

The Effectiveness of Migration Policies in the Member States of the European Union after the migration crisis in 2015: A case study on Syrian Refugees in Germany and Italy

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I, the undersigned Bilge Seneroglu hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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Abstract

The current paper aims to investigate the following question: To what extent do the current migrant integration policies in the Member States of the EU successfully address the current migration problem? and “What are the factors that influenced how well these policies are implemented in Germany and Italy according to Syrian refugees?” This thesis has two hypotheses. Firstly, the current migrant integration policies in the Member States of the EU are not enough to successfully address the current migration problem because they mostly leave out psychological support and add the natives to the integration process. After analyzing the responses, it can be argued that the Member States of the EU still has many integration problems. Secondly, regarding the longer migration history of Germany, both the government and natives have a structured and positive approach to migrants compared to Italy, which makes the integration process and the implementation of the policies easier. However, it is not the case. Even though some of the interviewees argued that the German government has more experience due to their history with migrants, it is hard to see it in practice. It does not create any huge difference between Germany and Italy in migrant integration. Consequently, the second hypothesis is not consistent with the evidence.

1) Introduction

Hundreds of thousands of people have fled across the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 to escape war and persecution¹. Tragedy pushed the migration problem to the center stage on the European agenda. EU heads of state and government agreed to mobilize all efforts to prevent more people from dying at sea and to address the root causes of migration². The unprecedented arrival of refugees and irregular migrants in the EU, which peaked in 2015, exposed a series of deficiencies and gaps in EU migration policies. On 13 May 2015, the European Commission adopted a European agenda on migration, which underlined the need for better management of migration and stressed that it is a shared responsibility³.

The history of Europe for a long period did not include migration history⁴. Looking this way, migration history might be considered a relatively young field, that has been valued recently only as an important characteristic of social, political, and economic history. Until this point, policymakers, several researchers, groups, and NGOs have studied the migration policies and tried to generate sustainable responses/policies. However, the search for a European solution has proven to be laborious, as social and political differences between member countries become more and more pronounced.

The necessity of migrant integration is one of the challenges resulting from migration. It is a process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups⁵. Although Member States of the EU are primarily responsible for the integration

¹ William Spindler, "2015: The year of Europe's refugee crisis" *UNHCR*, (December 08, 2015), <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2015/12/56ec1ebde/2015-year-europes-refugee-crisis.html>

² "Timeline – EU migration policy," *European Council*, 2021, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-migration-policy/migration-timeline/>

³ Ibid.

⁴ Meliza Qorraj, "Migration: An opportunity or a problem? Why and how is Europe dealing with migration?" *University of Prishtina*, (2018), <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://scholar.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1013&context=ese>

⁵ "Integration of migrants", *IOM*, 2011, <https://epim.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/iom.pdf>

process, the EU supports national and local authorities with policy coordination, funds, and resources⁶. Relocation and resettlement measures adopted in response to this crisis have highlighted the need to support member states which have less experience with integration⁷. Therefore, this thesis is going to study the migrant integration policies in the Member States of the EU with a special focus on two of countries namely, Germany and Italy to analyze the adequateness of the current migration policies and provide policy recommendations, program advice as well as suggestions for further analysis. This comparative case study will provide an understanding of the Member States' policies on migrant integration.

The current paper aims to investigate the following question: To what extent do the current migrant integration policies in the Member States of the EU successfully address the current migration problem? and “What are the factors that influenced how well these policies are implemented in Germany and Italy according to Syrian refugees?” It has two hypotheses based on Wilkinson’s method on the migrant integration. Firstly, the current migrant integration policies in the Member States of the EU are not enough to cover the current migration problem because they mostly leave out psychological support and adding the natives to the integration process. Secondly, throughout its history, Germany has been an immigration country. Thus, the German government has long standing experiences in integration programs. Therefore, the second claim is that regarding the longer migration history of Germany, both the government and natives have a structured and positive approach to migrants compared to Italy, which makes the integration process and the implementation of the policies easier.

⁶ “Inclusion of migrants and refugees in cities,” *European Commission*, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/info/eu-regional-and-urban-development/topics/cities-and-urban-development/priority-themes-eu-cities/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees-cities_en#:~:text=The%20successful%20integration%20of%20migrants,of%20knowledge%20and%20financial%20resources

⁷ “Timeline – EU migration policy,” *European Council*, 2021, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-migration-policy/migration-timeline/>

Although those studying migrant integration have not used the economic, cultural and social arguments as a complex theoretical framework to explain the deficit of migrant integration in the EU countries, all three arguments can be found separately in the literature. However, the literature has been criticized for failing to cover all aspects of the process and to explain the different aspects of migrant integration. Therefore, the contribution of this thesis is both the comparative element and the application of Wilkinson's method⁸. The author emphasizes the importance of all economic, social, and cultural integration for both the migrants and the host societies. Therefore, this thesis observes the immigration of migrants according to these three aspects determined by Wilkinson to test the integration of migrants. The hypotheses of the thesis are tested with a comparative analysis of Germany and Italy with three aspects determined by Wilkinson to find out the differences between their approaches.

Hence, the paper is divided into five sections. The next part presents the existing academic literature on migration in the European Union, and the integration of migrants. Thereafter, analytical exploration of the migrant integration in the theoretical framework and the corresponding instrument of analysis and the case selection are presented in the methodology. The subsequent section analyzes all the findings. Finally, the results are presented in light of the proposed research objective, and the conclusion elaborates on the factors that influenced how well these policies are implemented in Germany and Italy according to Syrian migrants.

⁸ Lori Wilkinson, "Introduction: Developing and testing a generalizable model of immigrant integration", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3), (2013) 1-7, doi: 10.1353/ces.2013.0038

2) Background

This chapter will provide the reader a background on the concepts that are relevant for the study. The chapter explains the migration in the European Union and the integration of migrants specifically in the European Union.

2.1) Migration in the European Union and the integration of migrants

The study of migration has experienced various transformations in time⁹. The migration movements can be observed in Europe way before the migration crisis in 2015. Uneven development and political instability, combined with the economic developments led to greater migration pressures on Europe¹⁰. Mol and Valk (2016) take as the starting point the bilateral labor migration agreements signed by certain European states in the 1950s and 1960s¹¹, which was right after the Second World War. Europe was economically recovering from the war. European countries entered a new phase of economic prosperity¹². For instance, there was an increase in industrial production by 30% between 1953 to 1958. This situation led to a shortage in worker supply as the demand from the employers was immense due to the fast rise in

⁹ Paul A. Silverstein, "Immigrant racialization and the new savage slot: Race, migration and immigration in the new Europe", *Annual review of Anthropology*, 34, (2005), 363, doi: 10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120338

¹⁰ Rinus Penninx, "Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions", *The new demographic regime: Population challenges and policy responses*, 5(2005), 137-152, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Alphonse-Macdonald/publication/233794160_The_New_Demographic_Regime_-_Population_Challenges_and_Policy_Responses/links/0f317531aee986b751000000/The-New-Demographic-Regime-Population-Challenges-and-Policy-Responses.pdf#page=149

¹¹ Christof Van Mol and Helga de Valk, *Migration and immigrants in Europe: A historical and demographic perspective* (Springer, Cham, 2016), <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/28047/1001947.pdf?seq#page=38>

¹² Barbara Dietz and Pawel Kaczmarczyk, "On the demand side of international labour mobility: The structure of the German labour market as a causal factor of seasonal Polish migration," *International Migration in Europe. New Trends and New Methods of Analysis*, (2008): 37-64, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/35242/340088.pdf?sequence=1#page=38>

production¹³. Therefore, the North-Western European countries started to hire workers from mostly border countries. However, the workers were expected to go back to their home countries after completing their duty in the host countries. Consequently, there was no intention to permanently integrate these laborers into the economic, social, and cultural life of the host countries.

North-Western European countries expanded their areas of recruitment to countries outside of Europe in time due to the Cold War¹⁴, which led to a division between East and West; and created immobility of workers among countries. During this period, international migration was generally perceived as something positive as it was economically beneficial to the host country as well as the sending countries¹⁵. Toward the beginning of the 1970s, with the process of decolonization, another migrant flow was observed especially in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and the UK¹⁶. Many of these migrants were juridically accepted as citizens. According to Mol and Valk, non-European migrants were economically and socially deprived and also often discriminated against in the host country after their immigration¹⁷.

The oil crisis of 1973-1974 was an incident that limited the migration to Europe¹⁸. This crisis led to economic stagnation, which caused the need of decreasing the workforce. Many countries like Switzerland, Sweden, and Germany tried to control and reduce migration with policies. However, these policies were not successful as individuals continued to migrate. Furthermore, the number of foreign residents increased due to a change in European migration systems from circular to chain migration. In addition, the migrants who already had a residence

¹³ Christof Van Mol and Helga de Valk, *Migration and immigrants in Europe: A historical and demographic perspective* (Springer, Cham, 2016), <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/28047/1001947.pdf?seq#page=38>

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Corrado Bonifazi, *Evolution of regional patterns of international migration in Europe*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008). <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/35242/340088.pdf?sequence=1#page=108>

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

permit were not willing to go back to their mother country at the cost of losing their residence permit. Thus, they started to bring their families or naturally reproduce in the host country. Even though the states were trying to prevent or limit this kind of migration, this was considered a fundamental right according to the European Social Charter of 1961 (Article 19)¹⁹.

Countries started to control the entries of foreigners with new policies²⁰. This situation became prominent on the governments' agendas. Hostility, racism, and xenophobia increased due different reasons such as the rise in unemployment and economic stagnation. However, people started to understand the permanence of the migrants. Therefore, governments started to look for ideas and policies to integrate these migrants into society in the best way possible.

With the collapse of the Iron Curtain, Eastern Europe caused new migration flows across Europe.²¹ Asylum applications increased from 320, 000 to 695,000. Even though these applications decreased over time, Arab Spring caused another rise in the numbers of migrants coming to Europe. Almost 8 million first-generation migrants moved around the world; 62% of them were living in an EU member state²².

3) Research Design

3.1) Methodology and Data Selection

This paper follows the most similar system design because it is primarily interested in capturing heterogeneities in the implementation of migration policy in the Member States of the EU. By doing this, it aims to find out the factors that have influenced the implementation

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Christof Van Mol and Helga de Valk, *Migration and immigrants in Europe: A historical and demographic perspective* (Springer, Cham, 2016), <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/28047/1001947.pdf?seq#page=38>

²² Philippe Fargues and Christine Fandrich, "Migration after the arab spring." *European University Institute* (2012), <https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/23504/MPC-RR-201209.pdf?sequence=1>

of policies to integrate migrants. The reason why Germany and Italy were chosen for the case study is that they both have drafted common positions on framing European migration policy. In addition, Italy has the third-largest migrant population among European Union countries, following Germany and the UK²³. Therefore, migration issue is on top of their agenda. Consequently, the migrant integration becomes more important due to higher numbers of migrants in Germany and Italy. Their migrant integration policies and the perception of migrants living in these countries are relatively easy to observe.

This thesis makes use of qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews (See Appendix) as a research method. Semi-structured interviews were chosen to be able to talk to Syrian refugees who have experienced the integration process and discuss about what they think and feel about the situation. It involves a relatively detailed interview guide, and may be used when there is sufficient objective knowledge about an issue but the subjective knowledge is lacking²⁴. Participants are free to answer to open-ended questions as they wish. This framework of the answers constitutes the semi-structured aspect of this method.

3.2) Interviewee Selection

Interviews are conducted with 10 selected Syrian migrants, 5 individuals from each country (Germany and Italy). The selection of the interviewees was based on three criteria: availability, being a Syrian migrant living in Germany or Italy, and having migrated there after 2015. Interviewees were between 25 to 37 years old and living there at least for the past 4 years. These selections were made in order to better capture migrants' economic, cultural and social experiences. Interviewees were contacted via social media such as Facebook, LinkedIn and

²³ Lorenzo Tarsitani et al. "Involuntary psychiatric hospitalization among migrants in Italy: A matched sample study," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 68(2), (2022): 429-434, doi:10.1177/00207640211001903

²⁴ Michele J. McIntosh and Janice M. Morse, "Situating and constructing diversity in semi-structured interviews," *Global qualitative nursing research* (2015), doi:10.1177/2333393615597674

Instagram. Interviews were conducted via Zoom video call as interviewees can be more comfortable in a familiar environment such as their homes. Participants were fully informed about all aspects of the research project. Their consent was asked before the interview and their anonymity was granted. Moreover, they were told that they have the right to interview process at any point.

| | Country of Residence | Abbreviation | Current Occupation | Arrived in |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|--|------------|
| Interviewee 1 | Germany | G1 | Student/Training in health insurance company | 2016 |
| Interviewee 2 | Germany | G2 | Animation Supervisor | 2018 |
| Interviewee 3 | Germany | G3 | Student/Journalist | 2015 |
| Interviewee 4 | Germany | G4 | Supplier | 2015 |
| Interviewee 5 | Germany | G5 | Student | 2015 |
| Interviewee 6 | Italy | I1 | Student | 2017 |
| Interviewee 7 | Italy | I2 | Waiter | 2017 |
| Interviewee 8 | Italy | I3 | Waitress | 2016 |
| Interviewee 9 | Italy | I4 | Cashier | 2017 |
| Interviewee 10 | Italy | I5 | Sales Assistant | 2016 |

4) Theoretical Framework

This chapter will present the theoretical framework of this paper to the reader. The chapter starts with an explanation of migrant integration. It will further elaborate on Wilkinson's method that is divided by three sections; economic, cultural and social integration.

4.1) Migrant Integration

Before talking about migrant integration, one needs to define 'integration'. According to the Cambridge dictionary's definition, integration is "the action or process of successfully joining or mixing with a different group of people"²⁵. Furthermore, Jentsch (2007) argues that "it is in the extent to which migrants and host communities are seen as having rights and responsibilities that processes of settlement become more closely defined."²⁶ Integration is seen as a middle way between coercive conformism to national norm and values.

Integration is crucial for the settlement process of the migrants²⁷. As discussed in the previous chapter, it can be at the center of migration discussion and policies. Wilkinson argues that during this integration process, both the host and the migrant change as a result of the interactions. Migrants can aim to fit into the host society's cultural practices, language, and religion in time. Castles and Miller (2009) state that "all democratic states have a fast-growing immigrant population" which is related to economic growth²⁸. Consequently, the social and cultural side of the integration was pushed into the background. According to Dustmann and Frattini (2011), "integration is a multi-facet concept, and the extent to which minority and immigrant groups are integrated into a country, and perform in its economy, can be measured along different dimensions both economic and non-economic"²⁹. According to Wilkinson (2013), giving importance to economic integration is important, however, it is not enough by

²⁵ "Integration," *Cambridge Dictionary*, (2022), <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/integration>

²⁶ Birgit Jentsch, "Migrant integration in rural and urban areas of new settlement countries: thematic introduction.", *International journal on multicultural societies*, 9(1), (2007): 1-12, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Piaras-Mac-Einri/publication/26592569_The_Challenge_of_Migrant_Integration_in_Ireland/links/54b84b600cf2c27adc48aea9/The-Challenge-of-Migrant-Integration-in-Ireland.pdf#page=3

²⁷ Lori Wilkinson, "Introduction: Developing and testing a generalizable model of immigrant integration", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3), (2013) 1-7, doi: 10.1353/ces.2013.0038

²⁸ Stephan Castles, Mark J. Miller and Giuseppe Ammendola, "The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World," *New York, NY: The Guilford Press*, 27:6, (2005): 537-542, doi: 10.1080/10803920500434037

²⁹ Christian Dustmann and Tommaso Frattini, "The socio-economic integration of migrants" *Department for Communities and Local Government, London*, http://www.christiandustmann.com/content/4-research/47-the-socio-economic-integration-of-migrants/dustmann_frattini_2011_clg.pdf

itself³⁰. The author emphasizes the importance of all economic, social, and cultural integration for both the migrants and the host societies. Therefore, this thesis observes the immigration of migrants according to these three aspects determined by Wilkinson to test the integration of migrants. As integration is highly dependent on community context, this thesis specifically analyzes the Syrian refugees who migrated to Germany and Italy after the 2015 crisis.

4.1.1) Economic Integration

The integration of refugees into the host economy has become a major policy challenge for the receiving countries³¹. De Paola and Brunello (2016) discuss the importance of the attitudes shown by the host country toward the migrant population in their economic integration³². Economic integration of migrants can have positive effects on both the migrants and the host country. On the one hand, Qorraj (2018) argues that migrant immigration can boost GDP growth in host countries over the long term³³. On the other hand, Martén et al. (2019) state their concern about refugee settlements in locations with high concentrations of coethnics³⁴. Authors argue that the concentrations of refugees in certain areas reduce economic integration.

The level of the economic integration of migrants is still concerning³⁵. According to the European Union Labour Force Survey, migrants face labor market disadvantages compared

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Linna Martén, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. "Ethnic networks can foster the economic integration of refugees," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116.33 (2019): 16280-16285, doi: 10.1073/pnas.1820345116

³² Maria De Paola, and Giorgio Brunello. "Education as a tool for the economic integration of migrants (2016)," IZA Discussion Paper No. 9836, (2016), Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2757926>

³³ Meliza Qorraj, "Migration: An opportunity or a problem? Why and how is Europe dealing with migration?" University of Prishtina, (2018), <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://scholar.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1013&context=ese>

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Christian Dustmann and Tomasso Frattini, "The socio-economic integration of migrants" *Department for Communities and Local Government, London*, http://www.christiandustmann.com/content/4-research/47-the-socio-economic-integration-of-migrants/dustmann_frattini_2011_clg.pdf

to the host countries 'citizens'³⁶. In 2015, working-age (15-64) migrants were on average 5.7% less likely to find a job than host countries 'citizens. The probability to find a job was larger in Central and Northern Europe states such as Germany and the Netherlands. On the contrary, there was a higher possibility to find employment for migrants than among countries 'citizens in many Southern Eastern countries like Italy and Portugal.³⁷ In addition, the authors argue that the longer the migrant lives in the host country, the higher the chances are to find employment as they learn the native language.

4.1.1.1) Economic Integration in Germany

Even though Germany was not given the impression of being an important immigration country, almost 47 million immigrants to Germany had been registered from 1950 to 2015.³⁸ It was mainly dominated by labor recruitment agreements which started in the 1950s and ended with the Yugoslavian labor market agreement in 1968. Germany was actively searching for additional labor since they were a shortage after WWII. This led to an inflow of temporary migrants to Germany from countries like Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, and so on. With the oil crisis in 1973, the German government decided to stop immigration to Germany. Thus, the basis of the immigration system in Germany is changed from labor migration policy to family reunification and humanitarian migration. Consequently, the status of temporary migrants started to change to permanent migrants.³⁹

³⁶ Tomasso Frattini, "Integration of immigrants in host countries. What we know and what works," *Revue de l'économie du développement*, 25(1), (2017): 105-134, <https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-d-economie-du-developpement-2017-1-page-105.htm?WT.tsrc=cairnPdf>

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Hanna Brenzel, *Economic integration of migrants in Germany*, Vol. 369. wbv, (Nurnberg: Germany, 2018), https://api.pageplace.de/preview/DT0400.9783763941254_A34211766/preview-9783763941254_A34211766.pdf

³⁹ Amparo González-Ferrer, "The process of family reunification among original guest-workers in Germany," *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung* 19.1 (2007): 10-33,

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnic Germans and asylum seekers were the primary sources of migration.⁴⁰ However, with the EU enlargement, it turned into an EU-internal migration in the 2000s (p.16). From 2010 onwards, due to the conflict in Syria, immigration increased and peaked. More than 2.1 million refugees were registered in 2015. Germany let people cross the border first and have their asylum claims checked later.⁴¹ Merkel got many backlashes because of her decision to let people in even though the other EU countries were responsible for them under the Dublin Regulation. Therefore, Germany introduced stricter asylum policies in 2016.

Hasselbach (2020) argues that it is still less likely to find employment for migrants compared to a native German.⁴² In addition, according to the Institute for Employment Research (IAB), only around half the migrants who have come to Germany have paid employment. Due to the duration of the asylum procedure and participation in early integration activities, arrivals could start to enter the labor market one or two years after their arrival.⁴³ The labor market of Germany in general is very favorable for the refugees as Germany has one of the lowest unemployment rates in the OECD countries.

The German government made its first national integration law in August 2016⁴⁴. They took several initiatives to provide an early intervention such as language courses. Thus, they aimed to increase the participation of the migrants in the labor market as more than 85% of medium-skilled jobs are asking for good German language skills. In order to increase the legal certainty for employers, the German government implements a 3+2 rule, which allows under

⁴⁰ Hanna Brenzel, *Economic integration of migrants in Germany*. Vol. 369. wbv, (Numberg: Germany, 2018), https://api.pageplace.de/preview/DT0400.9783763941254_A34211766/preview-9783763941254_A34211766.pdf

⁴¹ Christoph Hasselbach, "Five years on: How Germany' refugee policy has fared,," *DW*, (2020), <https://www.dw.com/en/five-years-on-how-germanys-refugee-policy-has-fared/a-54660166>

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "Finding their way: Labour market integration of refugees in Germany," *OECD*, (2017), <https://www.oecd.org/migration/mig/Finding-their-Way-Germany.pdf>

⁴⁴ Ibid.

certain conditions migrants and the asylum seekers to take up an apprenticeship and remain for the duration of the contract, plus two additional years for subsequent employment.

However, the new legislation tried to prevent welfare migration by limiting the number of low-skilled workers from non-EU countries.⁴⁵ Regulations for issuing work permits differ from federal state to federal state.⁴⁶ For instance, in Bavaria, migrants are subject to a labor market test after the first 3 months of their wait.⁴⁷ If their application is accepted, they can work without restriction. The Federal Employment Agency is giving the authorization by the idea of deservingness, which relates to the CARIN criteria (control, attitude, reciprocity, identity, and need). Federal expenditures for migrants stood at €20.8 billion in 2018, which was higher than 6% of the entire federal budget.⁴⁸

In the Atlantic Council article, a Syrian refugee who came to Germany after the 2015 migration crisis, stated that he could not find any job for over two years as employers were refusing to hire him.⁴⁹ Another problem is the employment rates of refugee women. The COVID-19 pandemic caused fewer employment chances, making it even harder to find a job for migrants.

⁴⁵César Albarrán-Torres, *Global trafficking networks on film and television: Hollywood's cartel wars* (London :Routledge, 2021), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9781003024217/global-trafficking-networks-film-television-c%C3%A9sar-albarr%C3%A1n-torres>

⁴⁶ Katrin Lindner, et al. "Acculturation through the lens of language: Syrian refugees in Canada and Germany," *Applied Psycholinguistics* 41.6 (2020): 1351-1374, https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/D4656AF068434C1E92C304D487BE2FF5/S0142716420000454a.pdf/acculturation_through_the_lens_of_language_syrian_refugees_in_canada_and_germany.pdf

⁴⁷ Sioned Ellis, "Asylum-seekers' and refugees' right to work in Germany and the UK," *European Futures*, (February 10, 2022), <https://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/asylum-seekers-and-refugees-right-to-work-in-germany-and-the-uk/>

⁴⁸ Stefan Trines, "The state of refugee integration in Germany in 2019," *WENR*, (August 8, 2019), <https://wenr.wes.org/2019/08/the-state-of-refugee-integration-in-germany-in-2019>

⁴⁹ Sara Olk, "Difficulties faced by Syrian Refugees in Germany," *The Borgen Project*, (October 1, 2018), <https://borgenproject.org/syrian-refugees-in-germany/>

4.2.1.2) Economic Integration in Italy

Italy as a country that has historically been characterized by important emigration, is now experiencing significant immigration.⁵⁰ Italy has been an important destination being a border country and has a large influx of refugees from Syria.⁵¹ However, the country was rather accepted as a temporary transit point for Syrians⁵². Between 2013 and 2015, only 2.7% of the Syrian refugees filed asylum applications in Italy.

Ozerim and Çetin (2021) argue that Italy is relatively slow when it comes to the emergence of migration policies.⁵³ For instance, the first immigration law document was introduced in 1990, namely, Martelli Law. It aimed to introduce annual labor migration quotas.⁵⁴ However, Italy still does not have a self-standing integration law.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Maria De Paola, and Giorgio Brunello, "Education as a tool for the economic integration of migrants (2016). IZA Discussion Paper No. 9836, (2016), Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2757926>

⁵¹ Ernesto FL Amaral, Mahlet A. Woldetsadik, and Gabriela Armenta, "(Op-Ed) Europe's great challenge: Integrating Syrian refugees," (2018), https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/70798111/5adab677b855b8000efc01f2-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1655413662&Signature=duS92dHDXULvF8JazFlqpR3cAvmTQVoQm0Lz2v7XxNlRGSFcJL_SkRpbkKCpRSj3qNSTAKt~wIXblSG~MxUssQi2wfAKxM-C1I4qK3FapyJvscBj8FDUK0AUOYI8VqVGUSo133ahDthoepAx1MMj9tvQ6iOos5vI NEG4KEc5~~YLtyxRtGon4wANWgdRnM-flGznl86nIvKsXahtPrRdnbLem~N-KQs~6hRuSGIpLgNKayQCdew6gZYmEf2miSbv0INH6qE1xerfgpwwEPdTh2Ljb5KGW-uy2-IELk57MpSrMUBEtzRsidwa~~C1SZWs0GhMfv~RFzunBr-EGys7Q_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

⁵² Sara Eltokhy, "Towards Belonging: Stability and Home for Syrian Refugee Women in Milan." *Journal of Identity & Migration Studies* 14.1 (2020). http://www.e-migration.ro/jims/Vol14_No1_2020/JIMS_Vol14_No1_2020_pp_134_149_ELTOKHY.pdf

⁵³ Mehmet Gökay Özerim, and Elif Çetin, "What makes labor markets inaccessible for women migrants? From "triple disadvantage" to multiple challenges," *The Economics of Gender Equality in the Labour Market*. Routledge, 2021. 187-203, https://ebrary.net/157198/sociology/what_labor_markets_inaccessible_women_migrants_triple_disadvantage_multiple_challenges

⁵⁴ Georg Menz, *The political economy of managed migration: Nonstate actors, Europeanization, and the politics of designing migration policies*, (OUP Oxford, 2010), [https://books.google.hu/books?hl=hu&lr=&id=Q_a1VCCnj24C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=Menz,+G.+\(2010\).+The+political+economy+of+managed+migration:+Nonstate+actors,+Europeanization,+and+the+politics+of+designing+migration+policies.+OUP+Oxford.&ots=GocYD0M4k3&sig=K4BaBCe2OScBBPxBKpiHEKPHbU10&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Menz%20\(2010\).%20The%20political%20economy%20of%20managed%20migration%20Nonstate%20actors%20Europeanization%20and%20the%20politics%20of%20designing%20migration%20policies.%20OUP%20Oxford.&f=false](https://books.google.hu/books?hl=hu&lr=&id=Q_a1VCCnj24C&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=Menz,+G.+(2010).+The+political+economy+of+managed+migration:+Nonstate+actors,+Europeanization,+and+the+politics+of+designing+migration+policies.+OUP+Oxford.&ots=GocYD0M4k3&sig=K4BaBCe2OScBBPxBKpiHEKPHbU10&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Menz%20(2010).%20The%20political%20economy%20of%20managed%20migration%20Nonstate%20actors%20Europeanization%20and%20the%20politics%20of%20designing%20migration%20policies.%20OUP%20Oxford.&f=false)

⁵⁵ "Governance of migrant integration in Italy," *European Commission*, (2022), https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/country-governance/governance-migrant-integration-italy_en

Denaro (2016) argues that Syrian refugees were seeing Italy's integration policies as weak and insufficient.⁵⁶ However, this has been changed in the following years. Between 2014-2020, the EU contributed nearly €10.2 billion to support integration in various areas such as employment.⁵⁷ The national allocation for Italy under AMIF is over €394 million. According to the AMIF interim evaluation report, Italy displayed an average of 24% of its allocations to integration issues.⁵⁸ Italy has become a host country rather than a transit one due to the new settlement schemes.⁵⁹

Amaral et al. (2018), argue that nationality, religion, and social background are big obstacles to getting employment in Italy.⁶⁰ Noncitizen residents showed higher levels of unemployment when compared to citizens. In addition, Syrians have to compete even for low-skilled jobs or be informally employed. For instance, a Syrian refugee argues that she had to work in economically disadvantaged positions with her family when they first moved to Italy.⁶¹ Another problem in Italy as well as in Germany is the non-recognition of qualifications. For instance, in Italy, some bachelor's degrees are not fully recognized.⁶² Therefore, some refugees have to start again studying for the whole degree. In addition, this process can be expensive for

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Pierre Georges Van Wolleghem, "Where is the EU's Migrant Integration Policy Heading?. A Neofunctionalist Take on Three Multiannual Financial Frameworks," *International Review of Public Policy* 1.1: 2 (2019): 218-237, <https://journals.openedition.org/irpp/396>

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ernesto FL Amaral, Mahlet A. Woldetsadik, and Gabriela Armenta. "(Op-Ed) Europe's great challenge: Integrating Syrian refugees." (2018), https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/70798111/5adab677b855b8000efc01f2-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1655413662&Signature=duS92dHDXULvF8JazFlqpR3cAvmTQVoQm0Lz2v7XxNLrGsFcJL_SkRpbkKCpRSj3qNSTAKt~wIXblSG~MxUssQi2wfAKxM-C1l4qK3FapyJvscBj8FDUK0AUOYl8VqVGuSo133ahDthoepAx1MMj9tvQ6iOos5vINEG4KEc5~~YLtyxRtGon4wANWgdRnM-flGznl86nIvKsXahtPrRdnLem~N-KQs~6hRuSGIpLgNKayQCdew6gZYmEf2miSbv0INH6qE1xerfgpwwEPdTh2Ljb5KGW-uy2-IELk57MpSrMUBEtzRsidwa~~C1SZWs0GhMfv~RFzunBr-EGys7Q_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

⁶¹ Sara Eltokhy, "Towards Belonging: Stability and Home for Syrian Refugee Women in Milan." *Journal of Identity & Migration Studies* 14.1 (2020). http://www.e-migration.ro/jims/Vol14_No1_2020/JIMS_Vol14_No1_2020_pp_134_149_ELTOKHY.pdf

⁶² Daniela Bolzani, Francesca Crivellaro, and Rosa Grimaldi, "Highly skilled, yet invisible. The potential of migrant women with a STEMM background in Italy between intersectional barriers and resources," *Gender, Work & Organization* 28.6 (2021): 2132-2157, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/gwao.12719>

a Syrian refugee. Consequently, even though the refugee is a skilled people, they are not able to join the workforce and complete the economic integration.

Another obstacle is the Italian language. Migrants who come to Italy have necessarily interrupted their careers to learn Italian.⁶³ Centers for adult education and training (CPIA) are one the main entities providing Italian language courses to refugees with an aim to give A2 level Italian⁶⁴, which is not enough for getting an employment. It is designed to let refugees reach only a basic level of language knowledge.

3.1.2) Cultural Integration

According to Wilkinson (2013), countries that only focus on economic integration, face problems as they ignore cultural and social integration.⁶⁵ Algan et al. (2012), argue that there are three main perspectives on cultural integration.⁶⁶ These three points are assimilation theory, multiculturalism, and structuralism. Firstly, the assimilation theory argues that different ethnic groups come to share a common culture through a natural process along which they have the same access to socio-economic opportunities as the citizens of the host country. Secondly, this is a gradual disappearance of the original cultural and behavioral patterns in favor of the newcomers. Lastly, once this process starts, it moves inevitably and irreversibly towards complete assimilation. However, many authors such as Greenman and Xie (2008), argue that the classical assimilation theory may no longer apply to current world affairs.⁶⁷

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Rosella Bianco, and Mónica Ortiz Cobo, "The linguistic integration of refugees in Italy," *Social Sciences* 8.10 (2019): 284, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8100284>

⁶⁵ Lori Wilkinson, "Introduction: Developing and testing a generalizable model of immigrant integration", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3), (2013) 1-7, doi: 10.1353/ces.2013.0038

⁶⁶ Yann Algan, et al., *Cultural integration of immigrants in Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2012, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33862/453470.pdf?sequence=1>

⁶⁷ Emily Greenman, and Yu Xie. "Is assimilation theory dead? The effect of assimilation on adolescent well-being," *Social Science Research* 37.1 (2008): 109-137, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0049089X07000609>

Raz (1998) defines multiculturalism as the recognition that universal claims can be realized in different ways in different cultures.⁶⁸ Multiculturalism rejects the simple integration process introduced by assimilation theorists.⁶⁹ However, this theory and its ability to solve cultural problems are criticized by many scholars.⁷⁰ Lastly, structuralism focuses on how differences in socio-economic opportunities relate to differences in the social integration of ethnic minority groups,⁷¹ which is more related to the next section, namely, social interaction.

According to Hajro (2015), the cultural integration of migrants is as important as the financial and strategic factors.⁷² Gordon (1964) argues that cultural integration eases the process of socio-economic integration of ethnic minorities.⁷³ Vollebergh et al., argues also both the social and economic integration of migrants will stimulate a cultural orientation towards the host countries 'societies. Culture influences the preferences and beliefs of the migrants, which leads to differences in risk attitudes, social preferences, perspectives on religion, family ties, gender roles, and political involvement.⁷⁴ These factors affect the behavior and choices in

⁶⁸ Joseph Raz, "Multiculturalism," *Ratio Juris* 11.3 (1998): 193-205, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1467-9337.00086>

⁶⁹ Yann Algan, et al. *Cultural integration of immigrants in Europe*. Oxford University Press, 2012, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33862/453470.pdf?sequence=1>

⁷⁰ Lilla Berkes, "The development and meaning of the concept of multiculturalism," *International Relations Quarterly* 1.4 (2010): 1-6, https://d1wqtzts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/49451894/DKE_04_A_E_Berkes-Lilla_Kantor-Judit-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1655415641&Signature=PG6KQbWKAJhVPai2mci9WqI-qWxmoBkRkPzB3kfbSI7WaN7XRdMSGhqios5Ij0ozvIVt6DGSepYys~gA~okK-33~4Vd-yo40I5eNopU54Nzbvxa-uiROnqQe3MybZed6s-lmkuYTdwHr1JASzKh46JeJlsDvxrvBjzFdbbuI4VVn5G~IHcIHeeQ5eGCQrmEgw6-yqKDMloudCHSPiV1VUzz1Tzj4pb5FHmr8We1mlzx1wT0ATSONLf37qVe9LBbC1FxTbrPgSSOkqWDZftVCV010YWCzoqBS0xu~2y9KVp13VzB54KPO-xFwxX42ILIdIJDTfdY8RopoAMMRw3eYQ__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Aida Hajro, "Cultural influences and the mediating role of socio-cultural integration processes on the performance of cross-border mergers and acquisitions," *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 26.2 (2015): 192-215, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09585192.2014.922354>

⁷³ Wilma Vollebergh, Justus Veenman, and Louk Hagendoorn, eds. *Integrating immigrants in the Netherlands: cultural versus socio-economic integration*. Routledge, 2017, [https://books.google.hu/books?hl=hu&lr=&id=bFM8DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT9&dq=Vollebergh,+W.,+Veenman,+J.,+%26+Hagendoorn,+L.+\(Eds.\).+\(2017\).+Integrating+immigrants+in+the+Netherlands:+cultural+versus+socio-economic+integration.+Routledge.&ots=IzAHjfwvW&sig=w7IUaxRAxKcZ-u-ojCBj6wRuvhg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Vollebergh%2C%20W.%2C%20Veenman%2C%20J.%2C%20%26%20Hagendoorn%2C%20L.%20\(Eds.\).%20\(2017\).%20Integrating%20immigrants%20in%20the%20Netherlands%3A%20cultural%20versus%20socio-economic%20integration.%20Routledge.&f=false](https://books.google.hu/books?hl=hu&lr=&id=bFM8DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT9&dq=Vollebergh,+W.,+Veenman,+J.,+%26+Hagendoorn,+L.+(Eds.).+(2017).+Integrating+immigrants+in+the+Netherlands:+cultural+versus+socio-economic+integration.+Routledge.&ots=IzAHjfwvW&sig=w7IUaxRAxKcZ-u-ojCBj6wRuvhg&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=Vollebergh%2C%20W.%2C%20Veenman%2C%20J.%2C%20%26%20Hagendoorn%2C%20L.%20(Eds.).%20(2017).%20Integrating%20immigrants%20in%20the%20Netherlands%3A%20cultural%20versus%20socio-economic%20integration.%20Routledge.&f=false)

⁷⁴ Nadzeya Laurentsyevea, and Alessandra Venturini. "The social integration of immigrants and the role of policy—A literature review," *Intereconomics* 52.5 (2017): 285-292, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/213144/1/285-292-Forum-Venturini.pdf>

a social setting, which is related to social integration. Therefore, these three (economic, cultural, and social) integration styles are interlinked.

4.1.2.1) Cultural Integration in Germany

According to El Khoury (2018), integration into the German culture is the main predictor of mental health⁷⁵. As discussed in the previous section, the German government opened orientation courses that are intended to increase the German level of refugees as well as their cultural and historical knowledge. However, in Bavaria, children who are taking German classes, have no opportunity to socialize with German peers.⁷⁶ This can make the integration process for those children even harder. They need to wait 2 years to have mainstream classes with German peers.

Esposito (2022) discusses that home country conditions are influential as well.⁷⁷ Over three-fourths of Syrian refugee men had work experience before coming to Germany. The number is a third of Syrian women. Furthermore, the 2014 BAMF study found that 21% of refugee women were not able to attend school in their country.⁷⁸ Consequently, it becomes harder for women refugees to adapt to the German working culture and find employment.

Religion is playing a crucial role in the cultural integration process. Religion is connecting bigger groups that Syrians are part of in Germany and maintaining their connections

⁷⁵ Samar Jean El Khoury, "Factors that impact the sociocultural adjustment and well-being of Syrian refugees in Stuttgart–Germany," *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling* 47.1 (2019): 65-80, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03069885.2018.1520196>

⁷⁶ Katrin Lindner, et al. "Acculturation through the lens of language: Syrian refugees in Canada and Germany," *Applied Psycholinguistics* 41.6 (2020): 1351-1374, https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/D4656AF068434C1E92C304D487BE2FF5/S0142716420000454a.pdf/acculturation_through_the_lens_of_language_syrian_refugees_in_canada_and_germany.pdf

⁷⁷ Addie Esposito, "Integrating refugee women into Germany," *Harvard International Review*, (2022, January 22), <https://hir.harvard.edu/integrating-refugee-women-into-germany/>

⁷⁸ Susanne Worbs, and Tatjana Baraulin, "BAMF brief analysis," *The Migration, Integration and Asylum Research Centre*, (2017), https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Forschung/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse7_gefluchtetefrauen.pdf;jsessionid=3DF196447017ACF2ACD1B531C3B42A02.internet272?__blob=publicationFile&v=11

to their countries of origin.⁷⁹ For instance, various initiatives in Berlin use religion to establish and strengthen ties between Syrians. It is hard to argue that these institutions prevent refugees to integrate into the German culture. Even though they create a separate community, it also gives the refugees a sense of belonging which can facilitate the integration process for Syrian refugees in Germany.

4.1.2.2) Cultural Integration in Italy

De Santis et al. (2021) argue that there is a large cultural distance between refugees and natives.⁸⁰ This distance does not allow them to integrate easily. There have been some studies and projects in order to integrate different cultures such as VeSTA (Verso servizi territoriali accoglienti: Towards Welcoming Services).⁸¹ It is a project funded by the EU's Fund for Asylum, Migration and Integration in Italy. They aim to integrate natives and migrants by emphasizing migrants as social actors rather than representatives of other cultures. Refugees think that natives would be more tolerant if the government provide more knowledge about different cultures as well.

According to Bertacchini et al.'s (2022) study, Asian and Arab migrants' native languages tend to be relatively more distant from the Italian language compared to Latin American and Eastern European migrants.⁸² This creates another problem for the refugees to adapt to daily life in Italy as it takes longer for them to learn the language. Further, the authors

⁷⁹Evan Easton-Calabria, and Jennifer Wood. "Bridging, bonding, and linking? Syrian refugee-led organisations and integration in Berlin," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47.19 (2021): 4308-4326, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1788928>

⁸⁰ Gustavo De Santis, Mauro Maltagliati, and Alessandra Petrucci. "So Close, So Far. The Cultural Distance of Foreigners in Italy," *Social Indicators Research* 158.1 (2021): 81-106, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11205-021-02676-w>

⁸¹ Elena Allegri, et al. "Other 'lenses': a training programme for social workers and others working with asylum seekers and migrants in Italy," *European Journal of Social Work* 23.3 (2020): 529-540, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13691457.2020.1743239>

⁸² Enrico Bertacchini, Alessandra Venturini, and Roberto Zotti. "Drivers of cultural participation of immigrants: evidence from an Italian survey," *Journal of Cultural Economics* 46.1 (2022): 57-100, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10824-020-09405-0>

add that migrants are more likely to engage in certain cultural activities that are closer to their cultural habits in Italy.⁸³ Therefore, they are the least active in cultural participation in such activities in Italy.

Another dimension is the difference in religion and religiosity across migrants' groups.⁸⁴ Even though it does not have to have a direct tie with the intensity of the cultural integration, it can lead to spending more time with individuals of the same religion due to religious practice and social ties.

4.1.3) Social Integration

According to Laurentsyeve and Venturini (2017), social integration can be observed from two perspectives.⁸⁵ Firstly, for migrants, it means developing a sense of belonging to the host country and society. Secondly, the host society needs to accept the migrants as equal members of the society. Thus, social integration can be reached by mutual recognition. In cases where there is a huge gap, it can be observed that the fundamental characteristics of the host society and migrant population can widely differ. For instance, their age or education can cause this problem as they are relevant for explaining social behavior or choices. Beck et al. (2012) argue that there is a higher chance of being a high school dropout if the migrants come to the host country after the age of eight.⁸⁶

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Nadzeya Laurentsyeve, and Alessandra Venturini. "The social integration of immigrants and the role of policy—A literature review," *Intereconomics* 52.5 (2017): 285-292, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/213144/1/285-292-Forum-Venturini.pdf>

⁸⁶ Audrey Beck, Miles Corak, and Marta Tienda. "Age at immigration and the adult attainments of child migrants to the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 643.1 (2012): 134-159, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0002716212442665>

Martinovic et al., discuss the importance of the contact between the migrants and the natives of the host countries as it can decrease prejudice and conflict.⁸⁷ Furthermore, such contacts can create ties to get access to the social capital of natives, which helps migrants to integrate into other areas as well. For instance, they will have an access to a wider job market.⁸⁸

There can be other factors such as language barrier, insufficient economic or time resources (especially right after the migration), uncertainty about the future, and difficulties to access different areas of social life such as voting or political activities.⁸⁹ Jacobs and Tillie (2007) argue that the denser the network of associations of a particular ethnic group, the more political trust they will have and will participate in political activities⁹⁰. Additionally, Chaudhary (2016) states that if the migrants have higher levels of social incorporation, they will be more likely to participate in the electoral politics in the host country.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Borja Martinovic, Frank Van Tubergen, and Ineke Maas. "Changes in immigrants' social integration during the stay in the host country: The case of non-western immigrants in the Netherlands," *Social Science Research* 38.4 (2009): 870-882, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0049089X09000696>

⁸⁸ Agnieszka Kanas, and Frank Van Tubergen. "The impact of origin and host country schooling on the economic performance of immigrants," *Social Forces* 88.2 (2009): 893-915, [⁸⁹ Nadzeya Laurensyeva, and Alessandra Venturini. "The social integration of immigrants and the role of policy—A literature review," *Intereconomics* 52.5 \(2017\): 285-292, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/213144/1/285-292-Forum-Venturini.pdf>](https://watermark.silverchair.com/88-2-893.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49Ooan9kkhW_Ercy7Dm3ZL_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAAsYwggLCBgkqhkiG9w0BBwagggKzMIICrwIBADCCAqgGCSqGSIb3DQEHAATeBglghkgBZQMEAS4wEQQMOTp8xGr7w5roIZAAAgEQgIIcCecWoOy6-UEpweR5QvBXMC4lir08fQit50nAjNu4ZILZ1m3n-VnzxFCGVqBouQkt5LcVhEkfghJnQ0KyMsL2vj0_bzQDDEce_GAUqF9th5ce8KDpZQQ7iCun1fKtsOJ5XZLBuRmW6l8-5LEPJb4cKpHH-QpyA7uv7Sw0-af5Do7iUJen6n05CC_pybUfSEEsO84U0UIv4VpxZ8NzIrOe6_EMTys6FJFdb-bxKrfQOAmjjqT-p0mB-1GozxcIB0p-X_LkLcL5KY1Guo1rq4hc6emplGc2hFrMYtmmOL4JWVJlvZde8CHCGKAVOSLsfrC-thWDU_-tryMjFpx_mBnVSNSes1I9s5pnELpSjg28mmIOweAxN11oFk6Masn2-o_ZisGSDPzWb0oF6yRBg4wOvclU3pqwE_lcRjDQJ40J8FzJpOBF-VmBOhMS88b8yuCNnwGpJJJo5etuSWneR90EH5u9chp9f_d0YbQiq3cPZbvmnNliHeEAPPIImU16sUa9X1qE5tuVDKgLfgSi4LrKl_wZIVrP4UMGjY_eIg2A0RMib6EPMqwgq245BM_ztbbervM-KUowMx24yV5OhqBjCH4ObpxyjtX02OaMd0ZPFVfLT0T4oZJ4xijTuWila6z1tHZQ9Qd-j5-a2xgoxBz9CdGAFs2fLutoX_WZcSZVpaJiC76h0KoUnTLqtE4HFovTWJwSa_pDGa75g95esr4_eatrsExFsXaMNCFTVGF-OJXdoSPuaUsA_5bjRphksJjL_JQvOeVhB-2IQPiypsMQyPUUu56o_5Mo-mENVldiSOZe0skWqXdknhB7RGa4IJUG-g-0d0aCCIG</p>
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⁹⁰ Dirk Jacobs, and Jean Tillie. "Introduction: social capital and political integration of migrants," *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 30.3 (2004): 419-427, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13691830410001682016>

⁹¹ Ali R. Chaudhary, "Transnational politics and political integration among migrants in Europe," *International Migration Institute (IMI), Oxford Department of International* (2016), <https://law.maastrichtuniversity.nl/transmic/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/WP127-Transnational-politics-and-political-integration-among-migrants-in-Europe.pdf>

As mentioned in the previous section, beliefs and preferences affect the way migrants perceive social life.⁹² For instance, the authors state that families with closer family ties and low civil and political participation are also less politically and socially active in their host countries. Family ties affect how migrants perceive to seek mental health help⁹³. Nash et al. (2006), argue that migrants are a sensitive group of people who needs resources and services for their mental health.⁹⁴ They can experience many traumatic events such as isolation, post-traumatic stress disorder, grief and loss, and cultural and language issues. However, it can be hard for them to voluntarily access mental health services due to cultural and information barriers.

4.1.3.1) Social Integration in Germany

El Khoury (2018) argues that the failure to socially integrate into the host country carries a danger for refugees as their possible depression and PTSD symptoms might lead to suicidal thoughts as well as substance and criminal behavior.⁹⁵ Additionally, a higher perceived ethnic discrimination is associated with lower mental and physical health.⁹⁶ The number of counselors and clinical psychologists can be insufficient for the refugees who need mental care. According to El Khoury's (2018) study, the language is still a barrier between the German counselors and the Syrian refugees.⁹⁷ The author adds that a translator decreases the

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Nadzeya Laurentsyeve, and Alessandra Venturini. "The social integration of immigrants and the role of policy—A literature review," *Intereconomics* 52.5 (2017): 285-292, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/213144/1/285-292-Forum-Venturini.pdf>

⁹⁴ Mary Nash, John Wong, and Andrew Trlin. "Civic and social integration: A new field of social work practice with immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers," *International Social Work* 49.3 (2006): 345-363, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0020872806063407>

⁹⁵ Samar Jean El Khoury, "Factors that impact the sociocultural adjustment and well-being of Syrian refugees in Stuttgart–Germany," *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling* 47.1 (2019): 65-80, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03069885.2018.1520196>

⁹⁶ Feras Al Masri, et al. "Quality of life among Syrian refugees in Germany: a cross-sectional pilot study," *Archives of Public Health* 79.1 (2021): 1-13, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s13690-021-00745-7>

⁹⁷ Ibid.

effectiveness of the session and the willingness of the Syrian refugee to continue to seek help. Therefore, the Federal Office of Migration and Refugees gives free German classes to the refugees until they reach the B1 level. However, it is still hard for the refugees who are mothers of young children and the elderly.

Female refugees tend to have weaker German language skills as they do not have the chance to practice it as often as refugee men do.⁹⁸ According to Hilmann and Koca (2021), not only the language barrier but also the gender dimension of migration, in general, affects migrant women.⁹⁹ Migrant women generally have a lower educational status than men and face more difficulties both during the migration journey and after they arrive. Therefore, most of these women are not prepared for the qualifications that employees are asking for to work in Germany.¹⁰⁰ The authors add that the qualification system in Germany is hardly accessible for newcomers, which makes it even harder for refugee women.

In order to increase the integration and participation of refugees, the Master plan for Integration and Security (MPIS) in Germany designed structural support for 'welcome initiatives' and promotes financial, technical, and administrative support.¹⁰¹ According to an OECD study, in 2018, various civil society initiatives supporting the labor market and social integration of female refugees emerged as well.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Susanne Worbs, and Tatjana Baraulin, "BAMF brief analysis," *The Migration, Integration and Asylum Research Centre*, (2017), https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Forschung/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse7_gefluchtetefrauen.pdf?sessionid=3DF196447017ACF2ACD1B531C3B42A02.internet272?__blob=publicationFile&v=11

⁹⁹ Felicitas Hillmann, and Burcu Toğral Koca. "'By women, for women, and with women': on the integration of highly qualified female refugees into the labour Markets of Berlin and Brandenburg," *Comparative Migration Studies* 9.1 (2021): 1-18, <https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-020-00211-3>

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Felicitas Hillmann, and Burcu Toğral Koca. "'By women, for women, and with women': on the integration of highly qualified female refugees into the labour Markets of Berlin and Brandenburg," *Comparative Migration Studies* 9.1 (2021): 1-18, <https://comparativemigrationstudies.springeropen.com/articles/10.1186/s40878-020-00211-3>

¹⁰² "Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees in Berlin," *OECD*, (September 06, 2018), <http://www.oecd.org/publications/working-together-for-local-integration-of-migrants-and-refugees-in-berlin-9789264305236-en.htm>.

Back in 2015, many Germans did not want to take in refugees and migrant.¹⁰³ These xenophobic feelings led to the rise of the far-right populist Alternative for Germany party (AfD). It made social integration even harder for Syrian refugees. However, according to the nonprofit Bertelsmann Foundation's study, Germans became more optimistic about refugees and migration in general, especially for the economy. But a differentiation should have been made. Skilled immigrants who are looking for a job or academic opportunities are more accepted (71%) than refugees who are primarily seeking protection (59%). Additionally, 20% of the Germans consider the refugees to be 'temporary guests' who do not need to be integrated into German society. It hurts the integration process of the refugees as social integration can be reached by mutual recognition.

4.1.3.2) Social Integration in Italy

According to the Pew Research Center's spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, in Italy, a majority of respondents stated that their country would be a worse place to live in if an increasing number of people from different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities lived there.¹⁰⁴ In addition, they think that terrorism would increase if more immigrants live there. This data shows the perspective of Italian natives on the refugees in general. These judgments make social integration in Italy even harder. Amaral et al. argue that migrants in Italy face growing negative sentiments, a lack of political commitment, and little public support.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Volker Witting, and Lisa Hänel, "Germans less skeptical of immigration," *DW*, (February 16, 2022), <https://www.dw.com/en/germans-less-skeptical-of-immigration/a-60801783>

¹⁰⁴ Ernesto FL Amaral, Mahlet A. Woldetsadik, and Gabriela Armenta. "(Op-Ed) Europe's great challenge: Integrating Syrian refugees." (2018), https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/70798111/5adab677b855b8000efc01f2-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1655413662&Signature=duS92dHDXULvF8JazFlqpR3cAvmTQVoQm0Lz2v7XxNLrGsFcJL-SkRpbkKCpRSjdk3qNSTAKt~wIXblSG~MxUssQi2wfAKxM-C114qK3FapyJvscBj8FDUK0AUOYI8VqVGuSo133ahDthoepAx1MMj9tvQ6iOos5vlNEG4KEc5~~YLytXRtGon4wANWgdRnM-flGznl86nIvKsXahtPrRdnblLem~N-KQs~6hRuSGIpLgNKayQCdew6gZYmEf2miSbv0INH6qE1xerfgpwwEPdTh2Ljb5KGW-uy2-IELk57MpSrMUbEtzRsida~~C1SZWs0GhMfv~RFzunBr-EGys7Q_&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

In Medecins Sans Frontiers's (MSF) report in 2016, it is stated that a high number of immigrants are suffering from mental health disorders, the trauma of the journey, and the inadequate reception conditions in Italy.¹⁰⁶ Novara et al. (2021), argue that social support is one of the most important binder factors between migrants and the community, which can affect individuals 'physiological wellbeing and their quality of life.¹⁰⁷ The authors state that in Italy, the support from migrant friends reduces life satisfaction and their mental health.¹⁰⁸ The reason why is that Italians were particularly hostile to immigrants. Exposure to ethnic discrimination leads to poorer mental health outcomes.¹⁰⁹ Quaglia et al. show that the increase in the years of residence of migrants in Italy causes experiencing physical and mental health problems due to discrimination.

5) Results and findings

This chapter will present the results to the reader. The chapter divided into three according Willkinson's method. Each section elaborates on the specific themes based on the contents of interviews.

¹⁰⁶ "Mental health disorders in asylum seekers and migrants overlooked by inadequate reception system," *MSF*, July 15, 2016, <https://www.msf.org/italy-mental-health-disorders-asylum-seekers-and-migrants-overlooked-inadequate-reception-system>

¹⁰⁷ Cinzia Novara, et al. "Life Satisfaction and Psychological Distress of African Immigrants in Italy and Spain: The Protective Role of Social Support and Sense of Community," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* (2021): 1-18, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/15562948.2021.1995923>

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Valeria Quaglia, Mara Tognetti, and Marco Terraneo, "Discriminazione percepita e salute mentale dei migrant," *Discriminazione percepita e salute mentale dei migranti* (2020): 35-54, <https://www.torrossa.com/en/resources/an/4733043>

5.1) Economic Integration

5.1.1) Employment and Government Support

Interviewees mentioned that they had a degree or a career that they were pursuing back in Syria. However, it got harder to find a job related to their field in countries where they settled in. There are many obstacles holding them back. For instance, the language barrier prevents some of interviewees to practice their job in both Italy and Germany.

“Currently I am working in a bar as a waitress. It is a good job, however, I was previously studying psychology and I cannot pursue that because I did not have support regarding this and the language is an important part of the job. I don’t know if I could get to the level to pursue it in Italian.” (I3)

I was qualified well when I was in Syrian. I studied musical education and I have an education psychology diploma. When I arrived to Germany, I couldn’t find any work. First, because I was not able to speak German. Second, I did not have connections.” (G3)

“I wish I could find a job right after arriving in Italy. That was a difficult process for me.” (I4)

“I was not helped with integration or finding a job.” (G4)

Some of the interviewees got support from the government to find a job. However, G1, G2, G3 and I3 complained about how the government officials were only focusing on finding a job even though it is not related to their career.

“Government supported financially. They call it here ‘job center’. You expecting them to find a job for you but no. They will force you to take some internship or something like this. This is where they introduce you how to

make a CV, how to start working in any normal job. But they don't help you to pursue what you actually want to pursue, your own career. They just want you to work. They don't care about what kind of career you have. You need to make research by yourself. If you find a course related to your career, they will support you but otherwise, they will not help you.” (G2)

“They (German government) wanted me to do things faster. They wanted me to find a job instead of pursuing my education. People often assume you are stupid when you don't speak the language. Therefore, they want you to choose the easier path when it comes to your career... But I did not listen to them. I had started high school from the beginning even though I was already on a higher level back in Syria. This was the only way I could do what I wanted and gain more money.” (G1)

“My life in Syria was totally different. I was a musician. I was playing a lot of concerts. I was teaching music in institutes. I was also working with UN. I had a good salary and good position. In Germany, I had to search for my identity and find a way to cope with this new situation. I am a writer. But not because I had to but I wanted to become one.” (G3)

“Currently I am working in a bar as a waitress. It is a good job however I was previously studying psychology and I cannot pursue that because I did not have support regarding this and the language is an important part of the job, I don't know if I could get to the level to pursue it in Italian.” (I3)

On the one hand, G3 argued that the German government has more experience due to their history with migrants. It facilitated their way in the society. On the other hand, I5 stated that he felt like the Italian government was rather inexperienced.

“They had some previous experiences due to the number of migrants living in their country. They took lessons from how they were dealing with Turkish or other immigrants. It was easier for us to go into health system or register in administration. But it took me two years until they give me an asylum. I

was not able to do anything. They made an exception to Syrians after 2 years.” (G3)

“It is funny but I felt like I am in an experiment. I found a job in the end but the process until this point was really hard for me. I took Italian language courses with the support of the Italian government. However, they were not enough to fully integrate to the society and to find a job. Many things were missing or forgotten.” (I5)

5.2) Cultural Integration

5.2.1) Religion

Depending on the personal background, some of the interviewees argued that religion does or does not affect their integration process. For instance, G1, G2 and I5 argue that they have never experienced any kind of discrimination due to their religion since they do not practice it.

“I do not think it is a serious issue in my life. I am surrounded by many German people. Religion did not come up as an obstacle. However, I also know that if you are wearing a hijab, it gets difficult to be accepted in the society.” (G1).

“I am not a religious person. This is why I didn’t need to look for people who are culturally similar to me.” (G2)

“To be honest, my only focus was finding a job. Finding people who believed in same religion as me wasn’t the first thing that I thought when I came to Italy.” (I5)

“My experience was good with religion. I am not wearing a hijab and I am an atheist. So I had a good treatment. But I can tell you about other Syrian people. They were in a hijab. Their experiences were not that good.” (G3)

“I have experienced differences when it comes to religion and food. When they know you are a Syrian, they directly assume you are a Muslim and look at you in a different way.” (I4)

5.2.2) Language

Language barrier was mentioned by all of interviewees. They mentioned the language as the most important thing in the integration process.

“Although I was able to speak English, this was not a big advantage in Italy. There was still a huge language barrier.” (I3)

“The hardest part at the beginning was the language, the lack of communication with other people created a sense of loneliness in the first months.” (I2)

“I can honestly say that it wasn’t easy to adapt to a new country and understand people. The language barrier was the most challenging part of this process.” (I1)

“But it took me two years until they give me an asylum. I was not able to do anything. They made an exception to Syrians after 2 years. I couldn’t do anything in these 2 years. After the exception, I could find a German language course. (G3)

“People often assume you are stupid when you don’t speak the language. Therefore, they want you to choose the easier path when it comes to your career. But it wasn’t what I wanted.” (G1)

“I think people (Syrians) are underestimated because of the language.” (G5)

Most of the interviewees stated that the government helped them to find a language course and learn the countries’ languages. However, it took longer for some of them to be able to take such courses (G3). Additionally, some of them argued that the level that they were offering, was not enough for them to find a job afterwards (I3).

“It was difficult to build a new life here. There is no easy part but the government supported the initial phase so being directed to a language course and some financial help helped a lot.” “They provided a language course. However, the support could have lasted longer.” (I3)

“I wish the government would support us more in those 2 years while waiting my asylum application. They could allow us to find an employment without any German language requirement.” “I finished B1 level but I wasn’t able to speak.” (G3)

“I have waited for a language course for a long time.” (G5)

5.2.3) Social Activities

Social activities of interviewees change depending on their age and current occupations. G1 stated that it is easier to be surrounded by natives and having the same social activities if you are a student. G3 stated that it was harder to socialize in Germany even with Syrians. I1 explains the difficulties of trying to socialize with people who does not have the same native language as you have.

“I made a lot of friends at parties. But it is not that easy to live here. At the beginning I was feeling I was in a box.” (G1)

“Sometimes I was going to the street alone or when I became a mother, with my child to the street, just walking and walking, calling a lot of people, nobody is free to spend sometime. They were either busy or depressed.” “I found a Syrian community. I knew most of them. When we have time, we usually meet at a park or at birthday parties.” (G3)

“I wasn’t do that many social activities. I was trying to survive most of the times. I didn’t feel good enough to go out and socialize. Couple of years later, I got together with some friends from my language course and started to meet in a cafe or have dinners together.” (I5)

“I still have some difficulties understanding Italians. Because of this, I can’t fully embrace their culture and traditions and do the same activities they are doing.” (I1)

5.3) Social Integration

5.3.1) Mental Health

After the language barrier, the biggest complaint was the lack of psychological support from both governments. They criticized the government for their lack of support in mental health area.

“A German activist supported me to come to Germany. That was the easiest part of moving to Germany.” “When I came to Germany, I had to again search for my identity. Some days I was happy and motivated but sometimes I was depressed...Seven years I spent in Germany, I was really tired. Not because of Germans, but because of me.” (G3)

“When I crossed from Turkey to Greece, I had an accident in 2016. Some people died with us. I had to stay at water for 8 hours before they rescued me. Time to time, these kind of memories attack me again and cause me a

lot of trouble. I was so surprised that there was no psychological help offered. You need to find that help yourself. Let's say you found one. It is going to be German and you will need to wait in the line for long time."

(G2)

"Settlement process was a difficult time for me and my family. We had both financial and psychological issues. One of the biggest issues is leaving your home and trying to be accepted somewhere else, it is a hurtful process you can only understand if you have been through it." (I3)

"I received financial support but I missed a lot a social and psychological support, especially at the beginning. Despite receiving some money, I didn't have the opportunity to speak with any therapist to explain my situation and my background." (I2)

5.3.2) Perspectives of Natives

Most of the migrants complained about how natives are stereotyping them due to their ethnicity, looks, clothes and religion. Another problem is natives' reactions when Syrians cannot properly speak the language (I1). There were also positive comments on natives (I3, I4).

"I also have German friends. I met them through my brother. He was studying in Germany so I met his friends and then introduced me to more people. I have a nice German circle now." "They (Germans) were confused. They have a stereotyping about Arabic people coming to Germany. They had one image about us so they were confused." (G3)

If you are a man with a black hair coming from Syrian, Germans were tending to think they are dominant guys coming from Syrian with a muslim background. So some of them did not want to hire them." (G5)

“If you have a hijab, it is hard to get a job.” (G1)

“I can’t speak Italian well and they understand that I am a foreigner and sometimes they prefer not to continue having the conversation.” (I1)

“The officials that I have been in contact with were nice and welcoming. In my daily life, at work, they are nice I have not received any negative treatments but also nothing specifically positive.” (I3)

“There were cases that they were being racists and cases that they were extremely friendly and empathetic.” (I4)

“I’m under-challenged and underestimated.” (G4)

“I have had negative and positive experiences. But there is a lot of racism.”

“ I have the feeling that many people in Germany do not accept me.” (G5)

6) Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of the thesis was to find out if the EU successfully addresses the migration problem and the factors that influence that outcome. Therefore, a case study is conducted in Germany and Italy. 10 Syrian refugees were interviewed to see their thoughts on economic, cultural, and social integration in Germany and Italy. The research questions were: To what extent do the current migrant integration policies in the EU successfully address the current migration problem? and “What are the factors that influenced how well these policies are implemented in Germany and Italy according to Syrian refugees?”

Economic integration is a crucial part of the whole integration process benefiting both the migrants and the government. All of the interviewees stated that both governments helped them to find a job. For instance, they provided language courses. However, the process of

searching for a job was perceived as problematic by all interviewees. For instance, G1 and I4 mentioned that it is harder if you are wearing a hijab or if you have dark features. Natives tend to discriminate against migrants when hiring for a position. According to interviewees, both Germany and Italy have the same problem.

Another barrier is pushing Syrian refugees to find a job without considering their previous education. Most of the refugees are not doing what they want to do or what they studied. Only one of them (G2) is doing what he studied. Syrians both in Germany and Italy are complaining about this situation. They want them to choose the easier path and get a random job. They are not happy with this situation as it is financially and psychologically affecting them.

The last barrier to economic integration is inexperienced governments. Migrant policies are rather new in some countries and still in the trial process. On the one hand, according to the Syrian refugees living in Germany, the German government has more experience due to their history with migrants. G3 and G2 stated that the German government took lessons from how they were dealing with Turkish or other immigrants. On the other hand, I5 and I4 stated Italian government is not experienced enough to fully integrate migrants. The system is not operating as smoothly as it should be. This was the only difference between Germany and Italy stated by the interviewees under the economic integration topic.

Cultural integration maintains unity and a certain balance in society. This is why the cultural integration of migrants is as important as economic integration. Most of the refugees mentioned having a different religion as an obstacle. Even though some of them do not believe in any religion, natives have the tendency to stereotype them. G1 stated that she did not experience any obstacles in this issue. But she mentioned that it is probably because she does not wear a hijab. The perspectives of Syrians in both countries were nearly the same. This also leads them to have different social circles. But all of the interviewees stated that they have

native friends too. I1 added that it is just harder to socialize with people who do not have the same native language and culture.

Another issue is learning the language of the country. It was mentioned by all of the interviewees. Some of them stated that it is hard to build a network when you do not speak the language. They do not prefer to be friends with a foreigner who cannot speak their language. G3 stated that she had to wait two years until she got into a German language course because of the administration and asylum process. But there is no evidence that the system is still problematic in Germany. Both in Germany and Italy, the government helped the refugees to find a language course. The difference is the minimum level one needs to obtain in order to finish the course. In Italy, the minimum level is lower than the one in Germany, which can negatively affect the integration process of migrants in Italy.

The second most mentioned barrier was the lack of psychological support from the government. Refugees are prone to have depression or post-traumatic stress disorder. The war, leaving their family and friends behind, the journey, and the cultural shock is just a few of the struggles they have been through. In both Germany and Italy, the government did not offer any psychological help. Immigration-related stressors can increase suicidal ideation and risk due to the distress associated with cultural stress, social marginalization, and intergenerational conflicts in addition to PTSD and other psychological disorders.¹¹⁰ Consequently, it should be one of the priorities on the migrant integration agenda.

Lastly, the perspective of natives toward Syrian refugees is one of the factors that affect the social integration process. Interviewees mentioned that they experienced more discrimination when they first arrived especially when they were looking for a job. However, the situation got better for most of them as they started to have native friends and connections.

¹¹⁰ “Stress & trauma toolkit for treating undocumented immigrants in a changing political and social environment,” *American Psychiatric Association*, 2022, <https://www.psychiatry.org/psychiatrists/cultural-competency/education/stress-and-trauma/undocumented-immigrants>

As G5 stated it is difficult as most of the refugees do not look European. In both Germany and Italy, there is still a lot of skepticism when it comes to refugees. However, it can be deduced from the interviewees' responses that the natives' perspectives become more positive over time of progress.

This thesis has two hypotheses. Firstly, the current migrant integration policies in the EU are not enough to successfully address the current migration problem because they mostly leave out psychological support and add the natives to the integration process. After analyzing the responses, it can be argued that the Member States of the EU still has many integration problems. Secondly, regarding the longer migration history of Germany, both the government and natives have a structured and positive approach to migrants compared to Italy, which makes the integration process and the implementation of the policies easier. However, it is not the case. Even though G3 and G2 argued that the German government has more experience due to their history with migrants, it is hard to see it in practice. It does not create any huge difference between Germany and Italy in migrant integration. Consequently, the second hypothesis is not consistent with the evidence.

There were certain limitations to this research. As a result of the limited scope of this thesis, the current paper was not able to include other European countries to see how well the implementation the migrant integration policies are implemented. Additionally, a larger sample size of interviewees may increase the validity of the research. Further research should take into consideration alternative explanations from different EU countries and different methods.

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8) Appendix

Interview Questions:

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) When did you arrive to Italy/Germany?
- 3) How would you describe your time in Italy/Germany so far?
 - 1) Did you run into any difficulties? If so, what were they?
 - 2) What was the easiest part for you about moving to Italy?
- 4) Did you receive any support from the Italian government or any NGO's?
 - 1) If so, what kind of support did you receive?
 - 2) Do you think there was anything the Italian/German government could do to improve this?
 - 3) Is there any support that would help you when you first arrive to Italy/Germany?
- 5) What is your current occupation?
 - 1) Do you like it? Why/Why not?
- 6) Can you describe your daily life in Italy/Germany?
 - 1) Can you describe your day in Syria?
- 7) How did you begin learning Italian/German?
 - 1) Did you get any help from the government? How would you describe the process?
- 8) Do you have any family/friends who came with you?
- 9) Did you find a Syrian community in Italy/Germany?
 - 1) How did you find it? What are their activities?
- 10) Did you get any friends since you came to Italy/Germany?
 - 1) How did you meet them? Are they Italian/German or do they have another nationality?
- 11) Where do you live? Are you happy with that place?
 - 1) If you could choose, where would you choose to live?
- 12) Did you experience any cultural differences?
 - 1) If so, did they affect you in any way?
- 13) Did you or anyone you know have any bad experience while searching for a job?
- 14) Do you feel that you are adequately supported?
- 15) What kind of reactions or treatments you experienced by Italians/Germans?

- 16) If you could return to Syria, would you?
1) Why/Why not?
- 17) Did you experience any social differences compared to Syrians?
1) How did they affect you?
- 18) In your opinion, is there any obstacles for integration in Italy/Germany?
1) If so, what are those?
- 19) Would you like to add something that has not been mentioned so far?