microbiology	8 articles
Parasitology	8 articles
Polymer Science	8 articles
Tropical Medicine	8 articles
Computer Science Interdisciplinary Applications	7 articles
Criminology Penology	7 articles
Developmental Biology	7 articles
Electrochemistry	7 articles
Medicine Research Experimental	7 articles
Meteorology Atmospheric Sciences	7 articles
Optics	7 articles
Plant Sciences	7 articles
Radiology Nuclear Medicine Medical Imaging	7 articles
Reproductive Biology	7 articles
Sport Sciences	7 articles
Water Resources	7 articles
Biochemical Research Methods	6 articles
Biotechnology Applied Microbiology	6 articles
Chemistry Medicinal	6 articles
Computer Science Information Systems	6 articles
Computer Science Theory Methods	6 articles
Gastroenterology Hepatology	6 articles
Hospitality Leisure Sport Tourism	6 articles
Instruments Instrumentation	6 articles
Mechanics	6 articles
Rehabilitation	6 articles
Urology Nephrology	6 articles
Veterinary Sciences	6 articles
Biology	5 articles
Construction Building Technology	5 articles
Engineering Civil	5 articles
Engineering Electrical Electronic	5 articles
Oceanography	5 articles
Physics Fluids Plasmas	5 articles
Surgery	5 articles
Zoology	5 articles

Table 3 (continued)

Category	Number of articles
Agronomy	4 articles
Evolutionary Biology	4 articles
History Philosophy of Science	4 articles
Materials Science Characterisation Testing	4 articles
Physics Nuclear	4 articles
Primary Health Care	4 articles
Toxicology	4 articles
Transportation Science Technology	4 articles
Anaesthesiology	3 articles
Cardiac Cardiovascular Systems	3 articles
Cell Tissue Engineering	3 articles
Computer Science Hardware Architecture	3 articles
Computer Science Software Engineering	3 articles
Engineering Mechanical	3 articles
Fisheries	3 articles
Folklore	3 articles
Haematology	3 articles
Information Science Library Science	3 articles
Literature African Australian Canadian	3 articles
Medical Ethics	3 articles
Medical Informatics	3 articles
Spectroscopy	3 articles
Archaeology	2 articles
Biophysics	2 articles
Chemistry Inorganic Nuclear	2 articles
Computer Science Artificial Intelligence	2 articles
Computer Science Cybernetics	2 articles
Dermatology	2 articles
Film Radio Television	2 articles
Integrative Complementary Medicine	2 articles
Literature Romance	2 articles
Materials Science Coatings Films	2 articles
Mathematical Computational Biology	2 articles
Medicine Legal	2 articles
Mineralogy	2 articles
Mining Mineral Processing	2 articles
Ophthalmology	2 articles
Orthopaedics	2 articles
Otorhinolaryngology	2 articles
Peripheral Vascular Disease	2 articles
Physiology	2 articles
Remote Sensing	2 articles

Table 3 (continued)

Category	Number of articles
Respiratory System	2 articles
Statistics Probability	2 articles
Substance Abuse	2 articles
Theatre	2 articles
Virology	2 articles
Allergy	1 article
Architecture	1 article
Art	1 article
Audiology Speech Language Pathology	1 article
Chemistry Organic	1 article
Classics	1 article
Critical Care Medicine	1 article
Dance	1 article
Dentistry Oral Surgery Medicine	1 article
Engineering Geological	1 article
Engineering Industrial	1 article
Engineering Manufacturing	1 article

Acknowledgements We want to thank three anonymous referees for their valuable feedback on an earlier version of this paper. Their comments and suggestions improved the paper significantly.

Authors Contribution LD: conceptualisation, methods, writing—original draft, writing—review and editing. LL: conceptualisation, methods, writing—original draft, writing—review and editing, supervision. DL: writing—original draft, writing—review and editing. FR: writing—review and editing, funding acquisition. MV: writing—review and editing, funding acquisition. SB: conceptualisation, methods, writing—review and editing, supervision, funding acquisition.

Funding We acknowledge financial support from the Belgian Federal Science Office (BELSPO-LAMIE project, Grant Number B1/233/P3/LAMIE). LL also acknowledges funding from FWO (Research Foundation – Flanders) under Grant Number 12AM824N.

Data and Code Availability No dataset or code was used for this manuscript.

Declarations

Competing interests Stijn Baert is both an editor for *De Economist* and co-author of this literature review.

Ethical Approval and Consent to Participate Ethical approval or consent to participate is not applicable to this literature review.

Consent for Publication Consent for publication is not applicable to this literature review.

Open Access This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons licence, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons licence, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line

to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons licence and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this licence, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.

References

- Abramitzky, R., Boustan, L., Jácome, E., & Pérez, S. (2021). Intergenerational mobility of immigrants in the United States over two centuries. *American Economic Review*, *111*(2), 580–608. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20191586>
- Actiris. (n.d.). *Een diversiteitsplan op maat*. <https://www.actiris.brussels/nl/werkgevers/diversiteitsplannen/>.
- Actiris. (2023). *Duo for a job*. <https://www.actiris.brussels/nl/partners/contactgevens/4717-duo-for-a-job>.
- Ahmad-Yar, A. W., & Laurentyeva, N. (2020). *Migrant integration policies at the local level in Belgium*. The Mercator Dialogue on Asylum and Migration. https://aei.pitt.edu/103351/1/PI2020%2D23_Migrant%2Dintegration%2Dpolicies%2DBelgium_a.pdf.
- AHOVOKS. (2022). *De erkenning van buitenlandse diploma's, jaarverslag 2022*. <https://publicaties.vlaanderen.be/view-file/58245>.
- Alba, R., Kasinitz, P., & Waters, M. C. (2011). The kids are (mostly) alright: Second-generation assimilation: Comments on Haller, Portes and Lynch. *Social Forces*, *89*(3), 763–773. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/89.3.763>
- Altonji, J. G. (2005). Employer learning, statistical discrimination and occupational attainment. *American Economic Review*, *95*(2), 112–117. <https://doi.org/10.1257/000282805774670455>
- Altonji, J. G., & Pierret, C. R. (2001). Employer learning and statistical discrimination. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *116*(1), 313–350.
- Arai, M., & Thoursie, P. S. (2009). Renouncing personal names: An empirical examination of surname change and earnings. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *27*(1), 127–147. <https://doi.org/10.1086/593964>
- Arrow, K. J. (1973). The theory of discrimination. *Discrimination in Labor Markets*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400867066-003>
- Baekgaard, M., & George, B. (2018). Equal access to the top? Representative bureaucracy and politicians' recruitment preferences for top administrative staff. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *28*(4), 535–550. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/muy038>
- Baert, S., Neyt, B., Derous, E., Van Hoof, S., George, B., Van Hoye, G., & Lippens, L. (2022). *Inactiviteit onder migranten in België: uitgediept via cijfers en studiewerk*. Stories @ UGent @ Work. <https://www.ugent.be/ugentatwork>.
- Baert, S., Derous, E., Devos, L., D'hert, L., Lippens, L., Neyt, B., & Van Hoye, G. (2024). *Niet-Europese migranten op de Belgische arbeidsmarkt: evaluatie van hun positie in 2023*. Stories @ UGent @ Work, Article 17. <https://www.ugent.be/ugentatwork/nl/acties/policy-brief-17.pdf>.
- Baert, S., Albanese, A., du Gardein, S., Ovaere, J., & Stappers, J. (2017). Does work experience mitigate discrimination? *Economics Letters*, *155*, 35–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2017.03.011>
- Baert, S., & Cockx, B. (2013). Pure ethnic gaps in education attainment and school to work transitions. When do they arise? *Economics of Education Review*, *36*, 276–294. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.07.006>
- Baert, S., Cockx, B., Gheyle, N., & Vandamme, C. (2015). Is there less discrimination in occupations where recruitment is difficult? *ILR Review*, *68*(3), 467–500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793915570873>
- Baert, S., De Meyer, A.-S., Moerman, Y., & Omeij, E. (2018). Does size matter? Hiring discrimination and firm size. *International Journal of Manpower*, *39*(4), 550–566. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJM-09-2017-0239>
- Baert, S., & De Pauw, A.-S. (2014). Is ethnic discrimination due to distaste or statistics? *Economics Letters*, *125*(2), 270–273. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2014.09.020>

- Baert, S., Heiland, F. W., & Korenman, S. (2016). Native-immigrant gaps in educational and school-to-work transitions in the 2nd generation: The role of gender and ethnicity. *De Economist*, *164*, 159–186. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10645-016-9273-4>
- Baert, S., & Vujić, S. (2016). Immigrant volunteering: A way out of labour market discrimination? *Economics Letters*, *164*, 95–98. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2016.07.035>
- Baeyens, A., Cornille, D., Delhez, P., Piton, C., & Van Meensel, L. (2020). De economische impact van immigratie in België. *NBB Economic Review*. https://www.nbb.be/doc/ts/publications/economicreview/2020/ecorev2020_special.pdf.
- Becker, G. (1964). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education*. University of Chicago Press.
- Becker, G. (1971). *The economics of discrimination* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.
- Behtoui, A. (2007). The distribution and return of social capital: Evidence from Sweden. *European Societies*, *9*(3), 383–407. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690701314093>
- Binst, B., Bircan, T., Pineda Hernandez, K., Purkayastha, D., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2023). *Personen met een migratieachtergrond naar gender op de arbeidsmarkt in België*. Koning Boudewijnstichting. Article 3944. <https://media.kbs-frb.be/nl/media/11239/Studie%20%22Personen%20met%20een%20migratieachtergrond%20naar%20gender%20op%20de%20arbeidsmarkt%20in%20Belgi%C3%AB%22>.
- Black, D. A. (1995). Discrimination in an equilibrium search model. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *13*(2), 309–334.
- Blau, F. D., Kahn, L. M., Liu, A. Y.-H., & Papps, K. L. (2013). The transmission of women's fertility, human capital, and work orientation across immigrant generations. *Journal of Population Economics*, *26*, 405–435. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-012-0424-x>
- Blommaert, L., & Coenders, M. (2023). The effects of and support for anonymous job application procedures: Evidence from a large-scale, multi-faceted study in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2023.2282385>
- Bohren, J. A., Haggag, K., Imas, A., & Pope, D. G. (2019). Inaccurate statistical discrimination: An identification problem. *NBER Working Paper*. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w25935>
- Borjas, G. (1992). Ethnic capital and intergenerational mobility. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *107*(1), 123–150. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2118325>
- Borjas, G. (1994). The economics of immigration. *Journal of Economic Literature*, *32*(4), 1667–1717.
- Borjas, G. (2020). Labor market discrimination. In G. Borjas (Ed.), *Labor economics* (8th ed., pp. 299–340). McGraw-Hill Education.
- Carlsson, M. (2010). Experimental evidence of discrimination in the hiring of first- and second-generation immigrants. *Labour*, *24*(3), 263–278. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9914.2010.00482.x>
- Carpentier, S., Neels, K., & Van den Bosch, K. (2017). Exit from and re-entry into social assistance benefit in Belgium among people with migration background and the native-born. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, *26*(4), 366–383. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijsw.12270>
- Chakkar, S., & De Cuyper, P. (2019). De gepercipieerde waarde van diploma-erkenning op de arbeidsmarkt. *Een analyse vanuit een werkgevers- en aanvragersperspectief*. HIVA-KU Leuven. https://www.steunpuntwerk.be/files/publications/OW/OW_2019_2/overwerk_2019_2_10.pdf.
- Chiswick, B. R. (1978). The effect of americanization on the earnings of foreign-born men. *Journal of Political Economy*, *86*(5), 897–921.
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (1992). Language in the immigrant labour market. In B. R. Chiswick (Ed.), *Immigration, language and ethnicity: Canada and the United States* (pp. 229–296). American Enterprise Institute.
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2009). The international transferability of immigrants' human capital. *Economics of Education Review*, *28*(2), 162–169. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2008.07.002>
- Chowdhury, S., Ooi, E., & Slonim, R. (2020). Racial discrimination and white first name adoption: Evidence from a correspondence study in the Australian Labour Market. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, Article 13208. <https://repec.iza.org/dp13208.pdf>.
- Clark, R., Ramsbey, T. W., & Stier Adler, E. (1991). Culture, gender, and labor force participation: A cross-national study. *Gender and Society*, *5*(1), 47–66.
- Combes, P.-P., Decreuse, B., Laouénan, M., & Trannoy, A. (2016). Customer discrimination and employment outcomes: Theory and evidence from the french labor market. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *34*(1), 107–160. <https://doi.org/10.1086/682332>

- Cooke, A., Smith, D., & Booth, A. (2012). Beyond PICO: The SPIDER tool for qualitative evidence synthesis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 22(10), 1436–1443. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732312452938>
- Corluy, V., & Verbist, G. (2014). Can education bridge the gap? Education and the employment position of immigrants in Belgium. *ImPRovE Discussion Paper*, Article 14/02. <https://medialibrary.uantwerpen.be/files/57001/a8bfa71b-c7df-4b77-9e49-b4b651a86467.pdf>.
- Corluy, V. (2014). *Labour market outcomes and trajectories of migrants in Belgium*. Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen.
- Corluy, V., Marx, I., & Verbist, G. (2011). Employment chances and changes of immigrants in Belgium: The impact of citizenship. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52(4), 350–368. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412112>
- Cowgill, B. (2019). Bias and productivity in humans and machines. *Columbia Business School Research Paper Forthcoming*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3433737>
- Crijns, M., & De Cuyper, P. (2022). *Towards effective social mentoring practices for migrant newcomers*. HIVA-KU Leuven. <https://hiva.kuleuven.be/nl/nieuws/docs/towards-effective-social-mentoring-practices-for.pdf>.
- Deros, E., Pepermans, R., & Ryan, A. M. (2016). Ethnic discrimination during résumé screening: Interactive effects of applicants' ethnic salience with job context. *Human Relations*, 70(7), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726716676537>
- Desiere, S., Cabus, S., & Cocx, B. (2020). *Evaluatie van het Vlaamse doelgroepenbeleid*. HIVA-KU Leuven. <https://hiva.kuleuven.be/nl/nieuws/docs/zkd5267-rapport-eind-nl.pdf>.
- Desiere, S., & Cocx, B. (2022). How effective are hiring subsidies in reducing long-term unemployment among prime-aged jobseekers? Evidence from Belgium. *IZA Journal of Labor Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.2478/izajolp-2022-0003>
- Detollenaere, J., Baert, S., & Willems, S. (2018). Association between cultural distance and migrant self-rated health. *European Journal of Health Economics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10198-017-0881-y>
- Dustmann, C. (2000). Temporary migration and economic assimilation. *Swedish Economic Policy Review*, 7, 213–244.
- Ekberg, J., Hammarstedt, M., & Shukur, G. (2010). Immigrant-native earnings differentials: SUR estimation applied on three generations. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 45, 705–720. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00168-009-0314-7>
- European Commission. (n.d.). *A single permit for work*. Migration and Home Affairs. [affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/legal-migration-and-integration/work/single-permit-work_en](https://ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/legal-migration-and-integration/work/single-permit-work_en).
- European Commission. (2022). *Belgium: Integration programmes mandatory in Brussels from April 2022*. European Website on Integration. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/belgium-integration-programmes-mandatory-brussels-april-2022_en.
- European Migration Network. (2018). *Labour market integration of third-country nationals in Belgium*. <https://emnbelgium.be/sites/default/files/publications/Standalone%20Belgian%20study%20on%20labour%20market%20integration.pdf>.
- Eurostat. (2023). Employment rates by sex, age, migration status, citizenship and educational attainment level (%). https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/lfsq_erganedm__custom_9179504/default/table?lang=en.
- Fays, V., Mahy, B., & Rycx, F. (2023). Wage differences according to workers' origin: The role of working more upstream in GVCs. *Labour*, 37(2), 319–342. <https://doi.org/10.1111/labr.12244>
- Fays, V., Mahy, B., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2021). Wage discrimination based on the country of birth: Do tenure and product market competition matter? *Applied Economics*, 53(13), 1551–1571. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2020.1838431>
- Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles. (n.d.). *Equivalence*. <https://equisup.cfwb.be/en/equivalence/>.
- Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles. (2018). *La Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles en chiffres 2018*. http://www.directionrecherche.cfwb.be/index.php?eID=tx_nawsecured1&u=0&g=0&hash=295b2a1d544e64e79cf11544e197cc0633481b21&file=fileadmin/sites/sr/upload/sr_super_editor/sr_editor/documents/statistiques/CC2018_web.pdf.
- FPS Employment & Unia. (2022). *Socio-economic monitoring 2022: Labour market and origin*. https://www.unia.be/files/Documenten/Publicaties_docs/Monitoring_2022_ENG_AS.pdf.
- Fuller, S. (2011). Up and on or down and out? Gender, immigration and the consequences of temporary employment in Canada. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 29(2), 155–180. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2010.09.001>

- Garnero, A., Rycx, F., & Terraz, I. (2020). Productivity and wage effects of firm-level collective agreements: Evidence from Belgian linked panel data. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 58(4), 936–972. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12525>
- Ghekiere, A., Martiniello, B., & Verhaeghe, P.-P. (2023). Identifying rental discrimination on the Flemish housing market: An intersectional approach. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 46(12), 2654–2676. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2023.2177120>
- Gorodzeisky, A., & Semyonov, M. (2017). Labor force participation, unemployment and occupational attainment among immigrants in West European countries. *PLoS ONE*, 12(5), e0176856. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0176856>
- Grinza, E., Kampelmann, S., & Rycx, F. (2020). L'union fait la force? Evidence for wage discrimination in firms with high diversity. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 18, 181–211. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10888-019-09433-7>
- Groot, W., & Maassen van den Brink, H. (2000). Overeducation in the labor market: A meta-analysis. *Economics of Education Review*, 19(2), 149–158. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7757\(99\)00057-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7757(99)00057-6)
- Hammarstedt, M. (2009). Intergenerational mobility and the earnings position of first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants. *Kyklos*, 62(2), 275–292. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6435.2009.00436.x>
- Hammarstedt, M., & Palme, M. (2012). Human capital transmission and the earnings of second-generation immigrants in Sweden. *IZA Journal of Migration*, 1, 4. <https://doi.org/10.1186/2193-9039-1-4>
- Heath, A. F., & Cheung, S. (2007). Unequal chances: Ethnic minorities in western labour markets. In A. F. Heath (Ed.), *Proceedings of the British Academy*. (Vol. 137). Oxford University Press.
- Hirsch, B., & Jahn, E. J. (2015). Is there monopsonistic discrimination against immigrants? *ILR Review*, 68(3), 501–528. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793915572124>
- Hoge Raad voor de Werkgelegenheid. (2018). *Immigranten geboren buiten de Europese Unie op de Belgische arbeidsmarkt*. <https://werk.belgie.be/nl/publicaties/hoge-raad-voor-de-werkgelegenheid-verslag-2018-immigranten-geboren-buiten-de-europese>.
- Høj, J. (2013). Enhancing the inclusiveness of the labour market in Belgium. OECD Economics Department Working Papers. <https://doi.org/10.1787/5k4d108015d2-en>
- Jacobs, V., Mahy, B., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2021). Over-education among immigrants: The role of demographics, time, and firm characteristics. *Applied Economics*, 53(1), 61–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2020.1795070>
- Jacobs, V., Pineda-Hernández, K., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2022a). Does over-education raise productivity and wages equally? The moderating role of workers' origin and immigrants' background. *Educational Economics*, 31(6), 698–724. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09645292.2022.2156981>
- Jacobs, V., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2022b). Wage effects of educational mismatch according to workers' origin: The role of demographics and firm characteristics. *De Economist*, 170, 459–501. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10645-022-09413-9>
- Jahn, E., & Rosholm, M. (2013). Is temporary agency employment a stepping stone for immigrants? *Economics Letters*, 118(1), 225–228. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econlet.2012.10.029>
- Kaas, L., & Manger, C. (2012). Ethnic discrimination in Germany's labour market: A field experiment. *German Economic Review*, 13(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0475.2011.00538.x>
- Kalter, F., & Kogan, I. (2006). Ethnic inequalities at the transition from school to work in Belgium and Spain: Discrimination or self-exclusion? *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 24(3), 259–274. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2005.10.002>
- Kalter, F., & Kogan, I. (2014). Migrant networks and labor market integration of immigrants from the former soviet union in Germany. *Social Forces*, 92(4), 1435–1456. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sot155>
- Kampelmann, S., & Rycx, F. (2016). Wage discrimination against immigrants: Measurement with firm-level productivity data. *IZA Journal of Migration*, 5, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-016-0063-1>
- Kampelmann, S., Rycx, F., Saks, Y., & Tojerow, I. (2018). Does education raise productivity and wages equally? The moderating role of age and gender. *IZA Journal of Labor Economics*, 7, 1. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40172-017-0061-4>
- Kanas, A., Chiswick, B. R., Van Der Lippe, T., & Van Tubergen, F. (2012). Social contacts and the economic performance of immigrants: a panel study of immigrants in Germany. *International Migration Review*, 46(3), 680–709. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2012.00901.x>
- Kanas, A., & van Tubergen, F. (2014). The conditional returns to origin-country human capital among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Belgium. *Social Science Research*, 46, 130–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.03.005>

- Kasztan Flechner, T., Neels, K., Wood, J., & Biegel, N. (2022). Exploring women's uptake of active labour market programmes: The role of household composition across migrant origin groups. *Social Inclusion*, 2, 117–131. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v10i2.4931>
- Kil, T., Neels, K., Wood, J., & de Valk, H. A. (2018). Employment after parenthood: women of migrant origin and natives compared. *European Journal of Population*, 34, 413–440. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-017-9431-7>
- Kogan, I. (2006). Labor markets and economic incorporation among recent immigrants in Europe. *Social Forces*, 85(2), 697–721. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2007.0014>
- Kogan, I. (2011). The price of being an outsider: Labour market flexibility and immigrants' employment paths in Germany. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52(4), 264–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412113>
- Kok, S., Bosch, N., Deelen, A., & Euwals, R. (2011). Migrant women on the labour market: On the role of home- and host-country participation. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1877630>
- Koopmans, R. (2009). Trade-Offs between equality and difference: Immigrant integration, multiculturalism and the welfare state in cross-national perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903250881>
- Lamb, D., Banerjee, R., & Verma, A. (2021). Immigrant-non-immigrant wage differentials in Canada: A comparison between standard and non-standard jobs. *International Migration*, 59(5), 113–133. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12808>
- Lamberts, M., Vanderstukken, A., De Leebeek, K., & Vermeersch, L. (2020). *Antidiscriminatiebeleid op sector- en organisatieniveau*. HIVA-KU Leuven. <https://hiva.kuleuven.be/nl/nieuws/docs/zkd4258-rapport-eind.pdf>
- Lancee, B., & Hartung, A. (2012). Turkish migrants and native Germans compared: the effects of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic friendships on the transition from unemployment to work. *International Migration*, 50(1), 39–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2011.00736.x>
- Lang, K., & Kahn-Lang Spitzer, A. (2020). Race discrimination: An economic perspective. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(2), 68–89. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.34.2.68>
- Laurijssen, I., & Glorieux, I. (2015). Early career occupational mobility of Turkish and Moroccan second-generation migrants in Belgium. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18(1), 1367–6261. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.933194>
- Lens, D. (2022). *Is labour migration hurting migrant labour? Empirical investigations for the case of Belgium*. Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Antwerpen.
- Lens, D. (2023). Does self-employment contribute to immigrants' economic integration? Examining patterns of self-employment exit in Belgium. *International Migration Review*, 57(1), 217–264. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183221095833>
- Lens, D., & Levrau, F. (2020). Can pre-entry characteristics account for the ethnic attainment gap? An analysis of a Flemish university. *Research in Higher Education*, 61(1), 26–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11162-019-09554-Y>
- Lens, D., Levrau, F., Piqueray, E., De Coninck, D., Clycq N., & Timmerman, C. (2015). *De universiteit in een tijd van toegenomen diversiteit: een studie over de in-, door- en uitstroom van 'maatschappelijk kwetsbare studenten' aan de UAntwerpen*. Centrum voor Migratie en Interculturele Studies Universiteit Antwerpen. https://researchgate.net/publication/323884379_De_universiteit_in_een_tijd_van_toegenomen_diversiteit_Een_studie_over_de_in_door_en_uitstroom_van_maatschappelijk_kwetsbare_students%27_aan_de_UAntwerpen#fullTextFileContent
- Lens, D., Marx, I., Oslejšová, J., & Mussche, N. (2023). Nice work if you can get it: Labour market pathways of Belgian service voucher workers. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 33(1), 117–131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09589287221128440>
- Lens, D., Marx, I., & Vujić, S. (2019). Double jeopardy: How refugees fare in one European labor market. *IZA Journal of Development and Migration*. <https://doi.org/10.2478/izajodm-2019-0008>
- Lens, D., & Oslejšová, J. (2018). Arbeidsmarkttransities van immigranten in België. *Tijdschrift Voor Arbeidsvraagstukken*. <https://doi.org/10.5117/2018.034.004.006>
- Lippens, L., Baert, S., Ghekiere, A., Verhaeghe, P.-P., & Derous, E. (2022). Is labour market discrimination against ethnic minorities better explained by taste or statistics? A systematic review of the empirical evidence. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(17), 4243–4276. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2050191>

- Lippens, L., Dalle, A., D'hondt, F., Verhaeghe, P.-P., & Baert, S. (2023). Understanding ethnic hiring discrimination: A contextual analysis of experimental evidence. *Labour Economics*, 85, 102453. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2023.102453>
- Maes, J., Wood, J., Marynissen, L., & Neels, K. (2022). The gender division of paid work over family formation: Variation by couples' migration background. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 53, 100497. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2022.100497>
- Maes, J., Wood, J., & Neels, K. (2019). Early labour market trajectories of intermediate and second generation Turkish and Maghreb women in Belgium. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 61, 65–78. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2018.11.001>
- Maes, J., Wood, J., & Neels, K. (2023). Path-dependencies in employment trajectories around motherhood: Comparing native versus second-generation migrant women in Belgium. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 24, 281–344. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-020-00801-1>
- Marx, I. (2019). *Krachtlijnen voor meer werk én minder armoede: sociale bescherming in tijden van arbeidsdiversiteit*. Brussel: Itinera.
- McGinnity, F., Quinn, E., McCullough, E., Enright, S., & Curristan, S. (2021). Measures to combat racial discrimination and promote diversity in the labour market: A review of evidence. *The Economic and Social Research Institute*. <https://doi.org/10.26504/sustat110>
- Mercan, M. A., & Karakas, M. (2019). Do immigrants work longer hours than natives in Europe? *Economic Research*, 32(1), 1394–1406. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2019.1636700>
- Mincer, J. (1958). Investment in human capital and personal income distribution. *Journal of Political Economy*, 66(4), 281–302. <https://doi.org/10.1086/258055>
- MIPLEX. (2020). *Belgium*. Migrant Integration Policy Index 2020. <https://www.mipex.eu/belgium>.
- Muñoz-Comet, J., & Steinmetz, S. (2020). Trapped in precariousness? Risks and opportunities of female immigrants and natives transitioning from part-time jobs in Spain. *Work, Employment and Society*, 34(5), 749–769. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017020902974>
- Myria. (2018). *1997–2017: een balans van twee decennia immigratie in België*. Myria. https://www.myria.be/files/1997-2017_een_balans_van_twee_decennia_immigratie_in_Belgie%CC%88.pdf.
- Neels, K., De Wachter, D., & Peeters, H. (2017). The effect of family formation on the build-up of pension rights among minority ethnic groups and native women in Belgium. *Ageing & Society*, 38(6), 1253–1278. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X17000010>
- OECD. (2020). *International Migration Outlook 2020*. OECD Publishing, Paris. <https://doi.org/10.1787/ec98f531-en>
- OECD. (2022). *OECD economic surveys: Belgium 2022*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/01c0a8f0-en>
- OECD. (2023). *Skills and labour market integration of immigrants and their children in Flanders*. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/4ea309cb-en>
- Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T., Mulrow, C. D., Shamseer, L., Tetzlaff, J., Akl, E. A., Brennan, S., Chou, R., Glanville, J., Grimshaw, J., Hróbjartsson, A., Lalu, M. M., Li, T., Loder, E., Mayo-Wilson, E., McDonald, S., ... Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: An updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *BMJ*, 372, 71. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n71>
- Park, J., & Myers, D. (2010). Intergenerational mobility in the post-1965 immigration era: Estimates by an immigrant generation cohort method. *Demography*, 47(2), 369–392. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0105>
- Parks-Yancy, R. (2006). The effects of social group membership and social capital resources on careers. *Journal of Black Studies*, 36(4), 515–545. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934704273501>
- Phalet, K., & Heath, A. (2010). From ethnic boundaries to ethnic penalties: Urban economies and the Turkish second generation. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 38(6), 1824–1850. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X17000010>
- Phelps, E. S. (1972). The statistical theory of racism and sexism. *The American Economic Review*, 62(4), 659–661.
- Pineda-Hernández, K., Rycx, F., & Volral, M. (2022). Moving up the social ladder? Wages of first- and second-generation immigrants from developing countries. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, Article 15770. <https://docs.iza.org/dp15770.pdf>
- Piton, C., & Ruysen, I. (2022). Integration policies and their effects on labour market outcomes and immigrant inflows. *NBB Working Paper*, Article 411. <https://www.nbb.be/doc/ts/publications/wp/wp411en.pdf>

- Piton, C., & Rycx, F. (2021). A broken social elevator? Employment outcomes of first- and second-generation immigrants in Belgium. *De Economist*, 169, 319–365. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10645-021-09385-2>
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 74–96.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster. <https://doi.org/10.1145/358916.361990>
- Quillian, L., Heath, A., Pager, D., Midtbøen, A. H., Fleischmann, F., & Hexel, O. (2019). Do some countries discriminate more than others? Evidence from 97 field experiments of racial discrimination in hiring. *Sociological Science*, 6, 467–496. <https://doi.org/10.15195/v6.a18>
- Vlaamse Regering. (2023). *Septemberverklaring*. Publicaties Vlaanderen. <https://publicaties.vlaanderen.be/view-file/59813>.
- Schmidt, C. M. (1997). Immigrant performance in Germany : Labor earnings of ethnic German migrants and foreign Guest-Workers. *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, 37, 379–397. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9769\(97\)90074-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1062-9769(97)90074-0)
- Statbel. (2024). *Diversiteit naar herkomst in België*. Statbel: <https://statbel.fgov.be/nl/themas/bevolking/structuur-van-de-bevolking/herkomst>.
- Verhaeghe, F., Bradt, L., Van Houtte, M., & Derluyn, I. (2017). Structural assimilation in young first-, second- and third-generation migrants in Flanders. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(15), 2728–2748. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1260750>
- Verhaeghe, P.-P., Van der Bracht, K., & Van de Putte, B. (2015). Inequalities in social capital and their longitudinal effects on the labour market entry. *Social Networks*, 40, 174–194. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2014.10.001>
- Vlaamse overheid. (2024). *Working in Flanders with a foreign diploma*. <https://www.vlaanderen.be/en/working-in-flanders-with-a-foreign-diploma>.
- Weichselbaumer, D. (2020). Multiple discrimination against female immigrants wearing headscarves. *ILR Review*, 73(3), 600–627. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793919875707>
- Wood, J., & Neels, K. (2017). First a job, then a child? Subgroup variation in women's employment-fertility link. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 33, 38–52. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2016.09.003>
- Wood, J., & Neels, K. (2020). *Wegwijs naar werk. Longitudinale analyse en evaluatie van inburgerings-en activeringstrajecten in Vlaanderen, 2005–2016 (eindrapport VIONA Leerstoel)*. Universiteit Antwerpen. <https://publicaties.vlaanderen.be/view-file/34112>.

Publisher's Note Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.