

**ISCTE  IUL**  
**Escola de Ciências Sociais e Humanas**

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Department of Political Economy

**Refugees and the Labour Market: a German Study Case**

Project submitted as partial requirement for the conferral of  
Master in Economics and Public Policies

Mariana Domingues Pacheco

Supervisor:

Prof. Fátima Suleman, Assistant Professor,  
ISCTE-IUL, Department of Political Economy

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## **Resumo**

A mais recente onda de refugiados vindos de África e do Médio Oriente em direção aos países europeus suscita debates e coloca questões ao nível da integração e da sustentabilidade económica. O presente estudo incide sobre a integração dos refugiados no mercado de trabalho, procurando identificar fatores que influenciam a qualidade do emprego. A pesquisa empírica assenta num inquérito e questionário aplicado a refugiados, representantes de empresas e representantes de órgãos públicos na Alemanha. A evidência empírica indica que há fatores que podem explicar diferenças na qualidade do emprego entre refugiados. São disso exemplo as qualificações, a idade e o domínio da língua nativa. Os resultados mostram que os refugiados mais novos e qualificados tendem a ocupar empregos estáveis e bem pagos no setor das tecnologias de informação, tendo também uma perceção favorável sobre a qualidade do seu emprego. Por outro lado, há indicações de que os refugiados menos qualificados têm maior probabilidade de ocupar empregos de fraca qualidade em setores de limpeza e semelhantes. Os resultados ilustram uma segmentação dentro do setor secundário, alertando para a importância das qualificações na proteção de trabalhadores potencialmente vulneráveis. As políticas de acolhimento de refugiados devem assim atender às necessidades específicas dos refugiados e desenvolver esforços para uma integração qualificada e sustentável no mercado de trabalho.

**Palavras-chave:** Migrantes, Qualidade do trabalho, Mercado de trabalho, Inserção profissional

## **Abstract**

The most recent refugees' migration wave, who come from Africa and Middle East towards the European countries, raises debates and questions regarding integration and economic sustainability. This study addresses the refugees' integration in the labour market and it seeks to identify the factors that have an influence on job quality. The empirical research was made through interviews and questionnaires applied to refugees, companies' representatives and government bodies' representatives in Germany. The empirical evidence shows the existence of factors that explain the job quality differences between refugees, namely the qualifications, age and the command of the native language. The results show that the younger and highly qualified refugees tend to have stable and well-paid jobs in the IT sector, which makes them have a positive perception about their job quality. On the other hand, results show that low qualified refugees have higher chances to have low quality jobs in the cleaning sector and similar. The results also show the existence of segmentation inside the secondary sector, which points towards the importance of qualifications in order to protect potentially vulnerable workers. Refugees' integration policies shall meet the specific needs of the refugees and develop efforts for a qualified and sustainable integration in the labour market.

**Keywords:** Migrants, Job quality, Labour market, Professional integration

**JEL Classification System:** J40 – Particular Labour Markets; J42 – Monopsony, Segmented Labour Markets; O15 – Human Resources, Human Development, Income Distribution, Migration

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## INTRODUCTION

The current refugees' crisis that affects Europe is seen as the worst humanitarian crisis since the II World War. Hundreds of thousands of people risk their own lives to flee from war and find a safe shelter in Europe. This situation has gotten worst, in particular after the second half of 2015. According to the Global Report 2016, published by the United Nations Refugee Agency, there were 2,031,097 refugees in Northern, Western, Central and Southern Europe in the end of December of 2016 (The UN Refugees Agency, 2017). Most of these people are fleeing from war, violence and persecution. Their countries of origins are, mainly, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

A large proportion of the refugees aims to reach Germany, a country known for being a global economic power. Germany represents the beginning of a new chapter in their lives, away from war, persecution and suffer that they had to go through in their home countries. Besides peace and security, economic prosperity is what they want the most, being the integration in the labour market their ultimate target. It's no coincidence that Germany appears in the 8<sup>th</sup> place of the "Top ten refugee-hosting countries", in the report mentioned above (The UN Refugees Agency, 2017).

The insertion of refugees in the labour market is an ongoing debate and many European citizens do not refrain from showing their concern regarding having them filling in job vacancies that they consider that should be fulfilled by locals. For now, the main concern is to understand how the arrival of these people will affect the countries' development and the citizens' acceptance. But no less important than that, it is also imperative to see these questions on the refugees' perspective, especially when it comes to their insertion in the society through an insertion in the labour market. In the literature, refugees are considered a vulnerable category in a segmented labour market. This theory sets the theme for the research ahead.

I propose to study the integration of refugees in the labour market through the identification of factors that impact the existence or inexistence of job quality. From what we learned from literature, job quality itself lacks in a consensual definition. Therefore, the indicators used to measure job quality are also undefined. In this context, our study explores the available literature on this matter and will measure the refugees' job quality through a compilation of indicators pointed out by a variety of authors, in order to obtain a result as complete as possible. The main research question is: "*Which factors affect refugees' job quality?*". More specifically, I attempt to examine whether all refugees are assigned to low quality jobs located in the secondary labour market. If not, what helps pushing them to different segments?

Empirical analysis is based on the German case study, since research was made in that country and, in particular, in the city of Frankfurt. Ten refugees were interviewed in order to get their perspectives on their professional situation. These interviews were obtained through “snowball sampling” and through contacts with organizations that help refugees and put me in touch with the interviewees.

In addition to refugees, other social actors were included as key informants. Three companies’ representatives were interviewed in order to get the employers’ perspective on hiring and working with refugees. These interviews were obtained through direct contact with the companies. One city council representative and one employment agent for refugees were interviewed in order to get the perspective from people who work in the public services, in particular, in the integration of refugees’ sector. We aim to obtain the objective and subjective perception on the job quality of employed refugees and the factors that affect it. Confidentiality of the participants is ensured.

The structure of the study is organized as follows: Chapter 1 gives an insight into the literature on job quality and segmentation of the labour market – herein, we discuss the existence of vulnerable categories in the segmented labour market, the definition and indicators of job quality, and the lack of common understanding regarding the definition –; Chapter 2 details the data and methodology ; Chapter 3 presents empirical findings; Chapter 4 focuses on the discussion of the results; Chapter 5 comprises the concluding remarks.

## 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1.1. Labour Market Segmentation related to Vulnerable Categories

The Labour Market Segmentation theory consists on the definition of a labour market with a fragmented nature and a tendency to marginalize certain social groups. This theory is strongly linked to the Dual Labour Market theory, that defends the existence of a primary labour market with good jobs and a secondary labour market with bad jobs – between both there is scarce mobility (Bosworth et al., 1996).

Moura (1986) points out that there is not only one labour market, but many. And that is where the discrimination happens towards certain groups, namely “women, young people, elderly people, disabled and, in certain countries, also the colored and migrants” (Moura, 1986). These workers are more likely to be in a higher risk of poverty, non-regulated working conditions and lacking safety at work. That affects the worker’s wellbeing and living standards (Burgess and Connell, 2015).

Pollert’s (2008) studies show us that the young people, women, ethnic minorities, private-sector workers, small business workers, hospitality sector workers and distribution sector workers are the groups with higher vulnerability at work. That is to say, the existence of a pattern between vulnerability at work and the groups mentioned above is clear, whether it is caused by the lack of work experience (in the case of young people), the lack of skills (in the case of migrants) or by the stigma associated to gender, age or disability (Pollert, 2008).

Migrants are, in particular, one of the groups with high probability to be in a disadvantageous position in the labour market. Borjas (1994) and Esser (1999) explain why: in the first place, the differences of nationality have consequences in the level of education – usually, migrants have poorer levels of education compared to the locals, especially migrants coming from the developing countries to the developed countries –; secondly, the linguistic proficiency and cultural know-how tend to be country-specific and its efficiency usually depends on the social background. Therefore, migrants end up filling vacant jobs that are typically rejected by the locals (Piore, 1979). These jobs are characterized by low-skilled workers, low wages, bad working conditions, insecurity and uncertainty regarding career progression, and also imply lower social status. Piore (1979) concludes that these jobs are located in the secondary sector of a dual labour market, where the primary sector seems to be reserved only to locals.

The key factors that have an influence on the newcomers’ employment status, career development and income level are the command of the native language, recognition of foreign certifications, level and type of education, work experience, length of residence in the country

of arrival, age and gender (Hein, 1993; Haines, 1996; Pendakur and Pendakur, 1997). The most common problem that refugees face in their “employment adjustment process” is the recognition of foreign certifications. In cases that those documents were lost or the refugees simply did not bring them, the process can take even longer. The alternative to this bureaucratic process ends up being their immediate social networks (Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1990; Portes, 1998). These networks are usually family members, service providers, sponsors or ethnic-group members (Lamba, 2003). Despite the existence of network support, refugees may still be in disadvantage in case they lack employable skills and their upward mobility might also be compromised if they remain within co-ethnic group businesses (Lamba, 2003).

Through studies made in the German labour market, Kogan (2004) shows that unemployed migrants keep themselves socially marginalized even when they find a job. In addition, they are constantly directed to low-skilled jobs.

## **1.2. Job Quality**

### **1.2.1. Lacking consensual definition**

Green (2006) and Warr (1990) define job quality as “the extent to which a job has work and employment-related factors that foster beneficial outcomes for the employee, particularly, psychological well-being, physical well-being and positive attitudes such as job satisfaction”.

Job quality cannot be seen as an independent factor, but a way to understand how the working experience affects well-being (Cazes et. al, 2015). According to Kallerberg and Vaisey (2005), job quality has a tremendous impact on the psychological, social and economic well-being of the individual. Moreover, Zelenski et. al (2008) e Buhai et. al (2008) demonstrate that there is a correlation between job quality and productivity.

Even though it is a recurrent topic in economic and social analyses, there is still no consensus on the definition of job quality (Findlay et. al, 2013). This happens because the definition of job quality at the individual level is subjective and it has to do with occupation, location and industry (Burgess and Connell, 2008), which makes the individuals value their job attributes according to factors like economic background, social environment and personal and professional expectations (Cooke et. al, 2013; Kalleberg, 1977; Rosenthal, 1989). And all these factors can change for the same individual when his own evaluation of job quality evolves over time (Clark, 2001; Dupré and Day, 2007; Mitchell et. al, 2001)

The job quality thematic has been one of the targets of the European Union, regarding its employment strategies (Kauhanen e Nätti, 2015). The European Commission recognizes that there are challenges that question the existence of job quality. These challenges are

consequences of the globalization phenomenon intensification, the increased competitiveness, the technological change acceleration and the ageing workforce. The labour market finds it difficult to adapt to the changing environment: permanent contracts have been replaced by new ways of recruitment, which are more atypical and flexible, such as part-time and temporary jobs (European Commission, 2009).

### **1.2.2. Job quality indicators**

Job quality also faces a major challenge, which is the constant difficulty in reaching a consensual definition of the criteria and indicators to its measurement (Kauhanen e Nätti, 2015).

Job quality measurement varies across different studies and authors. Some studies measure job quality through only one variable, which can be objective (Kalleberg et. al, 2000; Loveman and Tilly, 1988) or subjective (Nagy, 2002; Skalli et. al, 2008); some studies measure job quality through several constitutive measures, like a multifaceted approach (Erhel and Guergoat-Larivière, 2010).

Muñoz de Bustillo et. al (2011) defend that job quality is necessarily a multidimensional concept, because we can only assess a “good job” through the sum of multiple aspects that affect both the employment relation and the work itself.

Given the variety of proposals to measure job quality, we decided to follow the authors that fit our aim, notably Kalleberg and Holman.

Kalleberg (2011) suggests, in his book, the following job quality indicators:

- Economic dimensions of work
  - Earnings
  - Fringe benefits
- Control over work
  - Autonomy and control over work activity
  - Participation in the decision-making in the workplace
  - Intrinsic rewards
- Overall job satisfaction

Holman (2013) suggests the following job quality indicators:

- Work organisation
  - Job resources
  - Job demands
- Wage and payment system

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- Skills and development
- Security and flexibility
- Engagement and representation
- Well-being

## 2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. Data

The City Council of Frankfurt made available for this research the official data concerning the number of refugees living in the city. These numbers can be consulted below, in the Table 1.

Table 1: Refugees in Frankfurt - Official numbers

<b>Date of reference</b>	24 <sup>th</sup> July 2017
<b>Number of adult refugees</b>	4.678
<b>Number of minor and unaccompanied refugees</b>	481
<b>Percentage of men</b>	2/3
<b>Percentage of women</b>	1/3

Source: <http://fluechtlinge-frankfurt.de/aktuelle-zahlen/>

Table 2: Refugees in Frankfurt – Countries of origin

<b>Afghanistan</b>	32%
<b>Syria</b>	22%
<b>Eritrea</b>	18%
<b>Iran</b>	7%
<b>Iraq</b>	6%
<b>Others</b>	15%

Source: <http://fluechtlinge-frankfurt.de/aktuelle-zahlen/>

The sample of interviewees consists of a total of 10 refugees, whose socio-demographic characteristics can be consulted below, in the Table 3.

A large proportion of the participants are male (9), against only 1 female participation. The average age is 28,7 years old, being the younger 22 years old and the eldest 36 years old. The range of countries of origin is wide, giving the fact that 2 refugees come from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Iran. The country with bigger sample is Syria (3) and the country with smaller sample is

Afghanistan (1). Regarding qualifications, the majority has a bachelor degree (7), 1 has a master degree and 2 only attended high school.

When asked about their social class and financial availability back in their home country, most of the participants answered that they were inserted in middle class and had a comfortable life, although the money was not enough to start a new life in Germany (*“I had a good life and very good income, but of course not enough to start my life in Germany.”*).

When compared the job in the country of origin and the job in the country of arrival, the results are very interesting, since the majority kept working in the same field. Also, the results show that the majority of the participants who kept working in the same field, are working in the IT sector.



Table 3: Characterization of the sample

	<b>Refugee</b>	<b>R1</b>	<b>R2</b>	<b>R3</b>	<b>R4</b>	<b>R5</b>
<b>Socio-demographic characteristics</b>	<b>Gender</b>	M	M	M	M	F
	<b>Age</b>	26	33	30	28	29
	<b>Education</b>	Bachelor degree	Master degree	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree
	<b>Country of origin</b>	Eritrea	Ethiopia	Ethiopia	Syria	Iran
	<b>Social class and financial availability in the country of origin</b>	Middle class. Had to borrow money from friends who live abroad to pay for the journey. <i>"I payed more than 6.000€."</i>	High middle class.	Middle class. Had own financial resources to travel to Germany.	Middle class. Had own financial resources to travel to Germany and borrowed a small part from his father. <i>"It cost me around 10.000 dollars."</i>	<i>"I had a good life and very good income, but of course not enough to start my life in Germany."</i>
	<b>Job in the country of origin</b>	Teacher. <i>"I was working as a teacher, but I consider it slavery, because (...) I was forced by the government (...)."</i>	Had 2 jobs: university teacher and consultant. <i>"(...) I evaluate my job status in Ethiopia as well respected. The conditions, payment and working environment were very attractive."</i>	Worked in the department of import/export tariffs system, in the sector of international trade. <i>"I was very happy with this job (...)"</i>	Had his own business in the IT sector.	Worked 5 years in the Human Resources department of an oil company.
	<b>Job in country of arrival</b>	Academic researcher	Academic researcher	Risk analyst (Banking)	Business analyst (IT)	Recruiter (IT)
<b>Socio-demographic characteristics</b>	<b>Refugee</b>	<b>R6</b>	<b>R7</b>	<b>R8</b>	<b>R9</b>	<b>R10</b>
	<b>Gender</b>	M	M	M	M	M
	<b>Age</b>	22	36	31	26	26
	<b>Education</b>	High school	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree	High school	Bachelor degree
	<b>Country of origin</b>	Eritrea	Syria	Iran	Syria	Afghanistan
	<b>Social class and financial availability in the country of origin</b>	Because he was a student, didn't have own financial resources.	NA	<i>"I had a good life and enjoyed my time in my country with my family."</i>	NA	Had no financial resources.
	<b>Job in the country of origin</b>	Didn't have a job, was a student.	Worked in the Banking sector.	Transportation sector, in charge of a 200-member division. <i>"I was happy with my work life."</i>	Department of accounting and IT service in the industry of Power Supply.	Web designer.
	<b>Job in country of arrival</b>	System integrator (IT)	Financial accountant (Energy)	Chemical engineer (Cosmetics)	System integrator (IT)	System integrator (IT)

## **2.2. Methodology**

A qualitative research method was used for this research work.

According to Iacono et. al (2009), qualitative methods, such as study case, are the most appropriate methods to study social and cultural phenomena, namely the situations in which the study phenomenon cannot be separated from the context where it is located. The author defines study case as a research strategy that focuses on the phenomenon comprehension inside its natural context (Iacono et. al., 2009).

Study cases depend on different research sources and data collection techniques that Yin (1994) details: documents, records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and objects. Bearing in mind that this research work was developed within the framework of refugees' labour activity in Germany, the information collection was made through three main techniques: participant observation, interviews and data collection/analysis.

Through participant observation, the researcher has access to a unique perspective of the study organization or social group (Iacono et. al, 2009). In this regard, the researcher should spend a considerable amount of time on the field and analyse the study phenomenon from within its social and cultural context. In other words, the researcher should become a part of the study group, in order to understand it in its entirety (Myers, 1999).

Zelditch (1962) considers that participant observation depends on three methods: 1) participant observation; 2) informative interviews; 3) data analysis/collection. Whyte (1979) adds that participant observation should be completed by other research methods, namely interviews, because these will allow to add knowledge to the observation study.

Considering that the study population gathers the two characteristics defined by Heckathorn (1997) that determine a "hidden population" – 1) does not have a sampling frame; 2) has higher concern levels regarding their privacy –, it was used the "snowball sampling" method. This was considered by Goodman (1961) one of the best techniques to get information from this kind of population. It is done in the following way: a first sample picked randomly provides contacts of other individuals that fit in the same category as the first ones. The researcher approaches these individuals, and the ones who accept to participate in the research must provide additional contacts. The researcher can continue this process for as much stages as he wants. The obtained data will provide statistical assumptions about the study aspect, which is common to the study population (Goodman, 1961).

For this research project, individual and anonymous interviews were conducted to refugees, companies' representatives and public administration representatives, in order to gather their perception about the refugees' insertion and experience in the labour market.

A first approach was made to organizations that help refugees. E-mails were sent presenting this research project, its main goal and asking for help in contacting refugees that could be interested in participating in the interviews. 18 organizations in total were contacted: 8 did not answer back, 8 answered back but could not help, 2 answered positively. These 2 organizations provided the contact of 3 refugees that were willing to participate in the interviews.

Another approach was made to companies that are known for being engaged in the integration of refugees in the labour market. E-mails were sent presenting this research project, its main goal and asking for help in contacting refugees that could be interested in participating in the interviews and companies' representatives that might be interested in sharing their experience in hiring and working alongside refugees. 45 companies in total were contacted: 18 did not answer back, 18 answered back but could not help, 6 answered back but were only interested in sharing general information about what the company was doing to help the refugee crisis, 3 answered positively. These 3 companies provided the contact of 5 refugees that were willing to participate in the interviews and 3 companies' representatives that were willing to share the employers' point of view.

An approach to the public services was made, in order to gather the perception of the public servants whose job is to help refugees integrating in the society. An e-mail was sent to the City Council and to the Employment Agency. Both services answered positively and interviews were scheduled with representatives from each public service.

The "snowball sampling" method was not very effective, since only 2 refugees provided the contact of one more refugee each.

In total, 10 Refugees, 3 Companies' Representatives, 1 City Council representative and 1 Employment Agent for Refugees were interviewed.

### 3. THE RESULTS (EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE)

#### 3.1. Job quality of refugees

##### 3.1.1. Objective approach

##### 3.1.1.1. Standard

From the interviewed sample, the cases R4 and R5 are in a standard-like situation when it comes to their contract situation. This means that both are in a permanent contract situation.

From what was observed, both cases are similar because their job conditions are in accordance with one another. Both work in the same field – Information Technology – and both earn more than the minimum wage. Regarding the schedule, both work full-time for 40h/week from Monday to Friday and have 30 days/year of vacation time. R4 and R5 are also entitled to health insurance and pension coverage.

From what concerns their personal details, both differ in gender, being one a male and another a female. Their country of origin also diverges, being one from Syria and another one from Iran. The aspects in common are the age range, since R4 is 28 years old and R5 is 29 years old, and their education, since both have a Bachelor degree.

Table 4: Standard-like situation

<b>Type of contract</b>		<b>Permanent</b>	
<b>Refugee</b>		<b>R4</b>	<b>R5</b>
<b>Job info</b>	<b>Activity sector</b>	Information Technology	Information Technology
	<b>Wage</b>	More than minimum wage	More than minimum wage
	<b>Schedule</b>	Full time, fixed schedule 40h/week, Monday-Friday 30 days/year vacation time	Full time, NA 40h/week, Monday-Friday 30 days/year vacation time
	<b>Health insurance</b>	Yes	Yes
	<b>Pension coverage</b>	Yes	Yes
	<b>Other economic rewards</b>	Sick leave, paid vacations, profit sharing, hotel stays, leisure activities, lunch allowance, work from home	Work phone, lunch allowance, sick leave, paid vacations, hotel stays, work travelling expenses
<b>Profile</b>	<b>Gender</b>	M	F
	<b>Age</b>	28	29
	<b>Education</b>	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree
	<b>Country of origin</b>	Syria	Iran

### **3.1.1.2. Non-standard**

From the interviewed sample, the cases R2, R6, R7, R9 and R10 are in a non-standard-like situation when it comes to their contract situation. This means that these 5 cases are in a fixed-term contract situation.

As observed before, the activity sector of Information Technology is, again, the field where the majority of the cases are reported working in (R6, R9 and R10). Cases R2 and R7 work in the areas of Academy and Energy, respectively. In this observation, we had the duration of the contract and the possibility of contracting/renewal when the current contract finished. The duration of the contracts go from a very short period (1 month) until a very long period (3 years). Regarding the possibility of contracting/renewal, 4 of the observed cases said “Yes”, against 1 that said “No”. All the observed cases earn either “Less than the minimum wage” (R6, R9 and R10) or “More than the minimum wage” (R2 and R7). The schedule conditions are equal for cases R6, R9 and R10, since they all work full time for 38h/week from Monday to Friday, have a fixed schedule and are entitled to 30 days/year of vacation time. For cases R2 and R7, their schedule conditions also differ from one another: R2 works part time while R7 works full time; R2 has a flexible schedule while R7 has a fixed schedule; R2 works 20h/week and R7 works 38h/week; R2 also works on weekends while R7 works from Monday to Friday; R2 is not entitled to vacation time while R7 is entitled to 28 days/year of vacation time. In all the observations, refugees are entitled to health insurance and have pension coverage. Regarding the existence of other economic rewards, cases R6, R9 and R10 only have paid vacations, R2 has flexible schedule and R7 has both paid vacations and flexible schedule.

All the profiles observed are male, being the youngest 22 years old and the oldest 36 years old. The average age of 5 cases is 28,6 years old. R2 is the most qualified, with a Master degree, followed by R7 and R10, with Bachelor degree, and, finally, R6 and R9 are the least qualified, with only a High-school degree. The countries of origin also differ in most of the cases: R7 and R9 come from Syria, R2 comes from Ethiopia, R6 comes from Eritrea and R10 comes from Afghanistan.

Table 5: Non-standard-like situation

<b>Type of contract</b>		<b>Fixed-term</b>				
<b>Refugee</b>	<b>R2</b>	<b>R6</b>	<b>R7</b>	<b>R9</b>	<b>R10</b>	
<b>Job info</b>	<b>Activity sector</b>	Academy	Information Technology	Energy	Information Technology	Information Technology
	<b>Duration</b>	1 month	3 years	1 year	3 years	3 years
	<b>Possibility of contracting/renewal</b>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	<b>Wage</b>	More than minimum wage	Less than minimum wage	More than minimum wage	Less than minimum wage	Less than minimum wage
	<b>Schedule</b>	Part time, flexible schedule 20h/week, work on weekends No vacation time	Full time, fixed schedule 38h/week, Monday-Friday 30 days/year vacation time	Full time, flexible schedule 38h/week, Monday-Friday 28 days/year vacation time	Full time, fixed schedule 38h/week, Monday-Friday 30 days/year vacation time	Full time, fixed schedule 38h/week, Monday-Friday 30 days/year vacation time
	<b>Health insurance</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	<b>Pension coverage</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	<b>Other economic rewards</b>	Flexible schedule	Paid vacations	Flexible schedule, paid vacations	Paid vacations	Paid vacations
	<b>Profile</b>	<b>Gender</b>	M	M	M	M
<b>Age</b>		33	22	36	26	26
<b>Education</b>		Master degree	High school	Bachelor degree	High school	Bachelor degree
<b>Country of origin</b>		Ethiopia	Eritrea	Syria	Syria	Afghanistan

### 3.1.1.3. Internship

From the interviewed sample, the cases R1, R3 and R8 are in an internship situation.

The activity sector differs in all three cases: R1 works in the Academic field, R3 works in the Banking field and R8 works in the Chemistry field. In general, the duration of the three internships is short: the shortest is 2 months (R3) and the longest is 3 months (R1 and R8). Both R3 and R8 have the possibility of contracting/renewal, whilst R1 doesn't. Both R3 and R8 earn the minimum wage, whilst R1 is unpaid. The schedule does not differ much from case to case: all three situations work full time; R1 and R3 have a fixed schedule whilst for R8 we don't have this information available; R3 and R8 work 40h/week from Monday to Friday whilst R1 works 38h/week from Monday to Friday; R1 and R3 are not entitled to vacation time whilst for R8 we don't have this information available. In all cases health insurance is provided. Only R8 is entitled to pension coverage, whilst R1 and R3 are not. Regarding the existence of other economic rewards, both R3 and R8 have lunch allowance, whilst R1 only has a student discount for lunch; R1 and R3 have paid public transportation; R1 has a language course and R8 is entitled to sick leave.

In terms of profile characteristics, all the observed cases are male and in the age range from 26 to 31. The three are equal in terms of qualifications, giving the fact that they all have a Bachelor degree. The country of origin differs in every case: R1 is from Eritrea, R3 is from Ethiopia and R8 is from Iran.

Table 6: Internship situation

<b>Type of contract</b>		<b>Internship</b>		
<b>Refugee</b>	<b>R1</b>	<b>R3</b>	<b>R8</b>	
<b>Job info</b>	<b>Activity sector</b>	Academy	Banking	Chemistry
	<b>Duration</b>	3 months	2 months	3 months
	<b>Possibility of contracting/renewal</b>	No	Yes	Yes
	<b>Wage</b>	Unpaid	Minimum wage	Minimum wage
	<b>Schedule</b>	Full time, fixed schedule 38h/week, Monday-Friday no vacation time	Full time, fixed schedule 40h/week, Monday-Friday no vacation time	Full time, NA 40h/week, Monday-Friday NA
	<b>Health insurance</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
	<b>Pension coverage</b>	No	No	Yes
	<b>Other economic rewards</b>	Paid public transportation, student discount for lunch, language course	Paid public transportation, lunch allowance	Sick leave, lunch allowance
<b>Profile</b>	<b>Gender</b>	M	M	M
	<b>Age</b>	26	30	31
	<b>Education</b>	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree	Bachelor degree
	<b>Country of origin</b>	Eritrea	Ethiopia	Iran

### **3.1.2. Subjective approach**

Besides the interview, a questionnaire was completed by the participant refugees. This questionnaire's aim was to measure the subjective perception that the refugees have towards their own integration in the labour market. This measurement was based on the definition of job quality indicators that we found to be more suitable and complete, in order to get the refugees' full perception and prevent from ignoring important aspects.

The indicators mentioned that we consider relevant and adequate for this measurement were already defined above on the section "1.2.2 Job Quality Indicators".

It was used a 5-number measurement, where the number 1 equals to "Strongly disagree", the number 2 equals to "Disagree", the number 3 equals to "Undecided", the number 4 equals to "Agree" and the number 5 equals to "Strongly Agree".

Inside every category, there were a number of questions towards the participant would characterize his accordance/discordance by answering through the measurement explained above. I will now list below the results obtained.

For the category "Skills development", questions were made regarding the skills development, use of abilities, opportunities to learn and training/assistance provided at work. The results vary from 4 to 5, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed agree mostly about having good skills development conditions at work.

For the category "Autonomy at work", questions were made regarding the freedom to decide what to do and how to do their job. The majority of results vary from 4 to 5, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed agree mostly about having autonomy at work. However, one participant answered "Strongly Disagree", which indicates a single pattern deviation.

For the category "Participation in the decision-making", questions were made regarding the perception about feeling consulted and having their opinion into account at work. The majority of results vary from 4 to 5, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed agree mostly about feeling consulted at work. However, one participant answered "Disagree", which indicates a single pattern deviation.

For the category "Work intensity", questions were made regarding the work demand, speed and intensity and the possibility to take time off work for personal/family reasons. The majority of results vary from 2 to 4, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed are only slightly happy about their work intensity.

For the category "Social environment", questions were made regarding the perception about feeling integrated, equal, respected and relevant at work and the existence/inexistence of social



interaction with work colleagues. The majority of results vary from 4 to 5, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed agree mostly about having a good social environment at work.

For the category “Physical and psychological environment”, questions were made regarding the physical/psychological demand and environment. The majority of results vary from 2 to 3, which indicates us that the refugees interviewed are not that happy about the physical and psychological environment at work.

For the category “Job prospects”, questions were made regarding the possibility of having the same job in 6 months and of finding easily a new job. The results vary from 1 to 5 and indicates us that one half of the refugees interviewed do not agree that those situations would happen and the other half agrees that those situations would happen.

Table 7: Subjective approach measurement

	<b>R1</b>	<b>R2</b>	<b>R3</b>	<b>R4</b>	<b>R5</b>	<b>R6</b>	<b>R7</b>	<b>R8</b>	<b>R9</b>	<b>R10</b>
<b>Skills development</b>	5	4	4,2	4,2	5	4,6	NA	NA	NA	4,4
<b>Autonomy at work</b>	5	4	1	3	5	4	NA	NA	NA	5
<b>Participation in the decision-making</b>	5	4	2	3,5	5	4	NA	NA	NA	4
<b>Work intensity</b>	3,5	3,5	2,5	4,25	4	2,5	NA	NA	NA	2,75
<b>Social environment</b>	5	3,6	4,6	3,6	5	4	NA	NA	NA	4
<b>Physical and psychological environment</b>	3	2,6	3,4	3,6	3,4	3,2	NA	NA	NA	3
<b>Job prospects</b>	2	1	1	5	4	3	NA	NA	NA	4

Regarding the refugees' subjective perceptions, other questions were added in the interview that concern, in particular, the impression on the treatment that they get from employers and work colleagues, on eventual discrimination attitudes directed at them at work and the overall satisfaction on their job experience.

First, participants were asked to share their perception on the treatment that they get from employers. In most cases, the answers indicate that there is good treatment from employers, that they are kind, helpful and friendly towards their refugee workers and that most companies have open-minded and anti-discrimination working cultures. Nevertheless, 3 participants shared different perceptions from the majority, which we consider valid and relevant to report in particular. R1 stated that *"There are employers who want the refugees to integrate but there other who don't. I would say it's 50/50."*; R2 addressed to the fact that *"They hire refugees from a moral perspective and not from a professional perspective."*; and R4 mentioned that big companies tend to have an open-minded and anti-discrimination working culture, although that does not happen in small companies, small shops or restaurants.

Second, participants were asked to share their perception on the treatment that they get from work colleagues. In the majority of the cases, the answers indicate that there is good treatment from work colleagues, that they are friendly and helpful, that the participants feel equal and respected towards their fellow workers and that the fact that Frankfurt is a multicultural city, that has positive consequences also on the working environment. However, 1 participant shared a different perception from the majority, which consists on the fact that, at the beginning, he felt like his work colleagues did not take him serious and thought he wasn't as good as them, which made him feel like he had to prove himself and work harder to gain their respect as an equal co-worker.

Third, participants were asked to share their experience regarding eventual discrimination situations or cultural clashes at work. In the majority of the cases, the answers indicate that the work environment is good and friendly and many reported that had never encountered any discrimination situation. 2 participants shared a different perception from the majority, even though they are general perceptions and not specific personal situations: R2 stated that *"(...) there is discrimination in the fact that (...) the good jobs are, first, for Germans, second, for Europeans, and last, for the others."*; and R4 mentioned that, although he never faced a discrimination situation, he is aware that there are many, especially during the year of 2016, after the media started "demonizing" the refugees.

Finally, participants were asked to share their overall satisfaction about their professional situation. In the majority of the cases, the answers indicate that the participants are happy and

satisfied, considering that their current working experience is a good opportunity that will bring positive outcomes in the future. Only 1 participants shared a different perception from the majority, by saying that he is not that satisfied because of the lack of opportunities, training and integration.

In general, all the answers given by the participants were very similar and indicates us that there are no discrimination situations in the working environment.

Table 8: Refugees' perception on social treatment at work

	Treatment from employers	Treatment from work colleagues	Cultural clash/ divide/discrimination	Overall satisfaction
R1	<i>“There are employers who want the refugees to integrate but there other who don't. I would say it's 50/50.”</i>	Good treatment, because Frankfurt is a multicultural city and many work colleagues are foreigners too.	Good and friendly environment at work. <i>“I haven't had that kind of experience at work.”</i>	Very satisfied because of the benefits this experience will bring him in the future. <i>“(...) I'm satisfied with the quality aspects and the treatment from people that are teaching and helping me. They are friendly. They are always ready to help in whatever difficulty I face.”</i>
R2	<i>“They hire refugees from a moral perspective and not from a professional perspective.”</i>	<i>“(...) the people who work with you are always friendly and ready to help.”</i>	<i>“(...) there is discrimination in the fact that (...) the good jobs are, first, for Germans, second, for Europeans, and last, for the others. For me that is discrimination. The other aspects you mentioned, like discrimination based on origin or race, I don't think it exists.”</i>	Not so satisfied, due to lack of opportunities, training and integration.
R3	<i>“Everyone was always very friendly and kind to me.”</i>	<i>“I always felt equal towards the rest of the workers.”</i>	<i>“I never felt discriminated.”</i>	<i>“This job is interesting for me and a very good opportunity.”</i>
R4	Big companies tend to have an open-minded and anti-discrimination working culture. In small companies, small shops or restaurants, things are different.	In the beginning, felt like his work colleagues didn't take him serious and thought he wasn't as good as them. Feels he had to prove himself and work harder to gain their respect as an equal co-worker.	Never faced a discrimination situation, but he's aware that there are many, especially during the year of 2016, after the media started "demonizing" the refugees.	He's aware that he could have never achieved in Syria what he achieved in Germany so far, and that makes him very satisfied. He also considers his situation a huge success for someone with a refugee background.
R5	Never felt discriminated.	<i>“Colleagues are always so kind and very much supportive.”</i>	Never felt discriminated.	<i>“I love my job and the environment I am working in. I'm very satisfied.”</i>
R6	Feels respected in the workplace.		<i>“I haven't encountered any sort of discrimination in my workplace so I can't speak about any sort of discomfort I personally faced (...).”</i>	<i>“(...) I am very satisfied with (...) my current position and appreciate the work environment which encourages people to develop their skills and help people get integrated (...).”</i>
R7	Feels accepted by his boss.	Likes the atmosphere in the company.	Never felt discriminated.	NA
R8	<i>“We are not treated differently because of religion, gender and dressing.”</i>	<i>“Colleagues are nice and respect my beliefs.”</i>	Never felt discriminated.	NA
R9	<i>“(...) they are very friendly (...).”</i>		<i>“(...) I have not experienced anything like that.”</i>	NA
R10	Everyone is fair and helpful. Feels no difference of treatment from employers or work colleagues.		Never felt discriminated.	NA

## **3.2. The perspectives on refugees' labour market integration**

### **3.2.1. Refugees**

On the interview, questions were made concerning the refugees' perception regarding the country of arrival.

The first questions concerns their opinion on how they consider the integration in the labour market as a key to the integration in the society. The majority agrees on that fact, considering that the integration in the labour market puts them in contact with the society through working alongside locals and improves their language skills. Not only does that, but also gives them the possibility to be independent from the State and improve their self-esteem.

The second question concerns their experience on finding a job and asks them if they had any help in that matter. Their answers indicate us that the main ways to find a job are through refugees' organizations and social networking, followed by the Job Centre support and searching by themselves.

The third question asks them if they had the chance to receive any kind of training at their arrival. All the participants reported attending language classes, differing only the organizer institution: the majority had language classes provided by government programs, some learned the language by themselves on the Internet and through talking to locals, and a minority had classes provided by refugees' organizations.

The fourth question concerns their opinion on job prospects for refugees. The majority of the participants mentioned that there is a difference when it comes to having good or bad job prospects, based on the age and qualifications. According to them, the older generations will find it harder and can only get low-skilled jobs, because of their lack of qualifications and the fact that they cannot start over and go back to school. The younger generation, if trained properly, can be very productive and contribute to the State. The ones with low-qualifications will only have available for them low-skilled and low-paid, whilst high-skilled refugees can have very good job prospects. Another decisive factor mentioned, is the fact that learning the language is the very first step to have any chance in the country.

The fifth question concerns their opinion on the existence or inexistence of differentiation between men and women in the labour market. The answers were quite similar, since everyone stated that they see no differentiation between men and women in the labour market.

The sixth question concerns their opinion on what they think is the position of the refugees in the labour market. The answers followed the same pattern as the answers provided in the fourth question: the most important thing is to learn the language so that the refugees can have

an opportunity in the labour market, and the differentiation between low-skilled and high-skilled refugees.

The seventh question concerns their opinion on refugees' working conditions and job quality. The majority of the participants stated that, in general, working conditions are good because the labour law is very strict and it protects everyone, either they are locals or migrants. The exception is the ones who work in the black market, where they are exploited, underpaid and over pressured.

Table 9: The perspective of refugees on refugees' labour market integration

	Refugee	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
Perception regarding the country of arrival	<b>Integration in the society through integration in the labour market</b>	Work = integration due to the contact with German culture, language and people. Also, allows him to be independent from the State.	The best way of integration is through the labour market, because the refugee becomes self-sufficient and it improves his self-esteem.	By getting a job and being integrated in the labour market, refugees are also integrating in the German society.	By getting a job and establishing a life in Germany, less are the chances of being deported after the 3-year residence permit period. It's all about learning the language, getting a job and settling in. The faster they do it, the easier their life will be.	The faster a refugee learns the German language and culture, the faster he will find his way.
	<b>Help in searching for a job</b>	Had help from an academic program for highly qualified refugees.	Refugees organizations are not that helpful. <i>"(...) they want a list of «costumers» so they can apply for funds. I've contacted roughly 20 organizations and I got the help from 2."</i>	None. Found a job by himself on the internet. <i>"The Job Centre didn't help me much."</i>	Got help from Red Cross. Problems faced while searching for a job: 1) waiting for the residence permit; 2) waiting for the certificates conversion; 3) got no help from official institutions with the verification of the CV and the application documents.	Got help from the Job Centre and from German friends.
	<b>Available training for refugees</b>	Had language classes provided by the Government and by an academic program.	Had language classes provided by voluntary teachers and by an academic program.	None. Learned the language by himself on the internet and by talking to German people.	None. Learned the language by himself on the internet and by talking to German people.	Had language classes provided by the government and taught by voluntary teachers.
	<b>Job prospects for refugees</b>	Refugees have high expectation, but the reality is very different. <i>"Since Germany is an economically advanced country, they expect to have work and be integrated into the society."</i> It's harder for non-qualified refugees to get a job. Most of the jobs available are in the cleaning or restaurant sector, without good conditions. <i>"They only accept it because they want to work."</i>	Believes that in the future things will be better for refugees because of the "payback period".	<i>"Most of the refugees are very young people and if they trained properly for a few months, they can be very productive and contribute to the German State."</i>	For highly skilled refugees, the chances of finding a job are very good. For low skilled refugees, it's a challenge: usually only get the physical jobs and have low wages.	Despite the education level of each refugee, it's decisive to learn the language in order to find a job easier.
	<b>Differentiation between men and women</b>	No distinction. Both genders face the same problems.	German policies are very favourable to women because of the influence of feminist schools.	Sees no differentiation.	Women are the real victims here: not only they have to follow conservative ideals imposed by their family which prevents them from integrating in the German society, but also when the recruiters discriminate them based on those same ideals.	Sees no differentiation.
	<b>Position of the refugees in the labour market</b>	Refugees are facing many problems: 1) language adaptation; 2) technology gap between	<i>"(...) the most important is not your academic qualifications, but your language skills. (...) whatever</i>	Most of the refugees are not highly educated, so they can only get low-skilled jobs.	The refugees' generation between 20 and 30 years old will be the next workforce in Germany, because they	It's not easy to find a job without knowing the German language.

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	Germany and country of origin; 3) lack of work experience; 4) process of certifications conversion takes too long; 5) non-correspondence of education levels between Germany and country of origin.	<i>qualifications you have, if you don't speak German, it's not easy to find a job. Not speaking German is the main obstacle to enter the German labour market.</i>	The language is the main obstacle. In general, it's difficult for refugees to get a job.	have the chance to study in university and learn about a new job. Older people, between 35 and 45 years old, will be the most affected generation because they won't be able to start from zero and learn again.		
<b>Working conditions and job quality</b>	Job quality is all about getting the job they look for. <i>"Most of the refugees (...) don't get the opportunity that they desire. But if they get that opportunity, then they're satisfied."</i>	German law is very protective of the employee. Every employer should meet job quality standards, such as paying for health insurance and the minimum wage. <i>"Exploitation is not common and the work environment is good."</i>	NA	<i>"(...) in general, refugees are underpaid and over pressured, in particular the ones working in the black market."</i>	The working conditions are very good due to the strict labour laws that protect the employees.	
<b>Perception regarding the country of arrival</b>	<b>Refugee</b>	<b>R6</b>	<b>R7</b>	<b>R8</b>	<b>R9</b>	<b>R10</b>
	<b>Integration in the society through integration in the labour market</b>	NA	NA	NA	German society is ready to help refugees, but there will always be people going the wrong path.	<i>"Integration is the main way to avoid social conflicts."</i>
	<b>Help in searching for a job</b>	Not having the residence permit was an obstacle in finding a job. Also networking with employers, due to the language barrier.	Had help from a refugees' organization.	Got help from the Job Centre and from German friends.	Got help from his social network.	Had help from a refugees' organization.
	<b>Available training for refugees</b>	Had language classes provided by the government.	Had language classes provided by the government.	Had language classes provided by the government and taught by voluntary teachers.	Had language classes provided by refugees' organizations and through social networking.	Learned the German language by himself.
	<b>Job prospects for refugees</b>	NA	NA	It's all about learning the German language.	<i>"I think that we have the same chance as the German people."</i>	<i>"(...) there are enough prospects for refugees."</i>
	<b>Differentiation between men and women</b>	NA	Sees no differentiation.	Sees no differentiation.	NA	Sees no differentiation.
	<b>Position of the refugees in the labour market</b>	<i>"The German labour market has working opportunities, but the educational requirements and acceptance rate of external certificates are relatively low. The refugees have to be prepared, regardless of their prior experience."</i>	It is very difficult.	Every refugee can find a job with the help of the government or through friends, although it gets harder if he doesn't know the German language.	Refugees are well integrated in the labour market and in the education system.	NA
	<b>Working conditions and job quality</b>	The working conditions are the same for everyone, there's no differentiation between German people and refugees.	The conditions are, in general, very good. Except for the wage, that is a bit low.	Working conditions are set according to the labour law and the law is equal for everyone.	Depends on the job that the refugee has.	<i>"All employed refugees can achieve good working conditions."</i>



### **3.2.2. Social actors**

#### **3.2.2.1. Employers**

Within the social actors framework, companies' representatives were interviewed in order to obtain the opinion of employers on refugees' labour market integration. Representatives from 3 companies were interviewed, being 2 of those 3 companies operating in the IT sector and 1 operates in the energy sector. Companies are represented by C1, C2 and C3.

When asked about the levels of education of refugees regarding their countries of origin, the patterned answer was the mention of Syrian people being, usually, very prepared and highly qualified.

Regarding the employers' mindset on hiring refugees, the answers indicate clearly that this was not an undesirable situation and the wave of refugees was well-accepted. When it comes to the work colleagues' mindset on working alongside refugees, the answers are quite similar since the workers are, in general, open minded and used to working alongside people from different countries.

Participants pointed out the fact that there is no differentiation between locals and refugees regarding the labour law, giving the fact that the conditions are the same for everyone. The noticeable differences are the working culture and the higher need for assistance on the job and language.

Table 10: The perspective of employers on refugees' labour market integration

Company	C1	C2	C3
<b>Levels of education regarding countries of origin</b>	<i>"We see that the qualification level of people from Syria and Iraq are fairly comparable to the German qualification level. (...) When it comes to Afghanistan and Eritrea, we see a big gap regarding education, when compared to Germany."</i>	<i>"People from Syria are usually highly educated. Afghanistan too. Other countries in Africa are a bit worst."</i>	<i>"It's always difficult to generalize something. We have many really well qualified applicants, but we also have "IT-engineers" that do not know MS office and all they have done so far is installing printers."</i>
<b>Treatment from employers</b>	Since the beginning, the working culture adopted was to welcome and help the refugees.	Administration was happy with the idea of a refugee program, because the IT sector needs specialized people and it's very difficult to fill in the hundreds of job openings.	<i>"Our company is international and for us it is normal to work alongside people with different cultures."</i>
<b>Treatment from work colleagues</b>	The working culture is that, no matter what political issue there is, people must accept working alongside each other. Most of the employees are engaged in initiatives to help the integration of refugees.	A minority didn't agree, because they're people who are not that specialized and were afraid that they could lose their jobs. But the majority is open-minded and welcoming.	
<b>Working conditions and job quality</b>	There is no differentiation between refugees and other employees when it comes to their working conditions.	The rule is equal pay, so the conditions are the same for everyone.	<i>"Refugees have the same working conditions as every other employee."</i>
<b>Differentiation between men and women</b>	<i>"We would like to have more women applying but the reality is that more than 80% of the refugees who arrived in Germany during the last 2 years are men."</i>	NA	NA
<b>Differentiation between refugees and other employees</b>	Their working culture is very different because they were used to having someone telling them how to do their job and there was no space for discussion.	<i>"Usually, all our employees can speak very good German, the refugees have to learn still. The culture is different too (...)"</i>	<i>"They need more onboarding and support than other employees at the beginning because the working culture in Germany is different from their home countries."</i>
<b>Added value</b>	Some of them have a combination of technology and design skills. Also, they can be much more motivated, dedicated and grateful.	NA	NA

### **3.2.2.2. Government bodies**

Within the social actors framework, government bodies' representatives were interviewed in order to obtain the opinion of the public administration on refugees' labour market integration. 2 representatives were interviewed, being one a representative from the Frankfurt City Council (FCCR) and another one a representative from the Employment Agency (EAR).

On why do they think refugees choose Germany as the country of arrival, participants mentioned the country's good reputation for migrants who want to start a new life with good economic and social conditions.

When asked about the levels of education of refugees regarding their countries of origin, the answers were varied, since both participants gave descriptions on different countries. Although, the FCCR followed the same pattern seen before of indicating Syrian refugees at the ones with higher qualifications. An interesting input that we consider relevant to mention is the answer given by the FCCR regarding the differences between refugees who arrived before 2015, being those highly educated, and refugees who arrived after 2015, being those low-skilled.

Regarding the jobs that refugees usually had in their countries of origin, the FCCR stated that they were all completely different, whilst the EAR mentioned the particular fact that many refugees had technical jobs and, although they do not have a degree, they can be very technically skilled. Regarding the jobs that refugees usually have in the country of arrival, the participants' answers indicate us, once again, the pattern seen before: it is all about learning the language and being highly-skilled in order to make it in the labour market.

When asked about the position of the refugees in the labour market, the FCCR pointed out the fact that many refugees have higher expectations, and are expecting to arrive and have a job immediately, when the reality is very different because the German government prefers them to, in first place, learn the language and be trained, and only after that they can get a proper job.

The participants' perception on the treatment that refugees get from employers was also brought up and it was interesting to see that the answers were not as positive as the answers seen before: the FCCR observed that the companies were very interested to hire refugees because they thought they would be skilled and prepared for the labour market demand, but, in reality, the majority of refugees were not like it what was expected; the EAR noted that many companies hire refugees not for their motivation/skills, but for the status that it can bring to the company's name and the positive outcomes on the media.

Concerning the existence/inexistence of discrimination situation towards refugees in the labour market, both interviewees stated the fact that Frankfurt is a multicultural city and it is

very common for locals to work alongside migrants, which cultivates an anti-discriminatory and open mindset.

The differentiation between men and women was also discussed and, once again, the answers did not follow the pattern seen in previous interviews: the FCCR reported that it is a big challenge to integrate conservative women since their spouses often pressure them not to attend initiatives or courses; the EAR stated that women are much less favoured because of the pregnancy issue and the fact that there is a wage gap between women and men.

When asked about their perspective on refugees' working conditions, these interviewees agree on the fact that the labour law is very strong and the same for everyone, so refugees end up having the same conditions as any other citizen.

When asked if they agree that integration in the labour market is the key to integrate in the society, both gave an affirmative answer.

Finally, when asked on what they think are the job prospects available for refugees, the language was the main element pointed out, mentioning that it has a strong influence on job prospects.

Table 11: The perspective of government bodies on refugees' labour market integration

Government body	Frankfurt City Council	Employment Agency
<b>Reasons to choose Germany</b>	Angela Merkel's welcoming propaganda and Germany's reputation of being a country with good conditions, security and a good healthcare system.	<i>"(...), due to the reputation – we have a good labour market, they can make good money and a living here –, those are attractive factors for the refugees. And also, I do think that we don't suffer very much of this impression of being a racist nation anymore."</i>
<b>Levels of education regarding countries of origin</b>	The refugees coming from Syria and Eritrea have a better education. On the contrary, refugees from Afghanistan have low levels of education. Until February 2015, Germany received many refugees who were highly educated. But after that, came to Germany a lot of refugees who can't write or read in their own language.	People from Iran hold most of the degrees in comparison to Afghanistan, who are holding the least. Most of the young people are highly qualified and elder people have no degree at all.
<b>Jobs in the country of origin</b>	<i>"They're all completely different. There are people who worked in universities or were doctors, but there are also people who went to school only a few years or didn't even attend school."</i>	<i>"I would say technical jobs or even jobs that here we don't really have a job description for it. They would sell things, move furniture, create furniture (like a carpenter), cleaning, fixing lights or pipes, being a facility manager... They don't have a degree in that, but they are very technically skilled (...)."</i>
<b>Jobs in Germany</b>	<i>"There are not so many refugees who have a job. And the ones who have a job don't really need our help because they're highly educated. The ones who don't have a job (...) takes us a long time to prepare them to be in a level that is good enough for our job market."</i>	The jobs match their qualifications if they have finished their studies, if their certifications are recognized and if their language skills are appropriate. If they don't have a degree or didn't finished their studies, they end up mostly as cleaners, security personnel, working in warehouses lifting boxes, cooks, gardeners, civil constructors...
<b>Position of the refugees in the labour market</b>	Their expectations are that they're going to arrive, find a job immediately and start earning money so they can take care of their family, which is not realistic. First, they need to know the German language and have a level of knowledge that allows them to get a decent job, instead of taking lower-skilled jobs. Refugees don't understand why things are done this way.	NA
<b>Treatment from employers</b>	<i>"I think the companies are interested in hiring refugees but it's difficult to find individuals with the qualifications that they are searching for. When the refugees started arriving in Germany, everyone was very interested in hiring them, but now they see that learning German takes too long and is very hard for refugees and there is not the amount of skilled people that they were expecting to receive."</i>	Some employers hire refugees not for their motivation and skills, but for the status that it brings to the company's name and because it sounds good on the media.
<b>Treatment from work colleagues</b>	NA	NA
<b>Cultural clash/ divide/ discrimination</b>	<i>"Frankfurt is a very international city, we have a very high level of immigration, it's around 50%. It's very normal to work alongside people who come from other countries. I don't think there is a problem."</i>	<i>"I have never had any feedback on discrimination based on origin, race, gender or religion."</i>
<b>Differentiation between men and women</b>	Many men pressure their women not to attend the German course or any other initiative. The conservative women are very hard to insert in German society because they live only for the family and barely go outside.	Women are so much less favoured because of the pregnancy issue and there's also a big wage gap between men and women.
<b>Working conditions and job quality</b>	<i>"In Germany, the law is very strong and the same for everyone. The refugee gets the same conditions as a local German or any other worker. Except, obviously, the ones who work in the black market."</i>	If the conditions of the job are not according to the German law, then they can't be permitted. Refugees enjoy the same rights as any other German citizen and the conditions are clear from the beginning when the refugee signs the contract.
<b>Integration in the society through integration in the labour market</b>	<i>"Absolutely! Without work is not possible to integrate people."</i>	<i>"I do think it definitely helps them to be in contact with people in general and the German culture."</i>
<b>Job prospects for refugees</b>	If refugees don't learn the German language, then it's harder for them to understand other and be understood. And that has a strong influence on their job prospects.	The language is the number 1 obstacle. Another obstacle is the formulary that refugees have to ask the employee to fill in about the job conditions (in situations that the residence permit is not decided yet) and send to the Foreigners Office for the approval, which can take months and employees don't want to wait that long. Third obstacle: employers don't want to recruit refugees who are still waiting for the residence permit decision, because they might be deported.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

This explorative research examined the objective and subjective job quality of a sample of refugees in Germany. The goal was to identify which factors hamper vulnerable categories of workers to be assigned to high quality jobs. According to the literature, migrants end up often taking low-skilled and low-paid jobs due to their low qualifications. However, we verified that the migrants' characteristics mentioned in the literature do not exactly fit our sample. The refugees that we interviewed are part of a highly-skilled minority that is not often portrayed in the literature. Taking this into account, we studied our sample's characteristics on an objective level and the majority portrayed in the literature on a subjective level. In the end, this helped us answering our research answer, through identifying the elements seen in our sample that are not seen in the literature.

We identified 3 elements that we found to be the key for a successful integration of refugees in the labour market, namely: 1) qualifications; 2) age; 3) command of the native language. We will specify each of these characteristics below.

- 1) Qualifications are a decisive and competitive factor in the refugees' labour market integration. We found that refugees who are low qualified tend to have less chances on finding a job, whilst refugees who are highly qualified can compete easier in the labour market. The more qualified the refugee will be, the more chances he will have to be integrated in the job market. Qualifications are the crucial factor that help refugees fulfil the development gap between their country of origin and the country of arrival. We shall clarify that we are not considering technical qualifications as high-qualifications. It is not unlikely that refugees who worked for several years in a technical job in their country of origin, end up not being able to get the same job in the country of arrival.
- 2) Age is an important factor when it comes to start a new life in the country of arrival. We found that the older generations find it harder to be integrated in the job market than the younger generations. This happens because the older generation tend to be less skilled or having mostly technical skills. The ones who are low-skilled find themselves too old to go back to school, adding the fact that they usually have a family to provide for. The ones who have a few technical skills, often cannot prove it through certified documentation, adding the fact that still there is a technological gap between the country of origin and the country of arrival even in technical functions. The younger generation not only tends to be more skilled, but also has the opportunities and the time to go back

to school if they have to. The younger generation finds it easier to start a new life in the country of arrival.

- 3) Last but by no means least, the command of the native language is another decisive factor for refugees to enter the job market. Through all the testimonies we collected from refugees, companies' representatives or social actors, one common factor was always present: learning the local language is the first and most important step to even consider entering the labour market. Even though our case study was set up in a multicultural city with higher levels of migration, the common feedback was always that no one can be integrated in the labour market and in the society without mastering the local language.

Even though we are presenting these elements in a random order, we consider the command of the native language the most decisive factor that has an influence on the refugees' labour market integration, followed by the qualifications and the age.

The results indicate that IT sector protects workers more than others. Those in flexible arrangements tend to have longer fixed term contract in IT than energy or academic (see Table 5). This evidence leads us to consider that IT remains a protected sector and technical qualifications that allow access to those jobs are transferable across countries.

Furthermore, empirical findings showed that low skilled workers are indeed assigned to low quality jobs. Through the voice of Government bodies, we showed that these categories of workers end up in cleaning and related jobs, which offer non-standard contracts with low pay.

## 5. CONCLUSION

When we started this research project, our research question was “*Which factors affect refugees’ job quality?*”. Through a qualitative research, carried out through interviews made to the different actors, it was possible for us to reach a conclusion regarding the integration in the labour market of highly-qualified refugees.

The empirical evidence shows us the main elements that have an influence on job quality are the qualifications, age and the learning of the local language. Individuals with higher qualifications have higher propensity to be hired for job with good job quality. The younger generations are, usually, more qualified. Learning the local language is the key factor to enter the labour market.

Throughout the investigation, we identified some limitations to our study that should be taken into account. The sample obtained, either it was refugees, companies’ representatives or social actors, is very small in order to identify patterns. Also, the refugees sample only identifies highly-qualified refugees, which was not our main goal at the beginning of this study. We ended up studying a minority that is not portrayed in the literature. Future research could take our study into account in order to develop findings through broadening the sample.

This study aims at government bodies and companies’ representatives, giving them inputs on their concerns regarding the integration of refugees in the labour market. Policy makers should implement anticipative strategies, notably the qualification of refugees, to ensure a qualified and sustainable integration in the labour market. The information collected from Germany illustrates that effort, which could be a good example for other European countries engaged in receiving refugees and other migrants.



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# APPENDIXES

A – Interview Script for Employed Refugees

B – Questionnaire for Employed Refugees

C – Interview Script for Companies' Representatives

D – Interview Script for Government Bodies

## **Appendix A – Interview Script for Employed Refugees**

1. Why did you choose Germany as your host country?
2. Back in your home country, in which social class were you inserted? Did you have own financial resources that enabled you to begin a new life in Germany?
3. Did you have a job in your home country? If yes, what type of job? Were the conditions of that job good?
4. When you arrived in Germany, did you have any training (e.g. language or others)? If yes, by which institution (refugees' organization, employment services, social network)?
5. When you started looking for a job, did you have any difficulties? Did you have any help in finding a job? If yes, by which institution (refugees' organization, employment services, social network)?
6. How do you perceive the position of refugees in the German labour market?
7. From your personal experience, how do employers regard refugees? Do they differentiate them based on origin, race, gender, or religion?
8. From your personal experience, how do work colleagues regard refugees? Do they differentiate them based on origin, race, gender, or religion?
9. Did you ever feel like there was a cultural class or divide in your work place? Did you ever feel discriminated? If yes, what you think was the source of discrimination?
10. What is your general evaluation about the working conditions of employed refugees? (This regards working hours, weekend free, health insurance, work insurance, paid holidays, ...)
11. What is your general evaluation about the job quality of employed refugees? (This regards wages, formal/informal, employment relationship, employment contracts, pay social security contributions, other benefits...)
12. Do you consider that an efficient and effective integration of the refugees in the labour market is vital for their integration in the society? Do you think it is one of the main ways to avoid problems like marginalization, crime, drug dealing, radicalisation?
13. What is your general evaluation on job prospects for refugees? What do you think about the jobs available for refugees? Do you think that there is a distinction between men and women?

Thank you for your participation!

## Appendix B – Questionnaire for Employed Refugees

The object of this study is to evaluate the job quality of currently employed refugees. The results of this questionnaire will be used only for research purposes. Participation is anonymous.

Feel free to report self-examples or experiences at any time during this interview.

### PERSONAL INFORMATION:

Male  Female

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Education:**

Primary school  Bachelor degree  \_\_\_\_\_

Middle school  Master degree  \_\_\_\_\_

Secondary school  Doctorate degree  \_\_\_\_\_

Illiterate

- Years of schooling: \_\_\_\_\_

**Country of origin:** \_\_\_\_\_

**How long have you been in Germany?** \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Current residence status:**

Residence permit (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis*)

Permission to reside (*Aufenthaltsgestattung*)

Temporary suspension of deportation status (*Duldung*)

### JOB INFORMATION:

**Activity sector:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Position:** \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Type of employment contract:**

Permanent contract

Fixed-term contract  How long? \_\_\_\_\_ Possibility of renewal? \_\_\_\_\_

Internship contract  How long? \_\_\_\_\_ Possibility of contracting? \_\_\_\_\_

Zero-hour contract

Self-employed

No contract

Other type of employment contract:

\_\_\_\_\_

- In case of flexible contract, why did you accept this type of contract?

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**Type of schedule:**

Full time  Part time

&

Fixed schedule  Flexible schedule  Shift schedule

- How many hours (per day/per week) do you spend at work?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Do you work on weekends? \_\_\_\_\_
- Are you entitled to vacation time? If yes, how many days per year?  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Wage:**

Less than 8,84€/h

8,84€/h (German minimum wage, ~1.498€/month)

More than 8,84€/h

- Do you get paid for additional hours, dangerous conditions or Sunday work? \_\_\_\_\_

**Type of health insurance:**

GKV (*Gesetzliche Krankenversicherung*) – Government Health Insurance System

PKV (*Private Krankenversicherungen*) – Private Health Insurance

None

**Pension coverage:**

Mandatory State Pension Provision

Voluntary Occupational Pension Provision

Private Provision

None

**Do you get any other economic rewards? If yes, please specify:**

(e.g. housing, day-care, tuition reimbursement, sick leave, paid vacations, profit sharing, take-home vehicle, hotel stays, leisure activities on work time, work phone, lunch allowance, paid public transportation, flexible schedule, ...)

**Please answer to the following questions by choosing the number that best suits your perception.**

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT	1 – Strongly disagree 2 – Disagree 3 – Undecided 4 – Agree 5 – Strongly agree
<i>My job lets me use my skills and abilities.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I have opportunities to develop my skills and abilities.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>This job gives me the opportunity to learn.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>The amount of training I receive is enough and leaves me well prepared to do my job.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I am given assistance on how to do my job whenever I need so.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
AUTONOMY AT WORK	
<i>I have freedom to decide what I do on my job.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I have freedom to decide how I do my job.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING	
<i>I am consulted about what happens on my job.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I feel that my opinion is considered valid.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
WORK INTENSITY	
<i>I have too much work to do everything well.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>My job requires that I work very fast.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>My job requires that I work very hard.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>It is not complicated to take time off during work to take care of personal or family matters.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT	
<i>I feel integrated amongst my co-workers.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I feel there is a sense of equality between me and my co-workers.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I feel respected in my work place.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>The work I do on my job is meaningful to others (co-workers, chiefs, clients).</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>My job allows me to interact with others.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT	
<i>The physical aspects of my work are very demanding.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>The psychological aspects of my work are very demanding.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>I developed a physical/psychological problem from my work activity.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>My work place is (psychologically and physically) a good place to work.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>The work I do on my job is meaningful to me.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
JOB PROSPECTS	
<i>I can still have this job in 6 months.</i>	1 2 3 4 5
<i>It is easy for me to find a new job.</i>	1 2 3 4 5



**Overall, how satisfied/unsatisfied are you with your job?**



Thank you for your participation!

### **Appendix C – Interview Script for Companies' Representatives**

1. What are the main countries of origin of refugees working at (*insert Company's name here*)?
2. Back in their home countries, did they had any experience working in the (*insert Company's sector here*)?
3. What kind of qualifications do the refugees working at (*insert Company's name here*)? What kind of qualifications is (*insert Company's name here*) looking for when hiring refugees?
4. Did you notice any difference in the level of education regarding the countries of origin?
5. Does (*insert Company's name here*) invest in their education?
6. How do employers regard hiring refugees?
7. How do work colleagues regard working alongside refugees?
8. Are the working conditions of refugees similar to the others employees? (employment contract, schedule, weekends, vacations, wage, additional hours/dangerous conditions/Sunday work, pension coverage, other economic rewards)
9. Is the insertion in the labour market of men similar to the women?
10. In what way are these people different from the average (*insert Company's name here*) employee? What kind of added value can they bring to the company?
11. Is there a successful story that deeply marked you and you would like to share?

## Appendix D – Interview Script for Government Bodies

1. What are the main countries of origin of refugees placed in Germany and, in particular, in Frankfurt? Do you have this data compiled? If yes, can you make it available for research?
2. How many refugees is the (*insert Government Body name here*) currently helping? And how many has helped so far?
3. Why do the refugees choose Germany as their host country?
4. What kind of education do the refugees have? Is there a difference between countries of origin regarding levels of education?
5. Back in their countries of origin, what was the main social class these people belonged to? Did they have own financial resources that enable them to begin a new life in Germany?
6. What kind of jobs did these people used to have back in their countries of origin?
7. What is the role of (*insert Government Body name here*) in helping refugees finding a job? Can you give some examples of initiatives that help them entering the German labour market? Are they entitled to any kind of training (e.g. language classes or others) that can help them entering the job market?
8. What kind of jobs are they employed in, in Germany? Do those jobs match their qualifications?
9. How do refugees perceive their position in the German labour market?
10. How do employers regard hiring refugees? Do they differentiate them based on origin, race, gender or religion?
11. How do work colleagues regard working alongside refugees? Do they differentiate them based on origin, race, gender or religion?
12. Is there a cultural clash or divide in the work place?
13. Is the insertion in the labour market of men similar to the women?
14. What is your general evaluation about the working conditions of employed refugees? (This regards working hours, weekend free, health insurance, work insurance, paid holidays, ...)
15. What is your general evaluation about the job quality of employed refugees? (This regards wages, formal/informal, employment relationship, employment contracts, pay social security contributions, other benefits...)

16. Do you consider that an efficient and effective integration of the refugees in the labour market is vital for their integration in the society? Do you think it is one of the main ways to avoid problems like marginalization, crime, drug dealing, radicalisation?
17. Is there a successful story that deeply marked you and you would like to share?