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LOCALMULTIDEM

Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level

SPECIFIC TARGETED RESEARCH PROJECT (STREP)
PRIORITY 7: Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge Based Society

Deliverable no. 6: Integrated report - The Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Immigrants in Six European Cities (WP2)

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1. INTRODUCTION, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, EXPLANATORY MODEL USED IN THE RESEARCH

One of the central questions of the LOCALMULTIDEM project is whether there are significant differences in the degree to which various ethnic, cultural or national groups are politically integrated into the local life, and if such differences exist, what factors help explain the variations in the degree of political integration from one immigrant group to another.

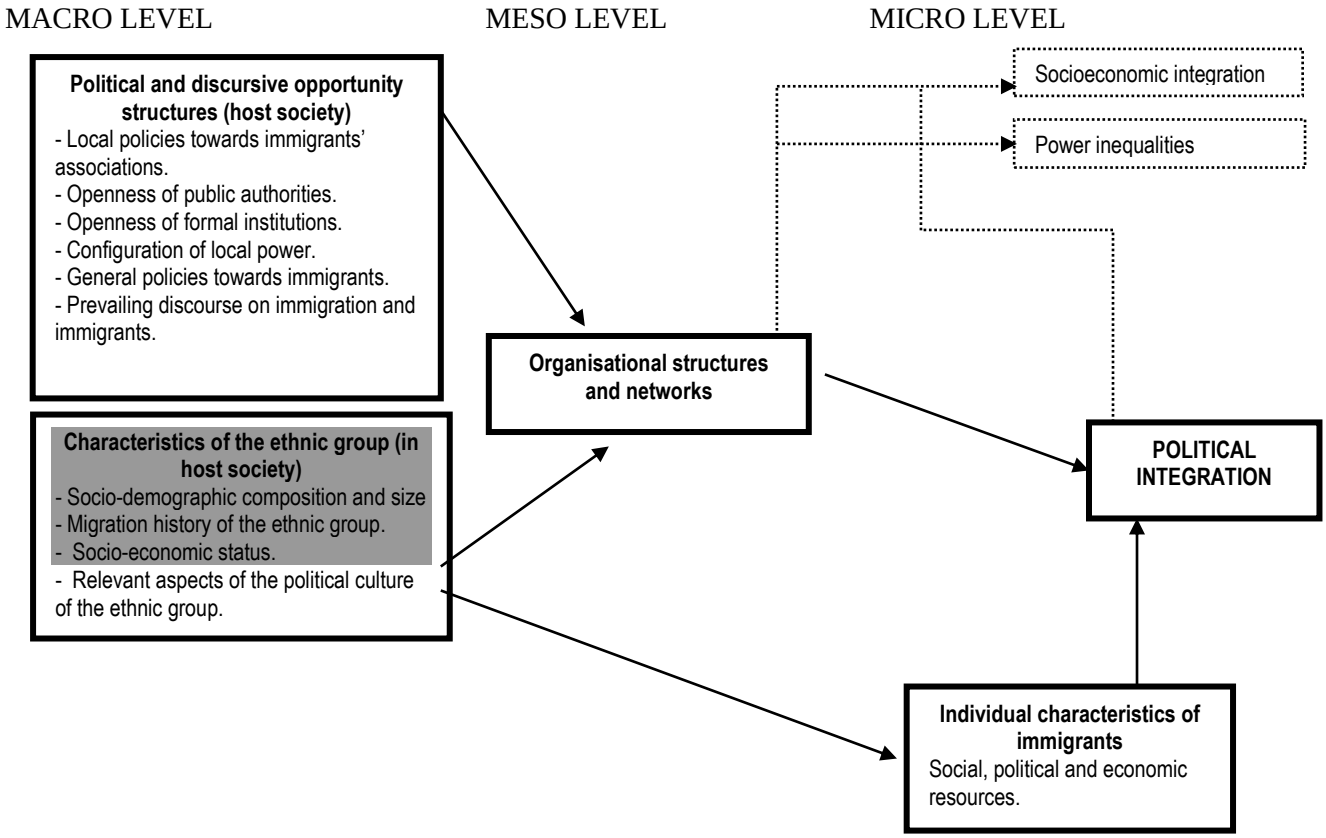
According to the hypotheses of the study, the political integration of immigrants is considered to be influenced by four main factors:

(1) the individual characteristics of immigrants;
(2) the ethnic and non-ethnic character of organisation formation (i.e. the structure of organisational networks);
(3) the institutional and discursive opportunity structure; and
(4) the characteristics of the ethnic group in the host society (demographic composition, size, position in the socio-economic structure).

Out of these four, WP2 is aimed at identifying the fourth one, dealing with the characteristics of the ethnic/national groups in the cities covered by the LOCALMULTIDEM research, and refers to matters such as their demographic composition, size and the social-economic position of these ethnic groups, in the context of the whole immigrant, non-migrant and total population of these cities.

The central aim of this WP is to collect and gather the data to measure the main socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the immigrant populations for each of the cities included in the project. These indicators will contribute to measure a set of contextual variables that will be used as potential explanatory and/or intervening factors for immigrants' political integration and, most especially, for explaining variations across cities and across ethnic/national groups.

The data gathered in WP2 shall be included in the final integrated database of the research which will include survey data from WP3 and WP4 as well as similar contextual data produced in the work under WP1. The place of the WP2 data in the explanatory model used in the research is marked with grey.



This part of the study serves as a technical tool for the design and analysis of the survey data rather than an independent scientific product, nevertheless, the data gathered and analysed provide us with valuable information on the selected cities and their immigrant population.

The scientific coordination of the design and data collection stages for WP 2 has been the responsibility of partner 4 (MTAKI) who has produced the necessary documents and protocols for equivalent data collection and integration, and has compiled this integrated report.

2. NOTES ON DATA SOURCES, ACCURACY, PROBLEMS WITH COMPARABILITY

The main difficulty of this workpackage lies in the correct design of strictly equivalent indicators across countries, as statistics are differently designed and concepts around immigration issues widely vary across countries in Europe. Data were gathered according to the instructions set forth in the guidelines provided by the coordinator of WP2 (submitted to the Commission as Deliverable 2). The narrative city reports already reflected the difficulties arising from using different data sources. This part of the WP2 tasks provided information in the form of an Excel database produced by each national research team and then merged into an integrated datasheet by the WP2 coordinator. The problems of the data are twofold: the first issue is the equivalence of the definitions for migrants used by the research teams, the second issue is the availability of data concerning particular variables.

As for the first issue, in four cities only foreign nationals were considered as immigrants, whereas in Madrid it was the total foreign-born population, regardless of their citizenship. In the case of London (more precisely the four north London local authorities of Camden, Hackney, Haringey and Islington which were selected to be the unit equivalent in population size to the other five cities) it was ethnicity which qualified the population to be considered as migrant (more precisely in this case as ethnic minority, but the research considers this category as equivalent to migrants, due to the migrant origin of these ethnic minorities). The differences in definitions used are due to the different categories along which data are gathered at the national level, and the research teams had to make compromises in order to obtain as much data as possible with reasonable effort.

The second problem is the availability of data. Unlike most migration-related research in Europe, the focus of the LOCALMULTIDEM research is the local level, where standardised comparable data at the European level is virtually inexistent. Therefore, the research teams had to rely on data selected from national registers and Censuses (of which the latest is already six years old). The detailedness of these data varies a lot, and especially the employment and education data are missing in most cities.

Hence, we have to handle these data and the findings based on them with extreme caution, bearing in mind that the sources available to the researchers are far from ideal, and that many compromises had to be made in order to create an – at least, seemingly – comparable dataset. This situation highlights the often discussed but seldom tackled problem of harmonising the gathering and handling of migration statistics at the European level. As the immigration systems of the EU member-states become ever more harmonised and unified it is indispensable to keep pace with this development in the data collection and storage as well.

3. DATA ANALYSIS

3.1. City profiles

All the six cities involved in the study are centres of large metropolitan regions with strong economies. It is known from past research based on theoretical considerations as well as empirical findings, that the relative economic development of a particular country and/or region plays a significant role in determining the scale and magnitude of immigration into these places. Obviously there are a range of other factors (from visa regimes to community links) that play a crucial role in shaping immigration and immigrant integration patterns, but the economic prosperity of the places of immigration is the main factor in most cases. Cities and urban regions are usually over-represented by immigrants, as they are places that provide not only better economic perspectives but more diverse and dynamic social networks and integration possibilities.

First we examine the relative prosperity of the six cities involved in the LOCALMULTIDEM project along three variables: their GDP and unemployment levels, and the growth or decline of their population. The annual per capita GDP generated in these places is usually significantly higher than the national figure. The only exception is Zurich, where the region's GDP remains somewhat below the national average.

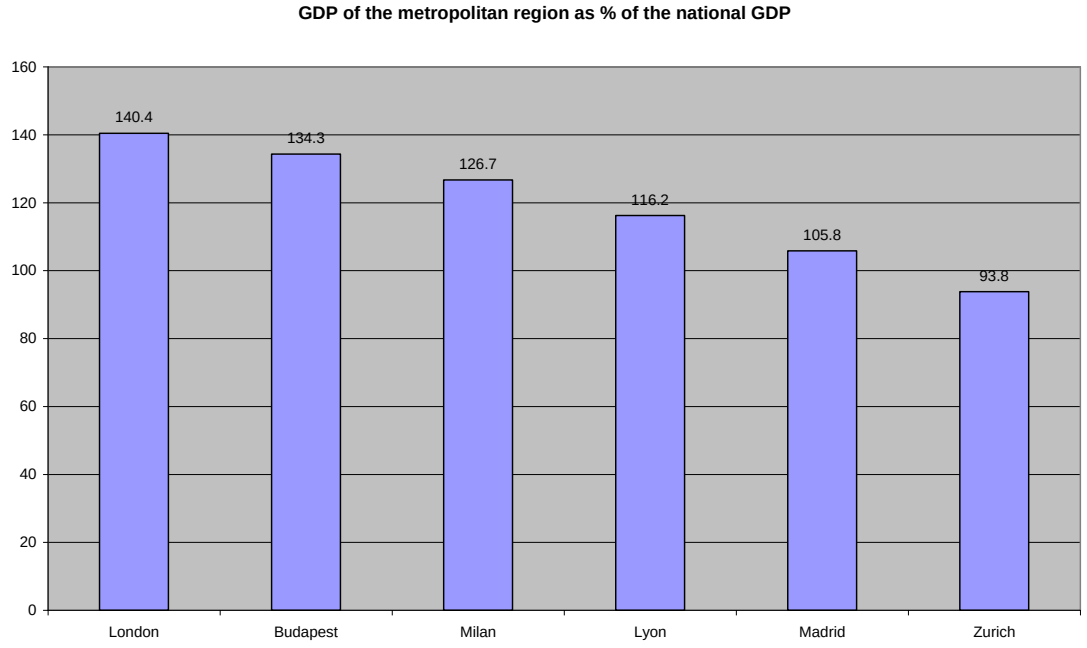
Table 1: Per capita GDP of the six metropolitan regions

Metropolitan Region	Population (million)	Per capita GDP (in USD, thousand)	Per capita GDP of the country (in USD, thousand)	GDP of metro region as % of national GDP
London	7.4	46.2	32.9	140.4
Milan	7.4	35.6	28.1	126.7
Lyon	1.6	35.2	30.3	116.2
Zurich	2.5	33.4	35.6	93.8
Madrid	5.6	29.0	27.4	105.8
Budapest	2.8	23.5	17.5	134.3

Source: OECD

In the cases of London, Budapest and Milan the difference from the national average is rather large; while in Lyon, Madrid and Zurich it is less significant. Figure 1 shows the six cities compared by their relative prosperity.

Figure 1



Another indicator of prosperity and economic stability is the unemployment rate both in objective terms and in comparison with the national averages. In the metropolitan regions where the LOCALMULTIDEM study takes place, the likelihood to find and keep employment is usually higher than in other places in the respective countries. The only exception is London, why this city provides the worst unemployment figures in the whole UK, despite its outstanding share in generating the GDP has been discussed for long. Lyon is relatively close to the French average, whereas the other four cities show significantly better unemployment figures than the national averages. This is especially true for Zurich and Milan where the unemployment rate is only about half of the national figure (see Table 2.)

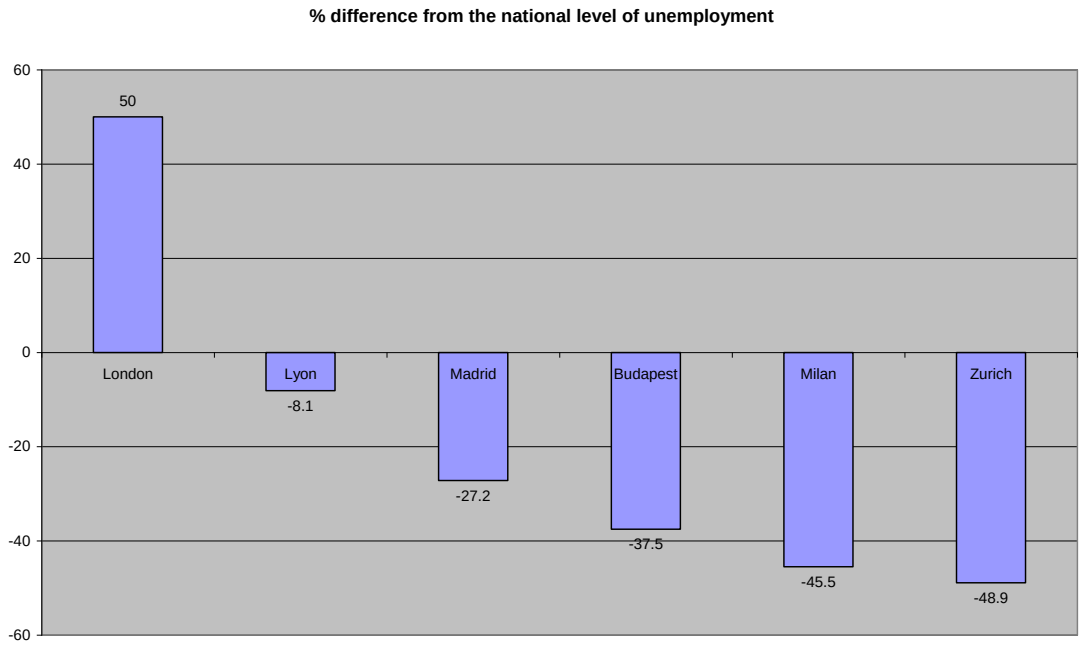
Table 2: Level of unemployment in the six cities compared to national figures

City (metro region)	Unemployment rate	National unemployment rate	Unemployment rate of the city as % of the national rate
London	7.2	4.8	150.0
Milan	4.2	7.7	54.5
Lyon	9.1	9.9	91.9
Zurich	2.3	4.5	51.1
Madrid	6.7	9.2	72.8
Budapest	4.5	7.2	62.5

Source: OECD

Figure 2 highlights these differences in the unemployment rate, compared to the national figures in the six countries.

Figure 2



The population growth of a city can also be a good indicator of its prosperity and attractiveness, though it is a more complex phenomenon. Population loss can be attributed to migration caused by a declining economy as well as suburbanisation of the prosperous middle-classes, which is rather the sign of economic development. In

our study, general population growth or loss may serve as an independent variable only when analysing the dynamics of the immigrant population, but in this case it is often immigration itself which explains a great deal of the population growth. The six cities included in the study show great variety when one looks at the change in their population in the last decade (Table 3 and Figure 3).

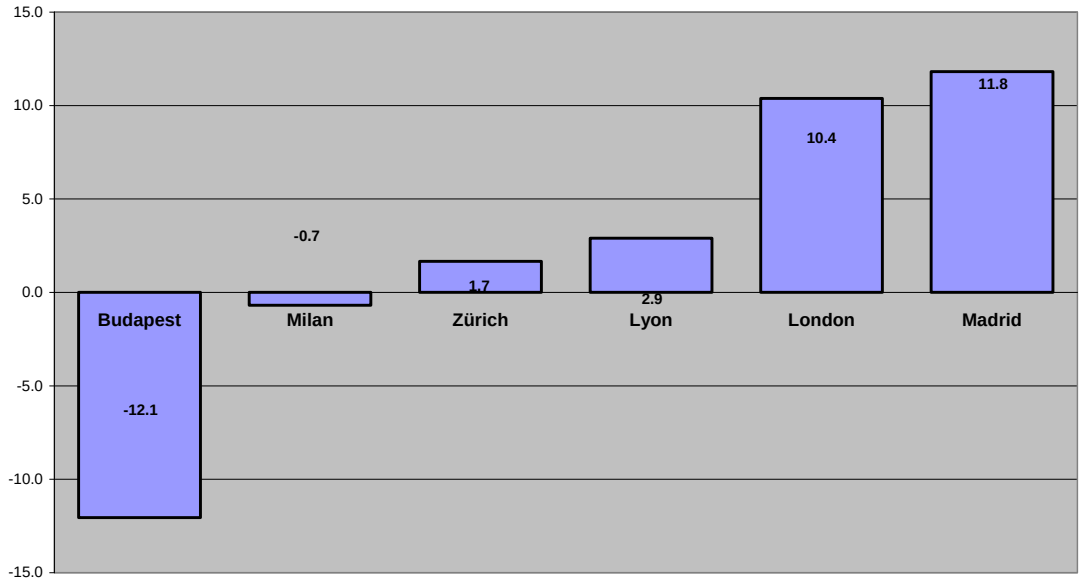
Table 3: Change in the number of population of the six cities

City	Population in 1995	Population in 2005	Change
Budapest	1 930 014	1 697 343	-232 671
Milan	1 306 494	1 297 431	-9 063
Zurich	360 826	366 809	+5 983
Lyon*	827 774	851 757	+23 983
London*	718 582	793 161	+74 579
Madrid	2 866 850	3 205 334	+338 484

*in case of these two cities the figures are about the change between 1990 and 2000.

Figure 3

Change in population number between 1995 and 2005 in percentages*



*In case of London and Lyon the figures reflect the change between 1990 and 2000.

In Budapest there has been a significant decrease in the size of the population. In the cases of Milan, Zurich and Lyon the population stagnates showing slight increases or decreases over time. London and Madrid are the two cities which record a

considerable increase in their population in the past decade, but this can be attributed mostly to recent immigration.

After having looked at the general tendencies, it is worth examining to what extent immigration into the city plays a role in the overall population change. The fourth issue, therefore, is to check whether the cities keep their non-immigrant (ethnic minority) population as well, or there is rather a replacement migration where the out-migrating city population is replaced by immigrants. Obviously the level of data available in the LOCALMULTIDEM study is not suitable for drawing strong conclusions: there were only annual stock numbers gathered about the cities' populations and we know very little about the stability of these populations (i.e., whether non-migrants in 2005 are the same people recorded in 1995), yet some conclusions on the general tendencies can be drawn. Table 4 shows the change of non-migrant populations over the last decade.

Table 4: Change in the number of non-migrant population of the six cities

City	Population in 1995	Population in 2005	Change
Budapest	1 883 302	1 643 092	-240 210
Milan	1 242 122	1 134 649	-107 473
Zurich	259 361	255 917	-3 444
Lyon*	730 483	771 639	41 156
London*	537 579	391 692	-145 887
Madrid	2 760 078	2 629 991	-130 087

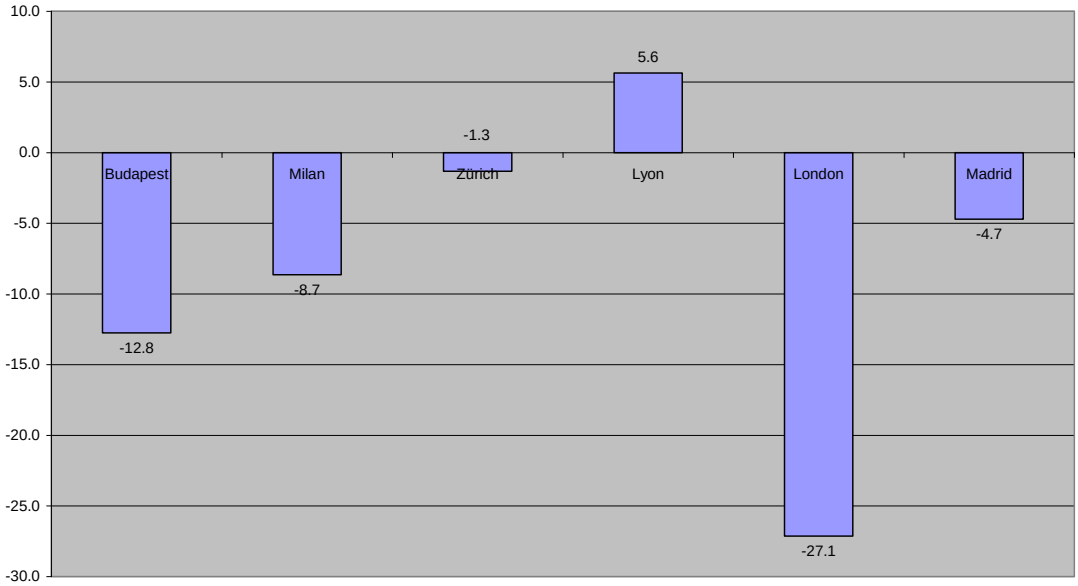
*in case of these two cities the figures are about the change between 1990 and 2000.

When one looks only at the non-migrant population, the situation of the six cities is considerably different. Apart from Lyon and Zurich, there is a significant loss of population everywhere over the decade between 1995 and 2005. It is only in Zurich and Budapest where the impact of immigration does not change the city's population trends, though in both places it has a balancing effect: in Budapest slowing the otherwise strong population loss and in Zurich changing the slightly negative balance to slightly positive. In the case of the other four cities the differences are enormous. In Milan, without immigrants the otherwise stagnating population of the city would have decreased almost by ten percent; in Madrid it is only immigration that contributes to the dynamic growth of the city's population, as there is even an almost five percent

decrease in the number of non-migrants; and in London there is an even greater mobility, as the city lost almost one third of its non-migrant population in the same time when it produced a ten percent general population growth. Looking at the six cities, Lyon seems to be the only place where the city's population growth can be attributed to the increase in the number of non-migrants. Figure 4 shows these tendencies, and the contrast with Figure 3 is very clear.

Figure 4

Change of non-migrant population between 1995 and 2005 in percentages*



*In the cases of London and Lyon the figures reflect the change between 1990 and 2000.

3.2. Size and dynamics of the immigrant populations

Due to the economic perspectives as well as to the existing links and networks, all the six cities involved in the LOCALMULTIDEM study have significantly more immigrants than it could be expected according to the national averages. Big cities always tend to attract larger number of immigrants, the open and dynamic urban spaces and communities can absorb more immigrants than the more closed small-town or rural communities which are less ready to deal with the linguistic, economic and cultural differences between migrants and members of the local communities. The existence of established migrant communities – which in itself is a consequence of the

above difference between urban and rural spaces – is a further factor that influences the settlement of immigrants in big cities.

Table 5: Proportion of immigrants in the city population vs immigrants in the total country population

City	Proportion of immigrants (%)*	Immigrants in the country (%)**	Difference
London	50.6	7.9	6.4 times
Zurich	30.2	22.0	1.4 times
Madrid	17.9	6.5	2.8 times
Milan	12.5	4.1	3.1 times
Lyon	9.4	5.4	1.7 times
Budapest	3.2	1.3	2.5 times

*Data are from 2005, except Lyon and London where the data are from 2000.

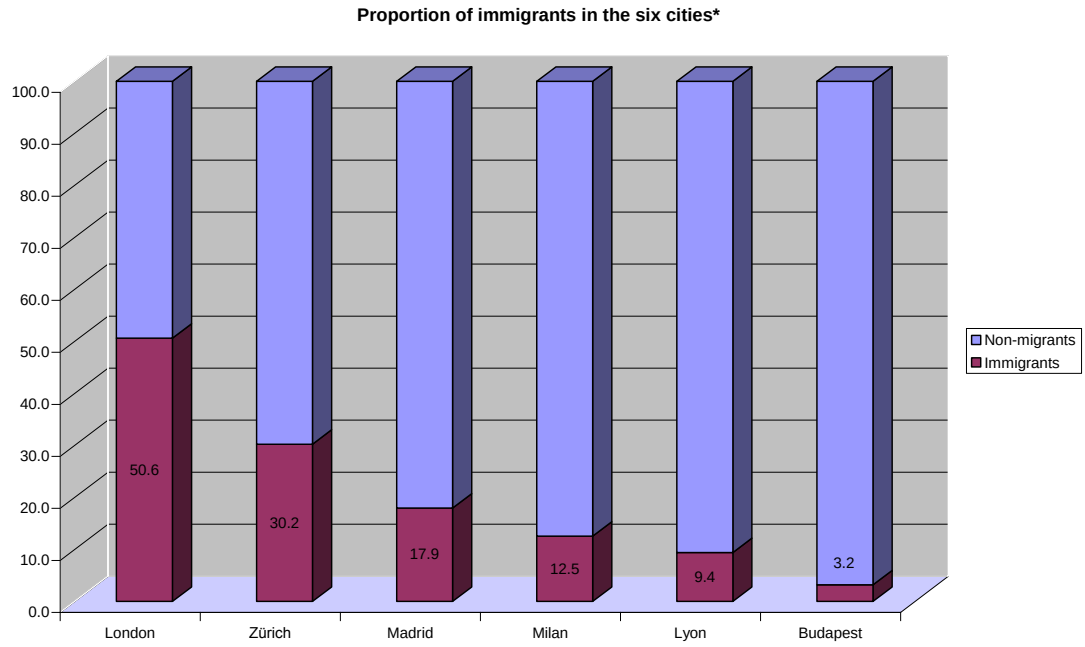
** Data are from Salt (2006) except for the UK, which comes from the 2001 Census.

The difference is most striking in the case of London, although we are aware that the North-London boroughs covered by our analysis are especially over-represented by ethnic minority groups even in comparison with other parts of the city. The proportion of Londoners who belong to ethnic minority groups is 28.9% for the whole city. In the part of the city where the LOCALMULTIDEM research takes place the proportion of immigrants is more than six times higher than the national average. In the case of Madrid, Milan and Budapest – all these cities have relatively new immigrant communities – the proportion of immigrants is more than double or even triple of the national average of the respective countries. In Zurich and Lyon– both are cities from 'old immigration' countries – there is greater convergence with the national averages, though there are still higher proportions of immigrants in these places than in Switzerland and France in general.

As for the absolute proportion of immigrants, the cities show a different picture. It is still London, which is in the first place with slightly more than half of its population belonging to some ethnic minority community. Zurich has a very large number of immigrants among its inhabitants, almost one third of them. Madrid, Milan and Lyon have more or less similar characteristics with lower but still significantly large

immigrant populations. There are only a small number of immigrants in Budapest, although this figure is still more than double of the Hungarian average.

Figure 5



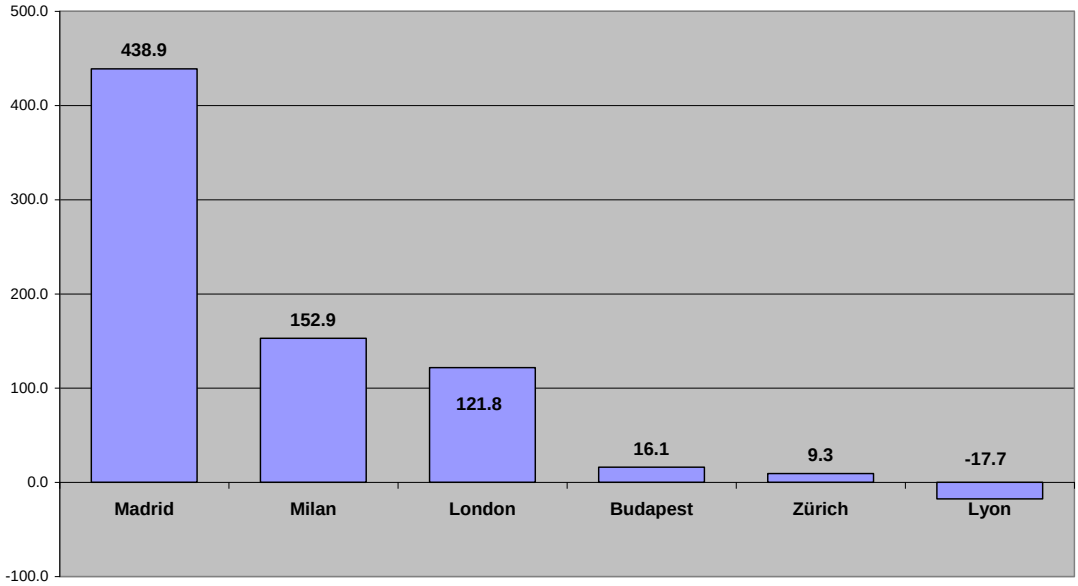
*Data are from 2005, except for Lyon and London where the data are from 2000.

Another relevant dimension is the dynamic element of migrants' presence in a city. In some cities there is a rapid growth in the number of immigrants, elsewhere the changes are less dramatic and there can be places where there is stagnation or even decrease. The length of presence of migrants may also vary a lot: there are cities where migrant communities have lived for decades, and there are others where the present situation is the result of a rapid in-migration of foreigners only in the past few years. The composition of immigrants can change significantly: it is not obvious that the immigrant groups we find in a city are the same as we could have found there some decades before. Unfortunately neither the quality of the data available, nor the scope of the study allows us to analyse these issues more thoroughly. Even the retrospective data reaches back only to the early 1990s usually with a great amount of data missing or unavailable. Nevertheless it is still possible to perform some analyses, and even very cautious comparisons regarding the population changes in the last decade.

There has been an enormous growth in Madrid: more than five times more immigrants live there now than used to live ten years ago. In the cases of Milan and London, the immigrant population grew to more than double in the past decade or so, whereas there is modest increase in Budapest and Zurich. It seems that Lyon is becoming less attractive for immigrants nowadays; the number of immigrants who lived there in 2000 is almost one-fifth less than the number in 1990.

Figure 6

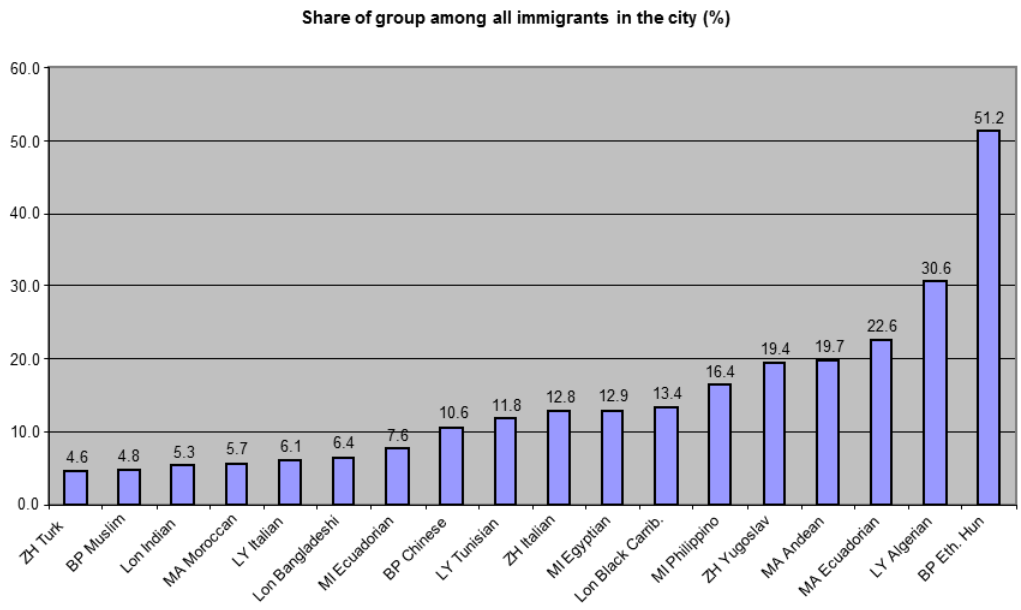
Change in the size of the immigrant population between 1995 and 2005 in percentages*



* In the cases of London and Lyon changes between 1990 and 2000 are presented.

Looking at the different immigrant communities in the six cities, there are even greater differences in their size and dynamics of population change. There are three communities identified in each city being considered as relevant for various reasons: either their number and proportion among the city's immigrants is considerable, or there is some special characteristic due to which they are in the focus of the attention of the general public, policy makers or the research community. Figure 7 lists the chosen communities and shows their relative size in comparison with the total number of immigrants/ethnic minorities in their cities.

Figure 7



*Data are from 2005, except for Lyon and London where the data are from 2000.

We can expect that the relative share of an immigrant community among all immigrants in a city can have an effect on the group's political opportunities as well as political participation and mobilisation at the local level. The largest groups in relative terms are the ethnic Hungarians in Budapest with more than half of the city's immigrant population belonging to them, and the Algerians in Lyon represent almost one-third of the city's migrants. There are groups with a moderate share among the migrants in their cities, such as Ecuadoreans and 'Andeans' in Madrid, 'Yugoslavs' and Turks in Zurich, Philippinos and Egyptians in Milan, Black Caribbeans in London, Tunisians in Lyon and Chinese in Budapest, all representing more than 10 but less than 25 percent of their cities' immigrant population. Finally we can identify immigrant groups with relatively small (less than 10%) proportion, these are: Ecuadorians in Milan, Bangladeshis and Indians in London, Italians in Lyon and Zurich, Moroccans in Madrid and 'Muslims' in Budapest.

If we examine the aggregated proportion of the three chosen immigrant groups among all immigrants in their cities we find that in all places the LOCALMULTIDEM research involves a significant number of the city's immigrants ranging between two-thirds (Budapest) and one-quarter (London) of them.

*Table 6: Size of the chosen immigrant communities in 2005**

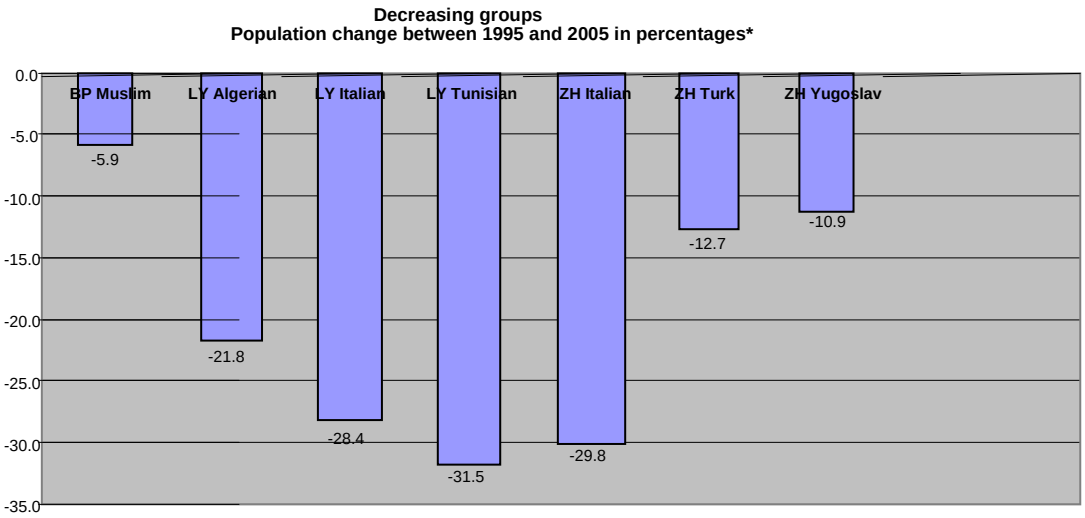
Group	Relative size in % of total immigrants
Budapest together	66.6
Lyon together	48.4
Madrid together	48.0
Milan together	36.8
Zurich together	36.8
London together	25.1

* In the cases of Lyon and London, data are from 2000.

The size of the chosen immigrant groups show different patterns if we examine the changes over the past ten years. There are groups that have decreased in number; there are others with moderate and again others with extreme increase. The dynamics of population change is an important factor determining the immigrant group's position among other immigrants and the local community. Stagnating and decreasing communities have different social and political status than rapidly increasing ones. It is also an issue of visibility: it is more likely that an increasing community with considerable share among the city's immigrants is more in the focus of public and political debates. On the other hand, however, the length of presence in the city and the relative size of the community seem to be stronger factors in influencing political opportunities.

There are seven immigrant groups from three cities whose size have decreased in the past ten years. All groups from Lyon and Zurich show declining numbers as well as the Muslims from Budapest.

Figure 8

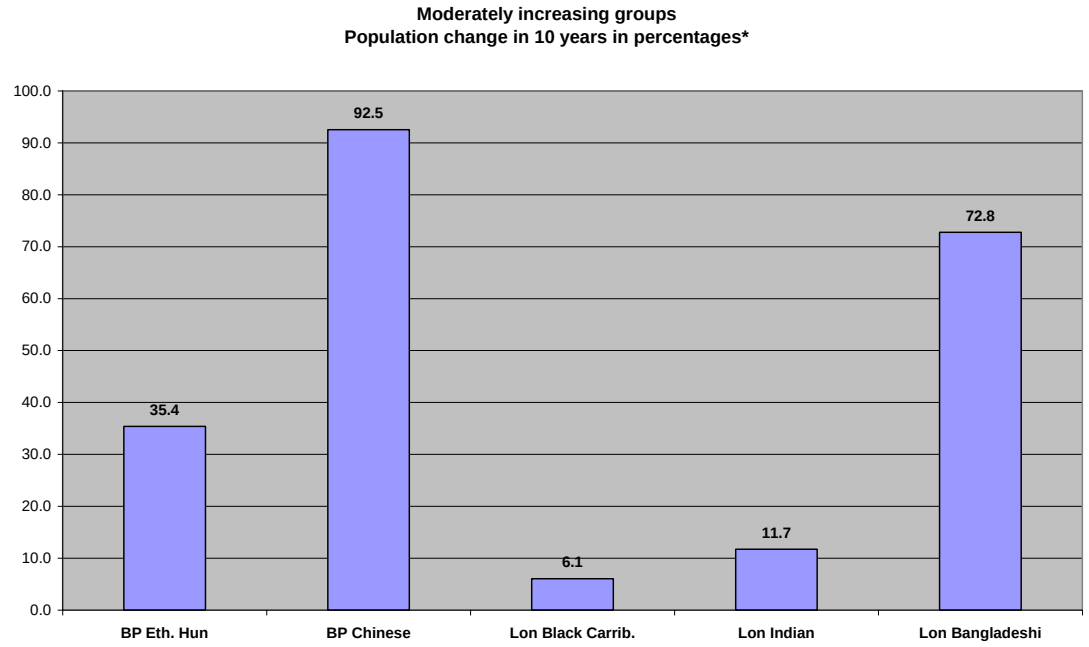


* In the case of Lyon figures are from 1990 and 2000.

The tendency in Lyon is in line with the overall decrease of the size of the immigrant population, however in the case of the three chosen groups (representing almost half of the city's immigrant population) it is much stronger. In the case of Zurich the situation is more interesting: although there was a general 9.3 percentage increase in the number of immigrants between 1995 and 2005, the number of those who belong to the selected three ethnic groups (accounting for more than one-third of the city's immigrants) has dropped by 18.7 percent. This means that the number of other immigrants in the city (not included in the LOCALMULTIDEM study) has increased considerably, by 36.8 percent in ten years. In the case of the Muslims in Budapest, both the proportion of the group and the scale of the change are too small to come to any further conclusions

With this information we have distinguished those migrant groups with a 'moderate' increase. This distinction is somewhat arbitrary, as all groups that increased by less than 100 percent are included. The outlook is shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9



* In the case of Budapest figures are from 1995 and 2005, in the case of London, they are from 1990 and 2000.

The immigrant groups whose number increased 'moderately' are from two cities: Budapest and London. The number of Chinese in Budapest almost doubled between 1995 and 2005 and the number of ethnic Hungarians grew by more than one third of their number ten years earlier. It is remarkable in a city where there was a 12.1 percent population decrease in the same period. It is clear from the data, that these are the two immigrant groups in Budapest which largely account for the 16.1 percent increase in the total number of immigrants. The other immigrant groups show an average 10.6 percent decrease in their number, which is very much in line with the decrease of the city's total population.

In the case of London it is the Bangladeshi group that increased considerably (but still less than the total immigrant population), the number of Indians and Black Caribbeans grew only a little between 1990 and 2000. It seems that the explanation for the growth of the city's migrant population should be sought around other migrant groups: in 1990 the three chosen groups represented 46.7 percent of all migrants, in 2000 their share was only 25.1 percent. Consequently the population growth of the three groups was only 19.1 percent in ten years whereas the number of other ethnic minority

groups grew to more than threefold (with 211.7 percent) of their number 10 years before.

Finally we can identify immigrant groups whose population grew enormously between 1995 and 2005. Here we list those groups whose number grew by more than 100 percent in the 10 years between 1995 and 2005. There are six groups listed here, and all are from just two cities; Milan and Madrid. In both cities we can find Ecuadorians whose number grew the most dramatically: in Milan there were 83 times more in 2005 than in 1995; in Madrid their number grew almost to a hundredfold (96 times more). Whereas their number in Milan is still not significant (7.6 percent of all immigrants), Ecuadorians became the largest immigrant group in Madrid by 2005; representing 22.6 percent of all immigrants, largely accounting for the enormous growth of the number of the city's immigrants. In Madrid the mixed 'Andean' group also grew considerably; they were almost ten times more in 2005 than ten years before. Although these two groups play a significant role in the dynamic growth of the immigrant population in Madrid, even without them there is a 255.0 percent growth in the size of the immigrant population between 1995 and 2005, which would still be the largest among the six cities involved in the research.

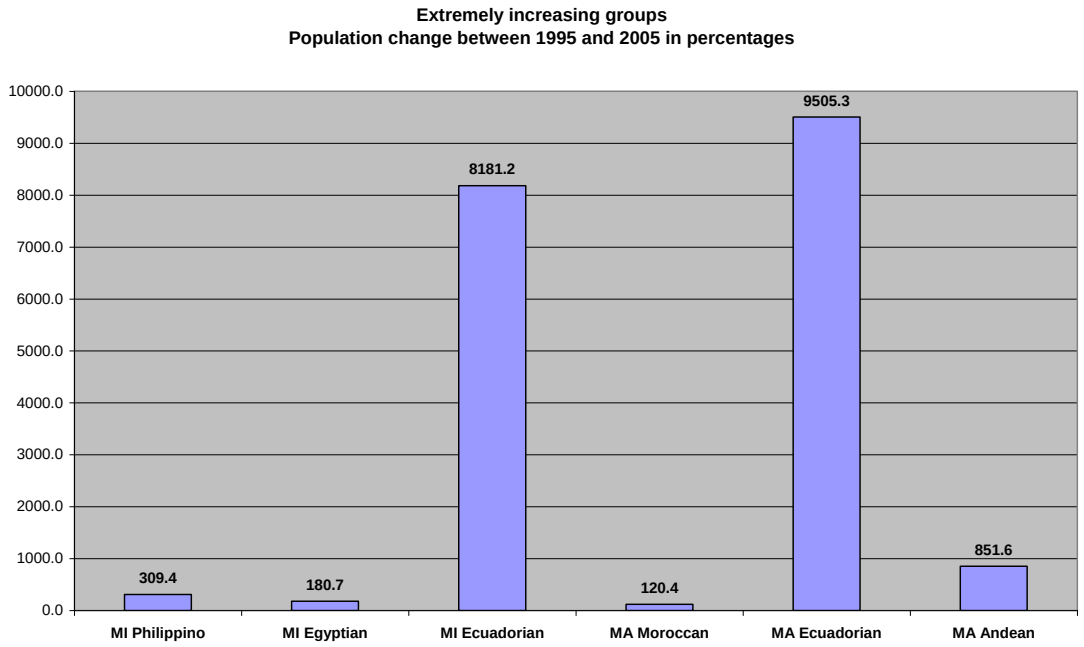
In Milan, as one can see in Figure 10, the growth of the other two selected groups changes much less when compared to the average growth in the number of the city's immigrants, although the figure is still double in the case of Philippinos. The average growth of the three selected groups in Milan is more than fourfold (324.4 percent), the number of other immigrants 'only' doubled (grew by 104.7 percent) between 1995 and 2005.

Summing up all the results presented thus far, the eighteen selected ethnic groups can be placed into the three categories in the following way:

Population decrease: BP Muslims; LY Algerians; LY Italians; LY Tunisians; ZH Turks; ZH Italians; ZH Yugoslavs.
Moderate increase: BP Ethnic Hungarians; BP Chinese; LO Black-Caribbeans; LO Indians; LO Bangladeshis.

Extreme increase: MI Philippinos; MI Egyptians; MI Ecuadorians; MA Moroccans; MA Ecuadorians; MA Andeans.

Figure 10



3.3. Gender differences

Another important aspect of an immigrant community's socio-demographic profile is its gender distribution. The closer the immigrants' gender distribution is to the profile of the non-immigrant population, the more integrated the community is. Obviously, differences or similarities in the gender distribution alone cannot explain the level of integration. However, if there are significant gender differences they are usually indicators of different socio-economic status which related to integration patterns.

There are usually two sets of situations which account for gender imbalances. On the one hand, gender gaps emerge if the immigrant group occupies a special segment of the labour market such as domestic work, care and nursing, agriculture, or construction industry. On the other hand, the length of stay/residence of the immigrant community is generally of relevance for gender imbalances: the longer a migrant community is established in a locality, the more the gender distribution of the migrant

group reflects that of the host society. An analysis of our six cities and eighteen immigrant groups provides interesting insight in this regard.

With regard to the gender distribution of the six cities' non-migrant/ethnic minority population, Table 7 shows the figures both in absolute numbers and in percentages.

*Table 7: Gender distribution of the non-migrant population of the six cities in 2005**

City	Female (N)	Male (N)	Female (%)	Male (%)
Budapest	897 601	745 491	54.6	45.4
Milan	604 673	529 976	53.3	46.7
Madrid	1 398 241	1 231 750	53.2	46.8
Lyon	412 919	358 720	53.5	46.5
Zurich	136 167	119 750	53.2	46.8
London	198 175	193 517	50.6	49.4

* In the case of Lyon and London, figures are from 2000.

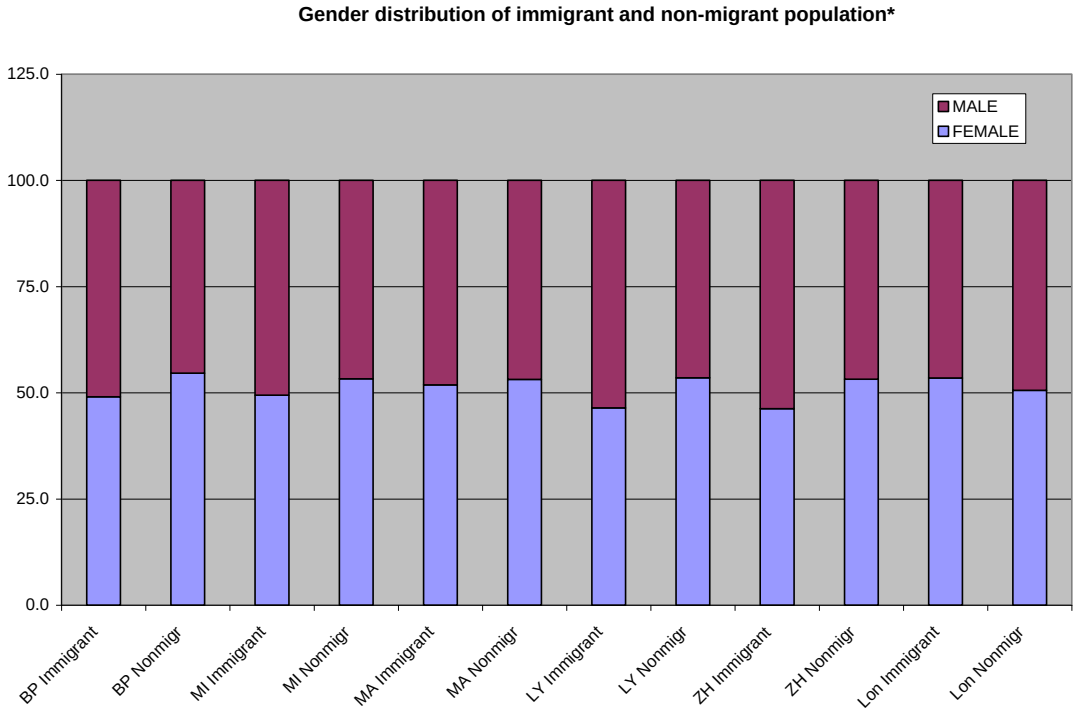
All cities show relatively similar figures, the exceptions being only Budapest – where there are slightly more women – and London, where there are less females than in the other cities. If we compare these figures with the gender distribution of the immigrant communities, there are already some differences to point out. Table 8 shows the gender distribution of the immigrant communities in the six cities and in Figure 11 and Figure 12 we can see the differences between the migrant and non-migrant population of each city.

*Table 8: Gender distribution of the immigrant (ethnic minority) population of the six cities in 2005**

City	Female (N)	Male (N)	Female (%)	Male (%)
Budapest	26 622	27 629	49.1	50.9
Milan	80 479	82 303	49.4	50.6
Madrid	298 488	276 855	51.9	48.1
Lyon	37 230	42 888	46.5	53.5
Zurich	51 270	59 622	46.2	53.8
London	214 679	186 790	53.5	46.5

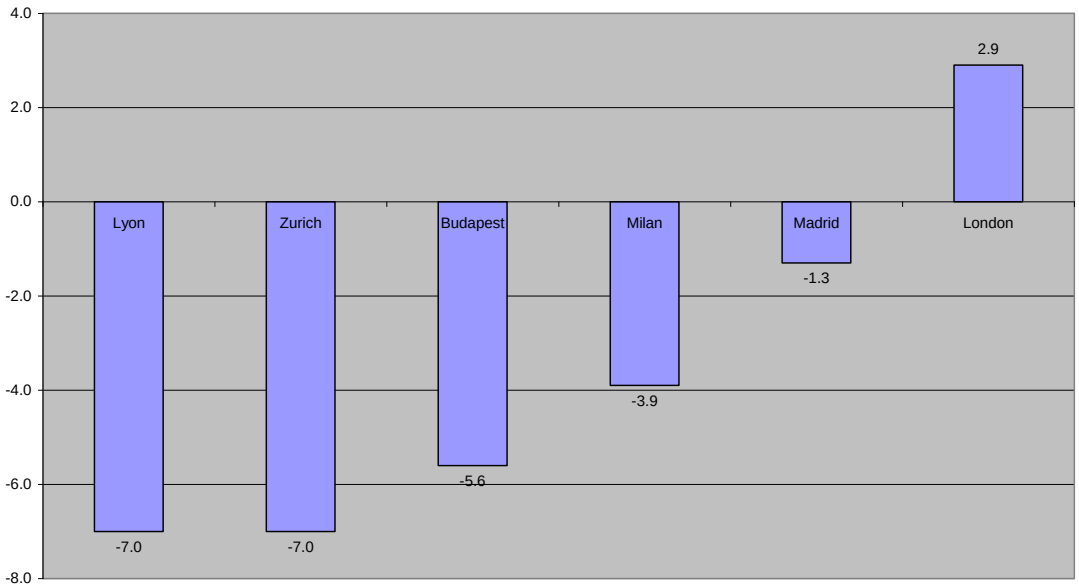
* In the case of Lyon and London, figures are from 2000.

Figure 11



* Data are from 2005 except for Lyon and London where they are from 2000.

Figure 12

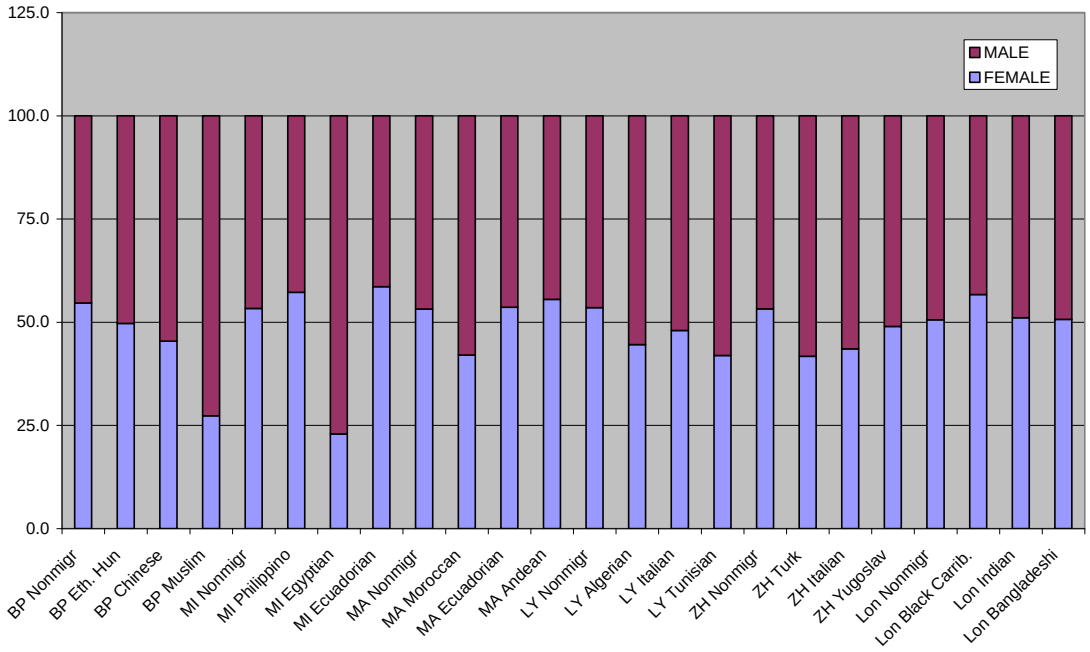


* Data are from 2005 except for Lyon and London where they are from 2000.

In all cities, except London, the proportion of females is higher in the autochthonous group than among migrants. In Lyon, Zurich and Budapest the difference is rather large, while in Milan and Madrid it is less significant. In London the situation is the opposite, there are more females among the ethnic minorities than among the general population, though the difference is not too large. If we look at the situation of the selected immigrant groups in Figure 13, we can find more striking differences.

Figure 13

Gender disrtribution of non-migrants and the selected immigrant groups in the six cities (%)*

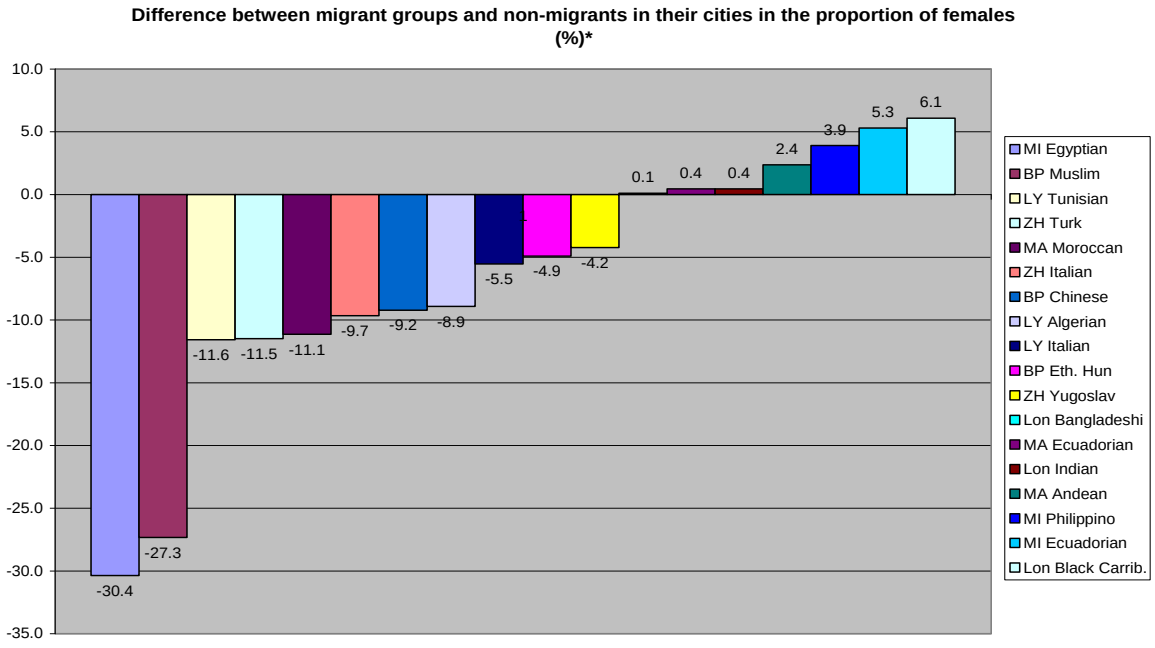


* Data are from 2005 except Lyon and London where they are from 2000.

The most visible difference from the autochthonous group in terms of its gender distribution is among Egyptians in Milan and the 'Muslim' group in Budapest. The proportion of females is much lower among them than among the non-migrant inhabitants of their cities. This – though to a certain smaller degree – is valid for the other Muslim groups as well: Tunisians and Algerians in Lyon, Turks in Zurich, and Moroccans in Madrid are all over-represented by males. Contrary to this all Latin-American immigrants in Milan and Madrid, as well as the Philippinos in Milan are formed by more females than males. This is also the situation for Black-Caribbeans in London, and to a much lesser extent in case of Bangladeshis and Indians in that same city. In the case of Italians in Zurich and Lyon, Chinese and Ethnic Hungarians in

Budapest, as well as Yugoslavians in Zurich, there are more males than females among them, though the difference is not as striking as in case of the Muslim groups. Figure 14 shows the above situation highlighting the differences of the gender distribution of the selected immigrant groups from the non-migrant population in their cities.

Figure 14



* Data are from 2005 except Lyon and London where they are from 2000.

Looking at the differences in the gender distribution, we can distinguish three main clusters for the immigrant groups:

1. Male dominance (MI Egyptian; BP Muslim; LY Tunisian; ZH Turk; MA Moroccan; ZH Italian; BP Chinese; LY Algerian; LY Italian; BP Ethnic Hungarian; ZH Yugoslav),
2. Balanced (LO Bangladeshi; MA Ecuadorian; LO Indian), and
3. Female dominance (MA Andean; MI Philippino; MI Ecuadorian; LO Black Carribbean).

Another important aspect of the gender distribution of the migrant communities is the stability of their gender composition. If there is any significant change in their gender

distribution over a shorter period of time, it is usually an indication of changes in their social position: new waves of immigration, family reunion after settlement, change in the labour market position etc, which all have significant impacts on the overall integration of the group. In the following graphs we will examine whether there have been any significant changes in this respect among the various migrant groups.

Figure 15

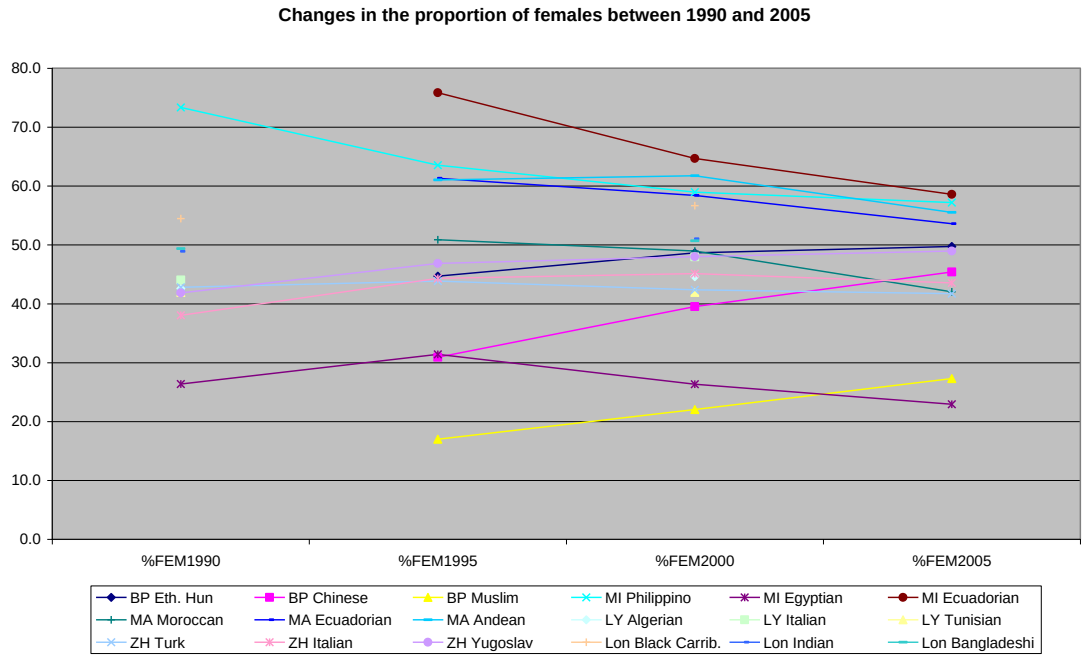
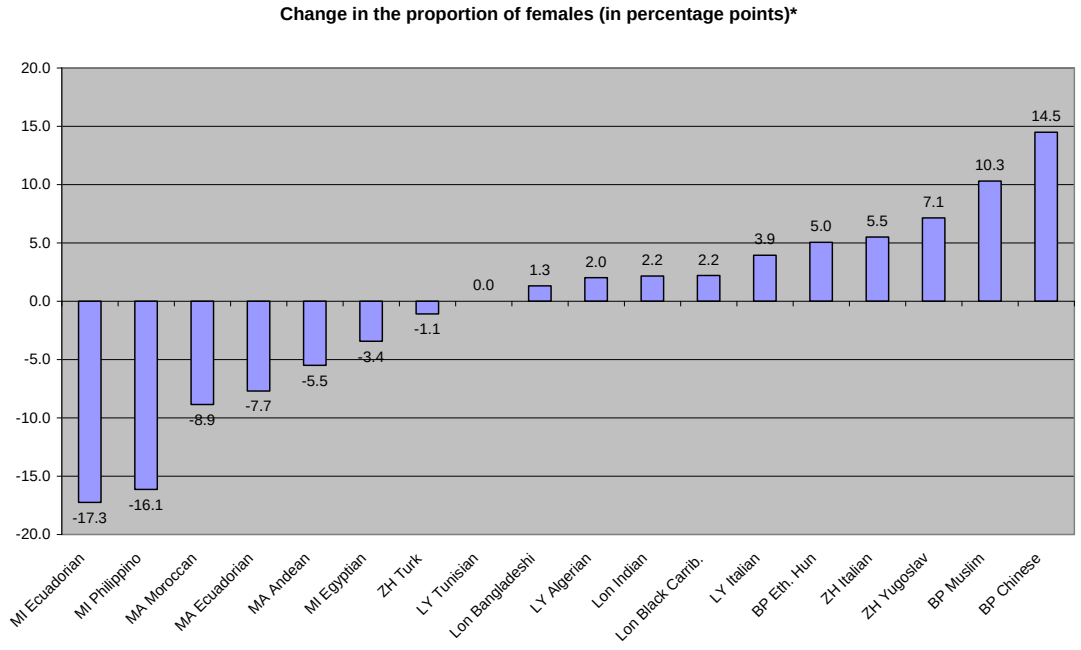


Figure 16



* Change between 1995 and 2005 in the cases of Budapest and Madrid; between 1990 and 2005 in the cases of Milan and Zurich; between 1990 and 2000 in the cases of Lyon and London.

Looking at Figure 16 we can identify groups with significant (more than 5 percentage points) changes in their gender distribution as well as groups with relatively stable gender distributions. The two clusters established here are:

1. Immigrant groups with dynamically changing gender distributions (MI Ecuadorian; MI Philippino; MA Moroccan; MA Ecuadorian; MA Andean; ZH Italian; ZH Yugoslav; BP Muslim; BP Chinese); and
2. Immigrant groups with stable gender distributions (MI Egyptian; ZH Turk; LY Tunisian; LO Bangladeshi; LY Algerian; LO Indian; LO Black Carribbean; LY Italian; BP Ethnic Hungarian);

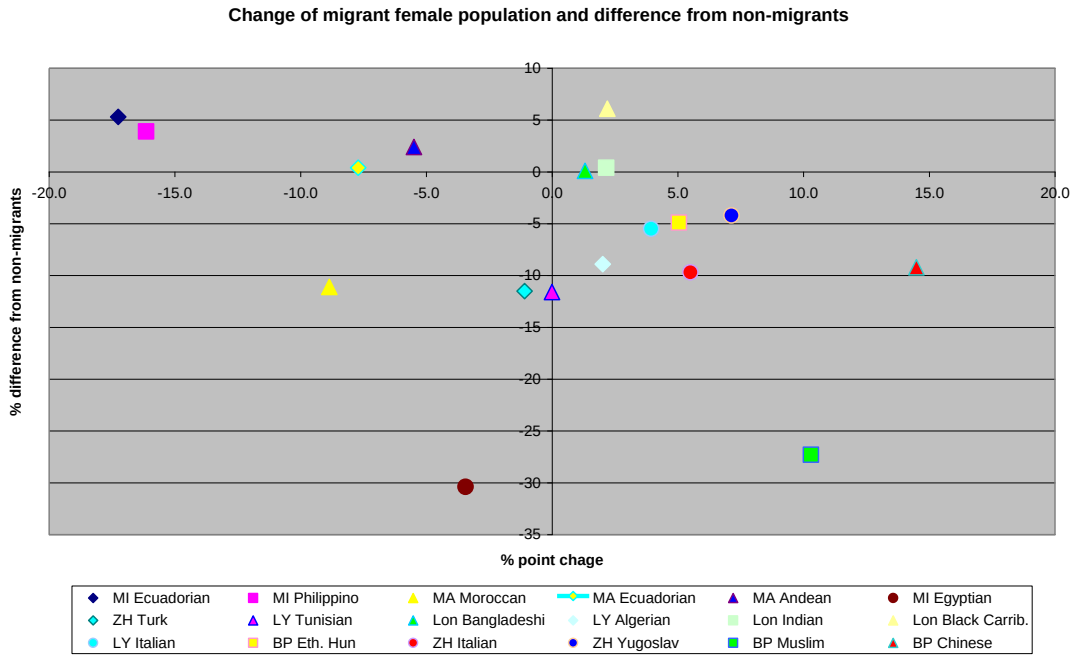
If we merge the three gender balance clusters into a dichotomous (male/female dominance) variable we can examine whether there is any pattern in the matrix of the dominance and dynamics variables. Table 9 shows the results.

Table 9: Distribution of immigrant groups by gender dominance and dynamics of gender distribution

	Changing gender distribution	**Stable gender distribution**
Male dominance	MA Moroccan ZH Italian ZH Yugoslav BP Muslim BP Chinese	MI Egyptian ZH Turk LY Tunisian LY Algerian LY Italian BP Ethnic Hungarian
Female dominance	MA Ecuadorian MA Andean MI Philippino MI Ecuadorian	LO Bangladeshi LO Indian LO Black Carribbean

Finally, figure 17 shows the relative position of the immigrant groups according to the scale and direction of the change of their gender distributions and their differences from the autochthonous community in their gender composition.

Figure 17



3.4. Age structure

The next aspect we need to examine is the age structure of the migrant communities studied in the six cities of the LOCALMULTIDEM project. Data were collected only on the percentage distribution of the populations along four age-clusters: 0-15 years; 16-24 years; 25-64 years and 65+ years. In order to create comparable variables reflecting the average age of the particular groups we used the following method: the percentage numbers of the age groups were multiplied by a weight number in a growing order: the percentage number of the youngest cohort was given a weight number of '1', the next one '2', the third '3', and the oldest cohort got '4' as a multiplier. The numbers were then added up, and the composed index number used for comparing the average ages of the groups. The higher a group scored, the older it was on average. Unfortunately due to a considerable amount of missing data from the database we could not analyse the results in many dimensions. Only the data from 2000 are sufficient for comparative analyses. Therefore we cannot analyse the dynamics of the changes in age composition. Moreover, we have to consider the figures presented below with great caution as in most cities there have been significant changes in the number and composition of the migrant groups since then. Table 10 shows the percentage distribution of the non-migrant and migrant groups for the four age groups.

*Table 10. Age distribution of non-migrant and migrant groups**

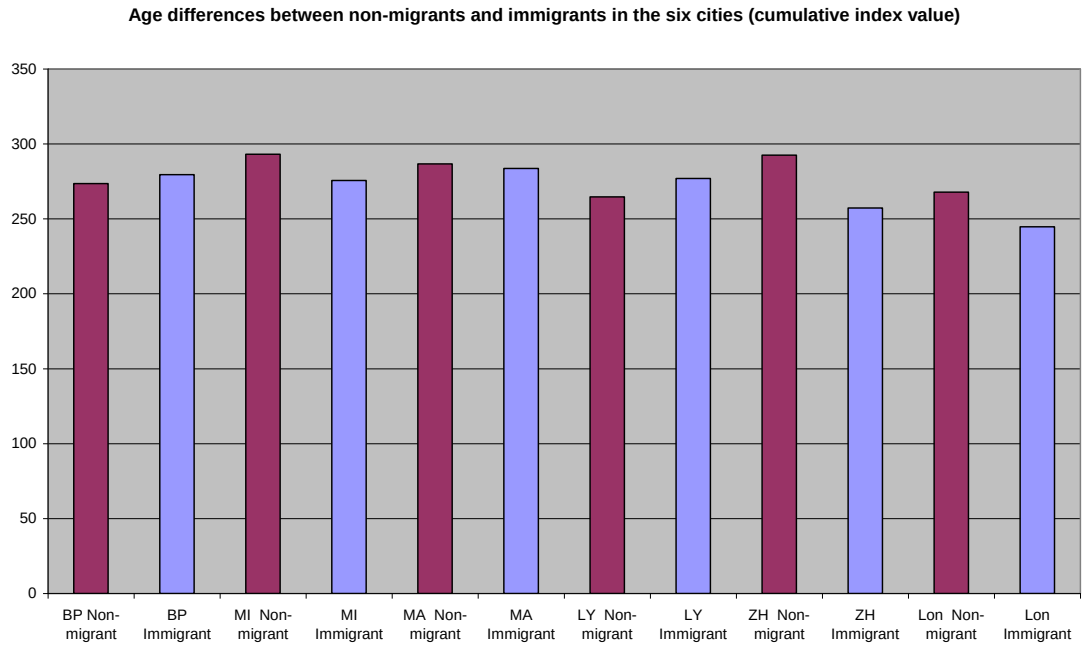
Group	0-15	16-24	25-64	65+	Total
BP Non-migrant	14.29	15.00	53.55	17.15	100.00
BP Migrant	6.16	13.44	75.20	5.20	100.00
BP Eth. Hun	5.84	24.58	63.28	6.31	100.00
BP Chinese	13.96	13.69	71.17	1.18	100.00
BP Muslim	10.04	10.95	77.80	1.20	100.00
MI Non-migrant	11.57	7.34	57.53	23.56	100.00
MI Migrant	10.55	7.62	77.60	4.23	100.00
MI Philippino	19.50	5.00	75.25	0.25	100.00
MI Egyptian	24.33	4.93	70.14	0.59	100.00
MI Ecuadorian	13.91	12.36	73.74	0.00	100.00
MA Non-migrant	11.95	11.34	54.88	21.83	100.00

MA Migrant	7.53	9.66	74.43	8.38	100.00
MA Moroccan	6.33	8.34	73.47	11.87	100.00
MA Ecuadorian	16.67	16.01	66.39	0.94	100.00
MA Andean	10.75	10.98	74.65	3.62	100.00
LY Non-migrant	17.50	16.02	50.79	15.69	100.00
LY Migrant	11.37	11.81	65.40	11.42	100.00
LY Algerian	7.02	7.25	71.53	14.19	100.00
LY Italian	3.03	4.57	54.02	38.39	100.00
LY Tunisian	17.42	11.47	65.38	5.73	100.00
ZH Non-migrant	10.52	10.20	55.61	23.68	100.00
ZH Migrant	17.98	11.70	65.47	4.84	100.00
ZH Turk	13.23	8.76	67.10	10.91	100.00
ZH Italian	26.72	15.22	56.11	1.95	100.00
ZH Yugoslav	27.46	14.62	55.68	2.24	100.00
Lon Non-migrant	16.32	11.92	59.34	12.41	100.00
Lon Migrant	23.47	14.85	55.23	6.45	100.00
Lon Black Caribbean	20.81	11.23	55.97	11.99	100.00
Lon Indian	18.91	19.36	55.00	6.74	100.00
Lon Bangladeshi	39.58	20.66	36.90	2.86	100.00

*Data are from 2000.

Figure 18 shows the age differences between the non-migrant and migrant populations for each city.

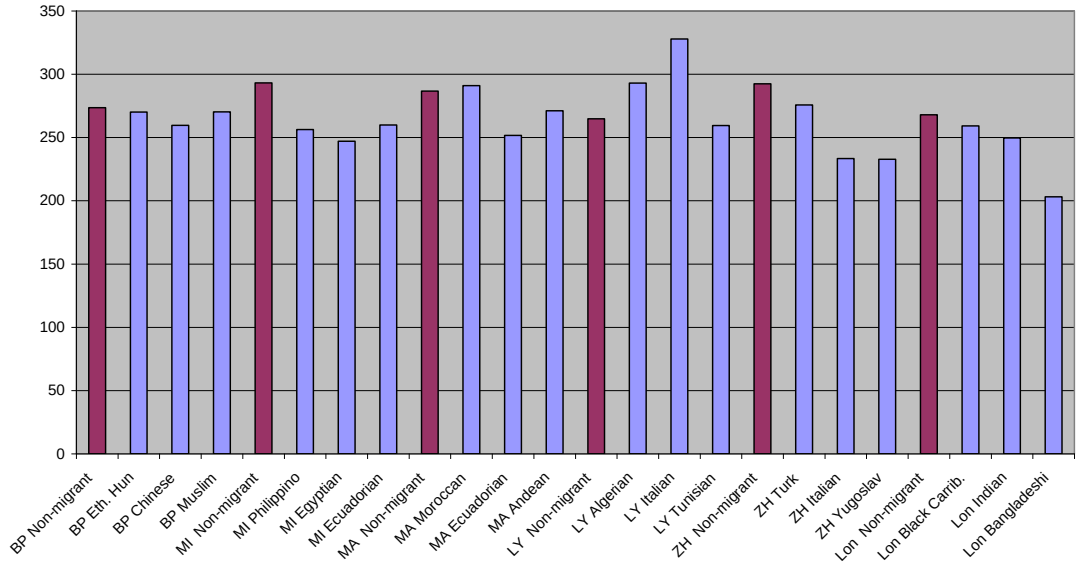
Figure 18



Here we use the cumulative index for establishing the age composition of each group, and therefore the actual values of the columns do not have any particular meaning on their own, they can only be used as a proxy for the age outlook of the particular group. The higher they score, the older the group is, but only due to a higher representation of the older age-cohorts, because we cannot tell the actual average age of the groups. The age of migrants is usually below the age of the non-migrant populations, the exceptions are Budapest and Lyon, where the migrant population is older than the non-migrant inhabitants. There are differences between cities in the age composition of the population: non-migrants are the oldest in Zurich and Milan, and the youngest in Lyon, whereas the relatively oldest autochthonous community resides in Madrid, and the youngest in London. When the selected ethnic groups are included into the analysis, further observations can be made in this context. Looking at Figure 19 one can find some interesting changes compared to the previous figure. The difference here is that instead of the total migrant population we focus on the comparison between the three selected ethnic groups and the non-migrant population regarding their age structure.

Figure 19

Age differences between non-migrants and the selected migrant groups in the six cities (cumulative index value)

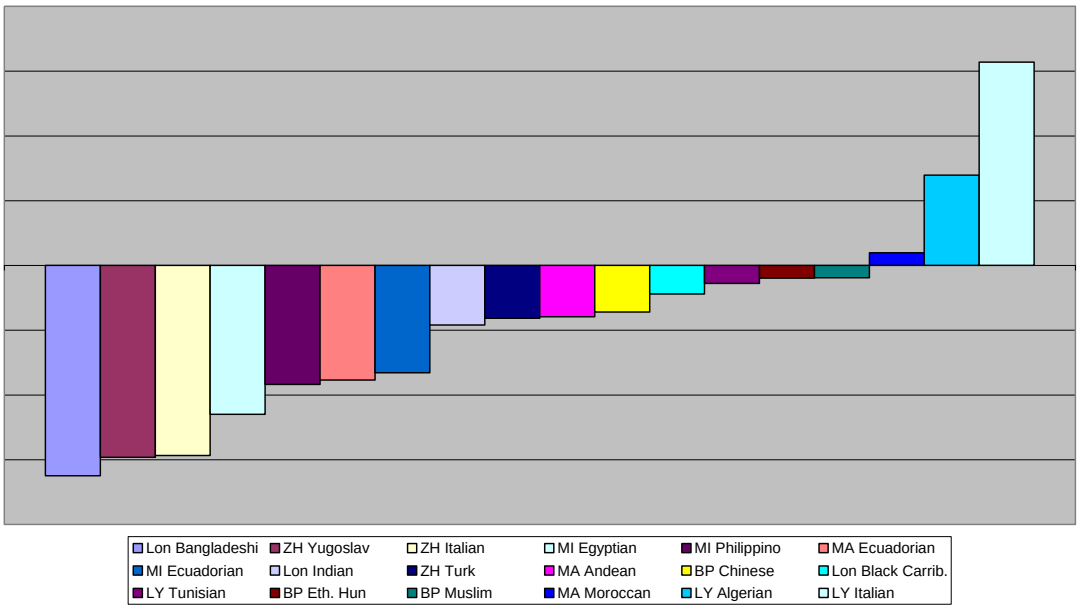


In the case of Budapest, the higher age of the migrant population cannot be explained with the higher age of the three selected groups, as all of them are younger than the non-migrants. Taking into consideration that these three groups represent two thirds of the city's immigrants, this means that the remaining migrant groups in the city are significantly older. In the other cities the age structure of the selected groups is more or less in line with that of the total migrant population. When comparing the migrant groups across cities, Italians in Lyon are by far older than the rest of the groups, whereas the youngest group is the Bangladeshi community in London.

Looking at the size of the age gap between the non-migrant and the selected migrant groups we can identify three distinct clusters: those who are significantly older, those who are around the same age, and those who are considerably younger than the non-migrant population of their cities. Figure 20 shows these differences.

Figure 20

Relative difference of the age of the selected groups from the age of non-migrants in their cities



With this distribution, the migrant communities can be grouped into the three clusters based on their age gaps to the non-migrant population in the following way:

1. Younger (LO Bangladeshi; ZH Yugoslav; ZH Italian; MI Egyptian; MI Philippino; MA Ecuadorian; MI Ecuadorian);
2. Similar (Lon Indian; ZH Turk; MA Andean; BP Chinese; Lon Black Carribean; LY Tunisian; BP Eth. Hun; BP Muslim; MA Moroccan); and
3. Older (LY Algerian; LY Italian).

3.5. Level of education

Another important factor of the social integration of migrants is their level of education. The data available here is even more problematic than the data on the age structure of the migrants: we do not know anything about the situation in Lyon, and there are no data about the ethnic groups in London, only about the total population. The opposite happened in Milan, the migrant groups are represented, but there is no

data about the total city population. Nevertheless, it is still worth showing some figures about the four cities and their migrant groups.

The methodology we used here is similar to the one we used to establish a proxy index for the age of the population observed. There were three categories established prior to the data collection: the percentage of the population with primary or less education; the percentage with secondary and with higher education. The percentage value of primary education was left as it was, the value of secondary education was multiplied by two, and the figure for higher education was tripled. The results were then added up providing the education level index. Just as in case of the age-index, the absolute value of the number is not informative, only the relative position of the various groups. Here we can compare migrants only to the total population of the cities, the data available were not appropriate to calculate figures for the autochthonous population only.

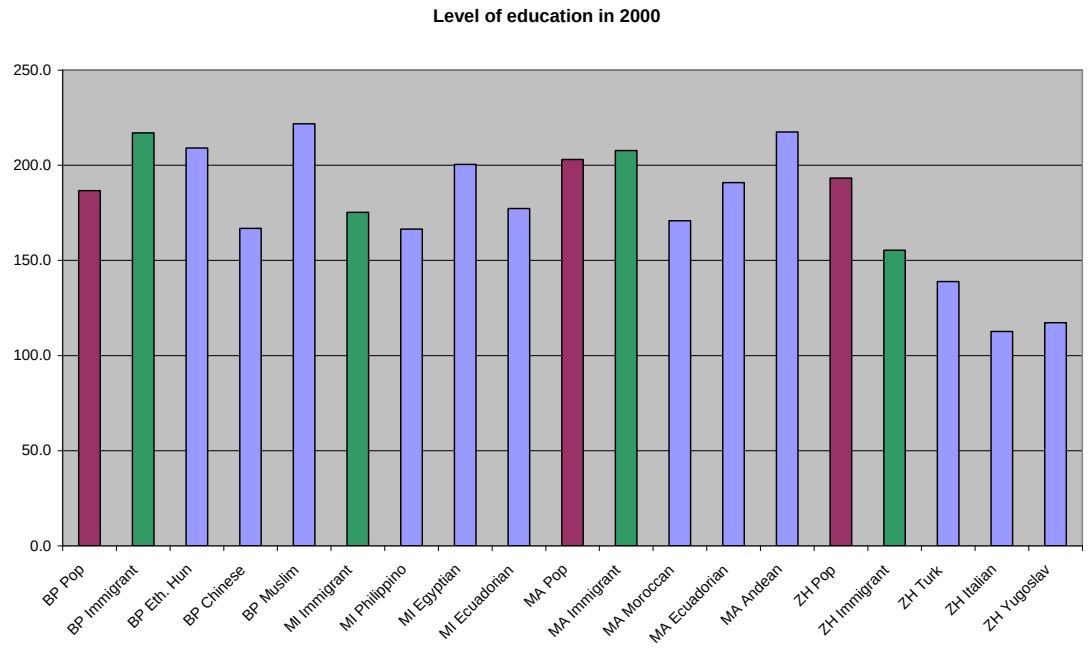
*Table 11: Level of education of the cities' population and the immigrant groups**

Group	Primary	Secondary	Higher education
BP Total population	38.9	35.9	25.3
BP Migrant	22.5	38.1	39.4
BP Eth. Hun	19.9	51.1	29.0
BP Chinese	54.6	24.1	21.4
BP Muslim	27.4	23.4	49.2
MI Total population	nd	nd	nd
MI Migrant	38.8	47.2	14.0
MI Philippino	42.9	47.8	9.3
MI Egyptian	26.9	45.8	27.3
MI Ecuadorian	36.2	50.4	13.4
MA Total population	23.4	50.2	26.4
MA Migrant	20.2	47.1	31.1
MA Moroccan	43.9	35.8	18.4
MA Ecuadorian	22.5	62.9	14.2
MA Andean	11.5	58.5	29.6
ZH Total population	21.4	40.8	30.1
ZH Migrant	39.0	22.6	23.7

ZH Turk	48.1	23.1	7.6
ZH Italian	48.8	29.7	10.2
ZH Yugoslav	56.7	14.7	8.8

*Data are from 2000.

Figure 21



There are significant differences between the four cities: the education level of migrants is higher than that of the total city population in Budapest and Madrid[1], and significantly lower in Zurich and – supposedly – in Milan as well. There are significant differences among the immigrant groups as well: the less educated are the Italians and Yugoslavs from Zurich – around half of them with only primary and less than 10 percent with higher education. Muslims in Budapest and Andeans in Madrid show the highest education level: almost half of the BP Muslims have higher education degrees, whereas the Andeans' good record is due to their very low number (about 10 percent) among those with only primary or less education.

The level of education could serve as a good contextual variable but data are needed from all cities in order to be able to work with it.

[1] The difference would be even greater if we compared migrants and non-migrants, but due to the structure of the data it was not possible.

3.6. Employment

Although this is a very important indicator of the social status and integration of immigrants, it was not possible to gather sufficient data about it at the local level and for the various migrant groups. General employment records seem to be missing in most cities, and other more particular data sources cannot provide comparable information. In this case the researchers can only rely on the findings of the population surveys and create the contextual variable from the employment figures recorded from our respondents' answers. Unfortunately there will not be any data available about the dynamics of the employment and labour market situation of migrants.

4. DISCUSSION AND LIST OF CONTEXTUAL VARIABLES TO BE USED IN THE RESEARCH

When comparing the six cities and their migrant and non-migrant communities, there seems to be a great cross-context variation, even with a relatively small number of cases – six cities. As we mentioned in the introduction, this part of the study is not a stand-alone exercise with a specific scientific aim, but only an instrumental exercise to provide the background material for the main parts of the study which are the population and organisational surveys collected with workpackages 4 and 3 respectively. The data on the cities and their population presented here have been analysed with the aim of providing variables for our analytical multi-level model, in which we claim that the demographic, social and economic situation of migrants has an impact on their political participation and integration at the local level.

Despite the scarcity of the data available and the lack of a common definition of migrants used by the various national databases, we still believe that the information gathered by the six national teams give us sufficient basis for establishing a set of variables that seem appropriate for their use as contextual variables in the analysis of the survey data of the LOCALMULTIDEM study.

Variable	Values
CITYGDP – Per-capita GDP of the city compared to the national average	0 – Lower than or equal to the national average 1- Higher than national average
CITYUNEMP – Unemployment level in the city compared to the national average	0 - Lower than or equal to the national average 1 – Lower than national
POPDYN – Change in size of the city population between 1995 and 2005	0 – stagnating or decrease 1 – increase
%IMMIGRANT **– Proportion of immigrants in the total city population**	**1 – 0 < and ≤ 10%** **2 – 10 < and ≤ 25%** **3 – > 25%**
IMMIGRANTDYN - Change in size of the city's immigrant population between 1995 and 2005	-1 – decrease 0 – moderate increase 1 – extreme increase
%GROUP – Share of immigrant group among all immigrants in the city	1 – 0 < and ≤ 10% 2 – 10 < and ≤ 25% 3 – > 25%
GROUPDYN – Change in size of the immigrant group between 1995 and 2005	-1 – decrease 0 – moderate increase 1 – extreme increase
GENDER – Gender balance of the immigrant group	-1 – male dominance 0 – balanced 1 – female dominance
GENDERDYN – Change in gender distribution of the immigrant group between 1995 and 2005	0 – stability 1 – change
AGEDIFFER – Relative age of the group compared to the non-migrant population of the city	-1 – younger 0 – similar 1 – older