



Original Article

A Review of Literature on Immigration
in Developed Countries:
Determinants of Employment Discrimination

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Abstract: Despite having endorsed civil rights and equality of all individuals, society nowadays remains segregated in many aspects. Apparently, those with unfamiliar styles (culture, communication, religion, etc.) have always been the centre of this malaise, which is getting even more serious with the recent immigrant crisis in Europe. Hence, the goal of this literature review is to gain an understanding of research into the causes of prejudice and discrimination so far. Specified in this paper are the reasons why such employment discrimination still exists, which may come down to one or more of five major factors: Ethnicity and Religion, Culture Norms and Values, Educational Level, Historical and Contemporary Issues and Organizational Environment. None alone would be solely sufficient to explain the causes; hence, this paper will attempt to connect them into one integrated model. Ethically, this paper pointed out not only the roots but also the solutions to them. Though, it is a complex issue, requiring a systematic solution, societal awareness and action. However, the paper has given details of potential future directions from household to national level that may simplify the complexity of the solutions.

Keywords: Immigrants, employment discrimination, prejudice, ethnic conflict, foreign-born worker.

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1. Introduction

Alongside with the globalization, international migration poses various prominent, ethical and controversial issues related to discrimination against the migrants in the workplace. *Direct discrimination* is referred to as less favourable treatment due to *race or sex*, whereas *indirect discrimination* is less obvious, characterised by harsher employment requirements for *one racial or sexual group* [1].

1.1. Discrimination in Developed Economies

There are two ways of immigrant movements - i) those moving from developing countries to more advanced economies, and ii) first-world workers seeking job opportunities in other areas of the world. This paper will solely cover insights into the first one (where the rule of equilibrium dictates that the first trend tends to occur, lowering salaries to offset the abundance of immigrants) [1].

A summary of the immigrant employment situation in five developed countries follows.

United States - Highlights from foreign-born workers report show that immigrants are less likely to be hired in management and professional positions, with a median of usual weekly earnings of \$730 compared to \$885 for native personnel (*direct discrimination*). The jobless rate also varies significantly among racial groups (Black - 5.6%, Hispanics - 4.3% and Asians - 3.2%) [2].

Austria - A study focuses on Muslim immigrants, who are considered at the root of the increasing malaise. Discrimination is linked to pay rates, workload, appreciation and working conditions by approximately a quarter of immigrants. 35% of the immigrants are threatened with sacking for having sick leave or refusing to work overtime [3].

Spain - Agudelo-Suárez et al. (2009) conducted qualitative research on how the immigrants feel. In specific circumstances, interviewees specified discrimination and rejection as xenophobia and racism. Other feel vulnerable and powerless. On the other hand, the Spanish-born population feels immigrants are taking over their jobs and other social, cultural, economic and educational space [4].

Canada - The immigrants has struggled as their unemployment rate is twice as high and wages are 35% lower than non-immigrants. The inequality persisted even when immigration policies have been enacted to rate applicants based on their educational degrees, language, or occupations “in demand” [5].

1.2. Discrimination as an Expression of Prejudice

Modern studies of Prejudice and Discrimination are studies of conflict [6, 7]. Prejudice is a *negative evaluation* of an individual based on his/her group membership, whereas, Discrimination is *negative behaviours and actions* [8].

In the past, Allport (1954) required prejudice to be “unfounded” and “irrational”, affective and primary with lingered emotion and defeated secondary intellect. Allport’s Compunction galvanized most of the historical theories of racial prejudices, which all treat “rational” and “irrational” expressions identically [9].

These social psychology theories remained until Crandall & Eshleman (2003) characterized the prejudices into a *Two-Factor Model*. The first is *genuine prejudice*, referring to “irrational” prejudice - primal, powerful, automatic, and cognitively simple. It is based on the historical issue (Apartheid) when most Whites have genuine or unadulterated prejudice against Blacks [8]. The other factor refers to the motivation to control the first (creating “American Dilemma” [10]. Myrdal saw the reality where White Americans did not wish to openly express prejudice verbally in order to maintain a self-image of non-prejudice, of being liberal, politically correct, egalitarian and humanitarian.

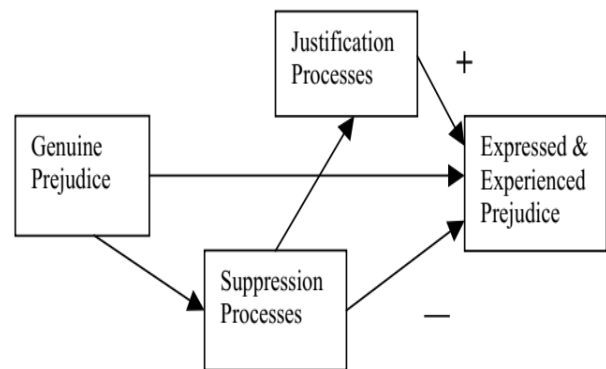


Figure 1. Crandall & Eshleman Justification-Suppression of Prejudice Model. Source: Crandall & Eshleman (2003).

In Justification-Suppression of Prejudice model (JSM), the mental processes that lead to genuine prejudice will create negative behaviours (*discrimination*). Crandall and Eshleman reduced all the reviewed perspectives to one structure - the *Two-Factor theory of Prejudice*:

$$\text{Prejudice} + \text{Suppression} = \text{Expression}$$

They argued that prejudice itself is not usually and easily expressed but it must go through a

mental process that modifies and evaluates (Justification and Suppression) before being expressed manipulatively to meet social norms and personal goals. The end results are: i) public expression of prejudice (include derogation, discrimination, etc.) and ii) experienced prejudice (include private acceptance of negative evaluations) [8]. However, Crandall & Eshleman's paper assumed that everyone has some prejudices and stopped at only assessing factors that enhance or minimize the expression of prejudices.

More recent, Rogers & Prentice-Dunn (1981) updated the *two-factor theory* with "regressive racism" - genuine prejudice is masked by norms for appropriate egalitarian values, but the Whites population may still revert to the old pattern of discrimination when emotionally aroused, angered or insulted [11].

The main findings will address two groups of factors that contribute to employment discrimination against immigrants, as well as their impacts and the moderators that facilitate or suppress the impacts, these being i) "Psychological factors" and ii) "Social and Political Factors". Finally, this paper will attempt to introduce an integrated model to form an overview of different perspectives from mentioned researches..

2. Determinants of Discrimination

Different authors have vastly different ideas on which basis one group can be discriminated. There can be one or a collection of several reasons, including group identity [12], stigma [13], prejudice or ascribed characteristics [14], or social category [15].

Besides, employment discrimination against immigrants is not a blatantly obvious phenomenon and is rather contingent on other factors (multiple moderators and contextual factors that determine if an effect is strong or weak) and there will hardly exists one main effect on attitudes to, and work outcomes for, immigrants.

2.1. Psychological Factors

The psychological aspect, though simple and consisting of only a few factors (mostly referred to prejudice as primal and irrational), remains a big part of previous research studies. Most focused on traditional social psychology - depicting the issue as a manifestation of prejudices and stereotypes (relating to *ethnicity*) [16].

Following is the categorization of different types of racism (modern or symbolic, ambivalent, and aversive) in the 1970s-1980s and dissociated cultural and personal stereotypes in the 1990s [6].

- Religion and ethnicity

Immigrants are commonly defined as *foreign-born*, but move to other countries and earn the right to reside long-term with or without citizenship [17]. However, the term *Immigrants* may have gone beyond its literal meaning (referring to nationality) into culture, sociology and psychology. Ethnicity concerns even a bigger population if we include second and later generations. Immigrants in the US are seen as foreign not only due to their looks, but also their distinctive communication style, restricted social circle, and different norms and values ("*Perceived Foreignness*") [18].

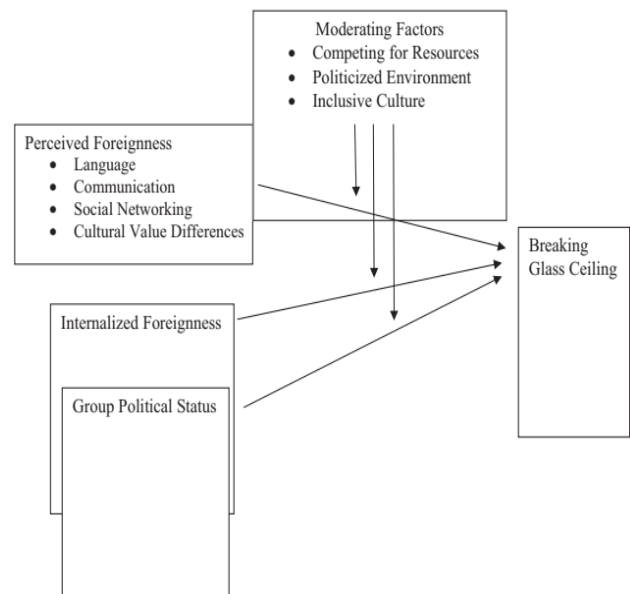


Figure 2. A model of the glass ceiling for the foreign born.

Source: Chen et al. (2013).

The sociocultural approach often considers prejudices as a result of an historically determined process [19]. In the US, there is prominent evidence of racial stereotyping, which often is negative characteristics that one group (e.g., Whites) associates distinctively with others (Blacks or Asians or Hispanics) [20]. In Kinder & Mendelberg's (1995) paper, about one half to roughly a majority of 60% of Whites thought they are more hard-working and intelligent; while Blacks were associated with laziness, welfare-dependence and low motivation [21]. Apparently, this thinking had profound influences on whites'

opinions, eventually leading to opposition against federal assistance to Blacks.

Whereas in Europe, Reitz & Verma (2004) as well as Swidinsky & Swidinsky (2002) all pointed out that in Western society, non-Caucasian immigrants experience poorer treatment than Caucasian immigrants [22, 23]. Meertens & Pettigrew's (1997) paper of Western European's prejudice encompassed a range of ethnic groups against whom there was *subtle and blatant prejudices*. The paper mentioned the recent change to "a more subtle form of out-group prejudice" [24], which is similar to findings of new subtle prejudice as "cool, distant, and indirect" [25].

Also, the movement away from prejudice may arise from the individual level with *highly internalized egalitarian values* [6]. However, Devine (1989) argued that prejudice expression is a result of both *automatic and controlled processes*. Stereotyped beliefs can be immediately and effortlessly activated in children's memories even before cognitive ability and ability to question their (stereotyped beliefs) validity or acceptability are developed [26].

At an individual level, when it comes to religiosity, most empirical research studies commonly approached the issue in two ways. Early on, between 1940 and 1990, the most dominant approach was to merely evaluate the strength of the relationship between religious involvement and the level of prejudice. Following this approach, "The more religious an individual is, the more prejudiced he or she is likely to be" [27]. However, such an approach failed to assess the differences among religious beliefs. Thus, another approach is based on distinctions between different dimensions of religiosity. Illustrative examples of this approach include, extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientation. Extrinsically religious people are linked with being more prejudiced than intrinsically religious individuals [28]. Besides, religious training itself may as well cause prejudice. For example, the Bible may have prescribed prejudice and discrimination against "homosexuals, women, and members of other religions" [29].

Prejudice against one religion can also lead to generalised prejudice against one ethnicity. For example, not only are Muslims discriminated against as a result of such change, but also Middle Eastern immigrants suffer the same prejudice. Research traced back to 1999-2000 saw anti-Muslim prejudice to be more widespread than for other immigrants in both Western and Eastern Europe,

even before the attacks of September 11th [30]. Since Islam is the dominant practice in the Middle East, it caused the categorization process of group similarity and formation of bias perceptions [31].

Contradictorily, perception of immigrants might be independent from religious beliefs, and rather due to *political ideologies* (conservatives tend to be more negative than liberals) [32].

- Different cultural norms and values

In the past, authors have shown an openly hostile expression towards immigrants and negative stereotypes [33, 34]. Nowadays, even the multi-cultural Americans are actively seeking to mitigate the prejudices. Indeed, the White Americans exhibited *aversive racism*, which is a result of i) prejudice developed from historical and culturally racist contexts, and ii) maintaining a system of egalitarian values [35].

Genuine prejudice can also develop from *family contexts* - either indirect (parental discriminative behaviours can be learned by their) [36] or direct (strictly prohibit or mildly limit interracial) [37].

Alternatively, people in one society can learn and share cultural norms from their *neighbourhoods* as well as *mass and social media*. Indeed, children may imitate prejudicial behaviours from their peers [38, 39]. However, there are suppressive factors to these differences in cultural norms - where it deals mostly with human maturity. As people grow up and the norms and values of a societal group become negative toward *straightforward* prejudice, people also become more skilled as well as motivated to suppress their prejudice.

Besides, recent authors have emphasized the effects of negative news presented on TV [40]. An instance was when Italy became a "new immigration country" for Muslim immigrants. However, controversies with Muslims' position in Italian society quickly emerged due to controversial international issues that influenced the domestic relations and attitudes [41].

- Educational level

Although impacts of the ethnicity and religion of immigrants clearly exist, there are exceptions in variety groups of immigrants, which may come down to the differences in educational level (among immigrants or among locals).

Differences in education levels *among immigrants* can lead to further social and economic issues:

Immigrants status does not necessarily imply crime, yet the recent "*crimmigration crisis*" -

criminal immigrants [42] - caused authors to look for determinants of this unexpected implication. It is not until recently that the public finally recognised the problem but the increasing immigrants pouring into European countries only emphasized the inevitable. There is a positive correlation between the immigrant population size and the overall crime rate in Italy during 1990-2003 [43]. On a broader scale, disadvantaged minority groups are “*disproportionately likely to be arrested, convicted, and imprisoned for violent, property, and drug crime*” (Blacks or Afro-Caribbean in the US, or North African Arabs in France) [44].

In some large economies in Europe, there was evidence of second-generation immigrants experiencing significantly higher education, earnings, and employment [45]. *Group threats* is the explanatory factor for the situation [6]. The difference is, while lower education may drive people into a fear of crime, higher-educated immigrants may relatively take over jobs, welfare benefits and other gains [46].

Besides, the educational level *among locals* may also attribute to attitudes against immigrants:

In France, Germany, Spain and the US, higher educational levels as well as actual direct contact with the immigrant groups correlate with more positive attitudes towards the members [32]. However, Midtbøen (2014) also argued that negative experience with such groups of immigrants can lead to prejudice against that social group [47].

2.2. Social and Political Factors

Economists and sociologists have long been studying immigration and immigrants as well. Contextual studies of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination also started as early as hypotheses proposed in the 1940s, and quickly evolved to an analysis of contact and categorization (cognitive approaches) in the social context [9] before hinging towards intergroup contact driven by social structure in the 1990s.

- Historical and contemporary issues

Once, apartheid was one of the most controversial racial discrimination beliefs. Despite remarkable efforts by modern society towards promoting civil rights, some countries have remained very much segregated, including the US [21]. Before the *American Dilemma*, blacks had to

suffer prejudice as justification for the degradation of slavery. Globalization has accelerated gradually over 60 years with stunning impacts in technological changes and international trade, lowered language barriers, and transportation costs. *Globalization* is implicitly recognized for poverty reduction - supporting micro-enterprises, raising income and employment opportunities, attracting immigrants from developing countries [48]. Increasing national wealth comes with social changes to be more open to other groups and to move away from ethnocentrism [49].

However, the outflows of workers to more advanced and better-remunerated economies may result in brain-drain for developing countries. OECD countries estimate that 30% of migration is linked to labour [50]. Besides the *push* factor (lack of employment opportunities in advanced industries and higher salary), there are also some *pull* factors that contributed to workers' movement to first-world economies (settle and support relatives to follow, or business investment [51]).

The neglect of international employment raises severe problems [52]. Besides the taking of jobs, and scrounging welfare benefits from citizens' taxes, Europe is currently facing waves of immigrants from the Middle East after the eastward expansion of the European Union [53] alongside with high crime rates and political despair. Elsewhere, *populist-nationalism* has also blossomed and grown in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Croatia [54] contributing to rising tensions and ethnic hostilities. Traditionally, most immigrants are driven by money (*economic migration*), yet the current situation in Europe is more the result of *political migration*, which is more problematic and challenging to control. The example in this regard is the complex political situation in the Middle East and spectacular terrorist attacks (with Muslim terrorists taking responsibility) targeting Western countries, etc.

The US has faced a similar issue with the Mexicans since Donald Trump's unexpected rise to power. Ever since, this trend has been playing out around the globe with the cold wind of Brexit worsening the European crisis, with Trump's efforts to limit immigration, criticism of Muslims and the implementing of protectionist tariffs on China [55].

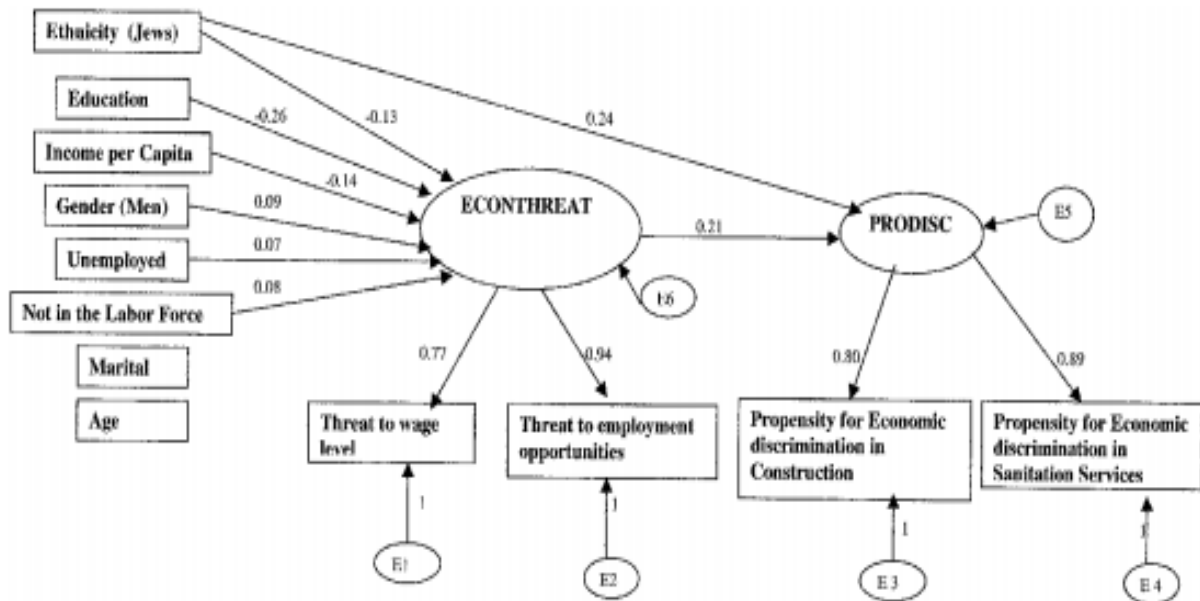


Figure 3. Predicting endorsement of economic discrimination against foreign workers in Israel.

Source: Semyonov et al. (2002)

- Organizational environment

The role of education may cause a different issue and solution for discrimination in the organizational environment. Lower-educated immigrants inevitably have to work in lower-paid jobs that are not attractive to the locals, while highly-skilled immigrants, especially later generations who enjoy the educational benefits of first-world countries, possess unique skills and perspectives that cannot be found in the native forces.

However, favourable recruitment for locals persists - *Local preference* is one moderator, stating that immigrants may not be hired as local customers may prefer interacting with local employees [56].

Despite the promotion of cultural diversity, cultural differences may still become a barrier to career development and career success. In the case of Asian Americans in US companies, even when Asians' work ethic and technical competence help them stay on the cutting edge (to the point that they are stereotyped to be always hard-working and productive), they have barriers that can be generalised for other immigrant minorities as well. Lack of language fluency and communication skills prevent them from effectively debating and resolving conflicts (lack of *transferable skills* required for career development). Even though it is not the case for later generations, ethnocentrism and a tendency to be stricter with negative factors make others see Asians as "don't have leadership ability". The requirement for soft skills and

understanding of not only technical skills, but also organizational culture and strategy, may be emphasized more significantly in environments where resources are scarce. Eventually, certain industries that are *heavily or increasingly politicised* may also exclude foreign-born worker from moving forward in the power structure [18].

Conclusions found in many studies have suggested that immigrant disadvantage can be mitigated in correlation with *length of residency in the new country* [17, 57].

Saucedo (2009) developed some theories of discrimination (however these were restricted among brown-collar workers only). The Structuralist Approach refers to *Job Structure* in an organization context, where employers who seek subservient workers may establish certain structures to attract only those who are constrained by social forces (undocumented/ illegal workers), limiting job and advancement opportunities. The Performance Identity, sets out certain qualities (e.g., Asians will always be hard-working), and for those workers who perform to the stereotyped role, it will be difficult to voice discrimination against them [58].

Another change is the *decline in union membership*, and consequently, employee bargaining power. Scholars have recognized the slow and gradual decline of unionism since the early 1980s [59]. There is a substantial decline in collective bargaining outcomes due to "decline in the power derived from strikes, centralized bargaining, and informal pattern bargaining

arrangements". Absence of union power resulted in wage inequality and affected the traditional deterrent against wage theft and labour standards violations.

2.3. Moderators of Prejudice

Prejudice does not stay a micro factor at an individual level but expands into systematic treatment of immigrants. The reality also sees attitudes towards immigrants appear to be increasingly positive. Eventually, many authors interpreted this as a turning tide against racial prejudice [60]. Other argued that this discriminatory behaviour is only less prevalent since the social norms turn to overtly sanction prejudice [35]. This part will discuss about moderators of prejudice - which may externally or internally facilitate or mitigate the expression of prejudice (discriminatory behaviours).

Accordingly, people can be more negative or prejudiced as a result of their intolerance and hostility [6]. Eventually, the most robust research into individual personalities correlating with prejudice may be the development of a *blatant and subtle prejudice scale* [61]. The Blatant Prejudice analyses two exploratory factors: i) anti-intimacy and ii) threat and rejection, while the Subtle Prejudice Scale included: i) the defence of traditional values, ii) the exaggeration of cultural differences, and iii) the denial of positive emotions. People who are high on this scale are more prejudiced based on perceived value differences [62]. Furthermore, old age (older people hold more prejudice [63]) and urban residency (those who live in urban areas tend to show less prejudice [64]) are other moderators.

Blumer (1958) brought up a highly influential approach that integrated the (unequal) social position that may result in inequalities, perceived threat, prejudice and hostility [65]. Later, Chen et al. (2013) developed a hypothesis about how group status may help break the glass ceiling. Asian Americans often face stronger glass ceilings than others due to their lower political status in US society (despite higher level of education) [18].

At the organizational level, companies can be more significantly culturally diversified with different Human Resource Management strategies. Indeed, companies with higher personnel turnovers may have more comprehensive recruitment practices, thus reducing their statistical discrimination [66].

At the national level, *public policies* in general and *immigration policies* specifically, can lead to systematic discrimination. For instance, EU

countries have a different legal framework for each nationality and differentiating factors among immigrant groups [4].

Similarly, although there are exceptions in the US system with lifted restrictions for skilled aliens (immigrants), it is difficult to justify the immigration restriction policies (in distributing public benefits, access to citizenship) in favour of natives over aliens [67]. Not only are quantitative restrictions imposed with quotas on the visas issued, there are also requirements to access those visas that no natives would have to cope with. For instance, "labour certification" mandated employers to hire minimally qualified US locals over better qualified immigrants who hold advanced degrees.

Limited access to public services is another systematic discrimination (e.g., prejudices towards immigrants may influence the healthcare treatment). Also, there is a lack of primary care and a low proportion of specialist appointments compared to for locals [4].

2.4. An integrated Model

Employment Discrimination against Immigration should be best viewed as a systematic, multi-level concept [16]. There is not one factor that can explain all, but rather a wide range of independent factors, justification and suppression moderators contributing to both rational and irrational prejudices.

Yet, there is a big gap in previous research studies in which various aspects of this problem are not integrated into a comprehensive model, which would certainly help reflect a thorough overview of impacts and causal relationships leading to Employment Discrimination against Immigrants. Therefore, the following model is an attempt to form an integrated model from previous research papers, which can be enhanced and used for future research on the related topics (Figure 4).

3. Methodologies

Most research into employment discrimination merely focused on how the employment discrimination against immigrants is happening (e.g., how much lower the wages they are paid, etc.). Although some were able to raise "solutions" for the problems, there are very few systematic empirical studies of WHY the prejudice and discrimination exist.

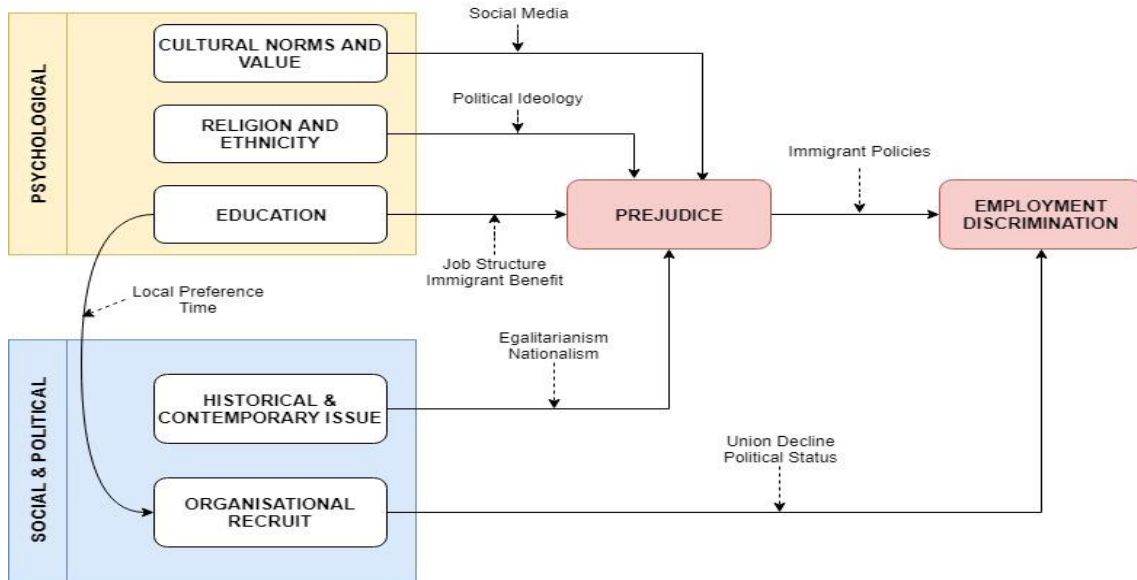


Figure 4. An integrated model.
 Source: Author’s synthesis from Literature review.

Also, in most cases, researchers treated all immigrants alike or focus only on one group, while in fact immigrants have various ethnic and religious backgrounds. These diversity complexities require a more complex model for explanation.

This section will represent briefly the central reading that forms the above integrated model. Those researches showed changes, updates and adaptations to perspectives of immigrant employment discrimination and the fundamental of expressed prejudices. They are used to explore determinants, relationships among them as well as moderators in contexts that either facilitate or suppress the strengths of relationships. There are various types of research that fit different research objectives, such as descriptive or analytical, conceptual (theoretical) or empirical, applied or fundamental, and qualitative or quantitative [68]. In the scope of this paper, I will mainly categorise reviewed papers into either *theoretical or empirical*.

- Theoretical research

The theoretical research uses only known explanations about the relationships between factors. Thus, these are the essential papers that I used to identify and define different factors. However, several theoretical researches tend to lack strong evidence and primary data or are merely descriptive to support the argument, and thus weaken the mentioned theories’ validities.

- Empirical research

The empirical research, especially that conducted through interviews (collected qualitative data) may be biased and unrepresentative of the

target population. The biggest limitation, however, is that most studies were not able to be conducted in a diverse context (in which the topic, immigrant diversity, is important) - meaning data and samples collected were often from a specific country and/or alike neighbours.

4. Practical Implications and Conclusion

This paper has provided a thorough understanding of the roots of discrimination. There have been a vast range of theories in both sociology and social psychology attempting to explain discrimination and social inequality, and one alone cannot be sufficient.

Also, this review may shed new light on the future development of solutions. For instance, increased education and changing the media approach to the news may help create more positive impacts [32, 69].

At the organizational level, new strategies may be pursued (e.g., non-traditional organizing of freelancers and supporting organizing efforts aimed at large employers in low-wage sectors) [70]. Some considerably innovative moves have also been sparked, including religious-based groups [71], international coalition of NGOs, and government and agencies aimed at global supply chains [72].

At a national level, since technological demand is only going to increase, the necessity of raising education and skills of immigrants is a critical starting point [59].

Table 1. Summary of past research papers

Factors	Author(s)	Methodologies	Limitations
Religion & ethnicity	Kinder & Mendelberg (1995)	Quantitative	Potentially biased (only in US) Results (White resilience isn't due to prejudice alone) are inconsistent with most other findings
	Chen et al. (2013)	Qualitative	Only identify issues, not theory testing Small sample (only Asians) and only one industry
	Meertens & Pettigrew (1997)	Quantitative	Failed to fully conceptualize two new issues: i) structural relationship with traditional-form prejudice, ii) forms of non-traditional types of prejudices
	Devine (1989)	Quantitative	Lack of fully articulated model Non-prejudiced may still be low in prejudice
	Batson et al. (1993)	Quantitative	Failed to distinguish differences between religious beliefs
	Ogan et al. (2014)	Quantitative	Generalisation (Failed to predict beyond five studied countries) Inconsistent secondary data results
Different cultural norms & values	Marshall & Markstrom-Adams (1995)	Both	Missed effects differences in religion (focus on one ethnoreligious group) Selective respondents (biased)
	Semyonov et al. (2006)	Quantitative	Not include relations of political ideology on anti-foreigner sentiments
Level of education	Fiske (1998)	Theoretical	
	Semyonov et al. (2002)	Quantitative	Not support effect of ethnicity on discrimination against immigrants Failed to discount other threat & prejudices
Organization environment	Hekman et al. (2010)	Quantitative	No evidence of customers' mental process Not control of gender and race variables
	Saucedo (2009)	Theoretical	Lack of support from empirical evidence Focus only on low-wage workplaces
Immigrant policies	Agudelo-Suárez et al. (2009)	Qualitative	May be improved by research focusing on public policies, roles of gender, legal status and nationality
	Chang (2003)	Theoretical	
Moderators	Crandall & Eshleman (2003)	Theoretical	Assume genuine prejudice is the only process
	Pettigrew & Meertens (1995)	Quantitative	Suggest another model, subtle prejudice mediates blatant prejudice and egalitarian tolerance

Source: Author's synthesis from Literature review.

However, this solution may be far from adequate to reverse the growing inequality. Most educational systems may require an expressive reform to provide the new workforce with not only the technical but also the behavioural skills [18].

Even when one government is willing to adopt a *global utilitarian perspective* - equal welfare to every individual, such policies may then raise concerns about negative fiscal effects [70]. Nonetheless, empirical evidence justifies those policies with the argument that higher-income skilled immigrants may pay more taxes and create a net positive effect for the natives.

In summary, eliminating all prejudices and discrimination remains an unrealistic idea. Breaking through employment discrimination and social prejudice will require collective and

systematic action at the organizational, community and even supranational level. Most ideally, immigrants may form distinct social identities and actively involve themselves in the local political process, government, and administration to gain higher political status.

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